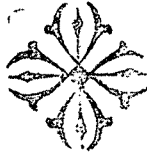


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NOTES

Natural And Man Made Calamities

In modern times great calamities are usuasally associated with wars and the destruction caused by bomb dropping by aeroplanes, by guided missiles, shelling and the exploding of mines. The most feared weapons are those which use nuclear war heads. The destruction of the two Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by atomic bombs in which tens of thousands died in a matter of seconds and larger numbers afterwards due to exposure to radio active rays ; shall be remembered for ages for its utterly inhuman and callous disregard of all ethical considerations. The persistent bombing of German cities by British American war planes for long months was no less ferocious and murderous. Millions were killed and totally disabled by these air attacks and the destruction of roads, buildings, railways, shipping, bridges, dams, industrial plants etc was also tremendous. What millions of workers had produced by their back breaking labour over the decades was all wiped out in a

few months by releasing high explosive "block busters" which penetrated many roofs and floors and reached the basements of multi-storied buildings before exploding and bringing entire structures down. In the first world war of 1914-18 when air power was not developed, shell fire destroyed many cities and reduced large forests to weird and endless arrays of tree stumps. In earlier times when explosives were only in the process of development, conquering armies set fire to cities and reduced them to cinder. Millions were cut down and carried away as slaves. The growth of science has made large scale killing casier ; but human ferocity had always found expression by use of some sort of weapon or other to satisfy the murder lust of the great heroes of human history.

Natural calamities however have been no less destructive of properties and human lives. The great deluge described in the Bible in which only a boat load of humans and other living beings survived in the world of these

days, was indeed a killer and destroyer of limitless dimension. Ancient history and mythology also tell us about worldwide famines and pestilence which denuded the earth of all living beings and their valued possessions. Fires had also raged which destroyed great civilisations. In historical times we have records of widespread epidemics like the Black Death. Even in relatively recent times there are incidents of earth-quakes volcanic eruptions, famines, epidemics and similar calamitous happenings which caused mass destruction and death in a widespread manner. The Bihar earth quake and the earth quakes which struck Quetta and certain east Himalayan regions were also terrifying in their destructive power. The 1943 famine which caused the death of nearly thirty lakhs of people or the Plague epidemics which swept India during the early years of this century could easily vie with Zengiz Khan in dealing out sudden death to millions. The Spanish Flu of the second decade of this century or the epidemics of Kala Azar were no less powerful as destroyers of human life. The second world war caused the death of many million persons and the loss of property was incalculable. Numerous cities were razed to the ground, thousands of ships sunk and scores of railway yards, bridges and sidings wiped out. If we consider what happened in India in the forties when the British were perpetrating their last acts of imperealistic mishandling of the destinies of the peoples of Asia and Africa, we come to the communal riots in which probably twelve million men, women and children were murdered by heartless hooligans. Entire populations were forced to migrate from one part of the country to another and millions were deprived of all their valuables and hundreds of thousands were stabbed to death. These incidents were inhuman and soulless in their ferocity and painted many pages of the history of human

civilization totally black. We have to admit after studying the stories of all calamities that man made calamities have been as bad as, may be worse than, what nature produced from time to time to punish human beings.

Assuring Progress and Prosperity for India

All politicians who come to governmental power through elections begin their election campaigns by promising progress and prosperity to the people of the country. If they voted for the particular person and the party the person belonged to, the candidate and the political group the person belonged to would assure the electors of the area and the public in general all round improvement in their social, moral, political and economic life if only that party would come to rule the country. Some persons had very simple and easy remedies for all evils and short comings that the country suffers from and they make promises on the assumption that the people would try out these remedies sincerely and in a whole hearted manner. Prohibition for example is a remedy for all national ills like illiteracy, unemployment, lack of food, clothing, housing and security from looting, hooliganism and all the rest of it. The penance for underdevelopment and backwardness is giving up alcoholic drinks and horse racing. When one says that more than sixty percent of the people have to live below the subsistence level and most of them have no productive work or very little of it, the politicians reiterate that all that has been caused by addiction to alcoholic drinks and gambling. If one tries to explain the problems which arise out of the population explosion the political leaders suggest that prohibition and abolition of horse racing would no doubt bring about a change in social behaviour and outlook which will react beneficially on all circumstances which now create situations of great complexity and dangerous significance. The *rishis* of ancient India drank *Soma rasa*, which possibly

contained some alcohol; but they managed to raise India to a high intellectual and spiritual level. Sankaracharya, Brihaspati, Kalidasa, Homer, Eurypedes and many leading members of the world of intellect probably drank wine and gambled occasionally like Dharmaputra Yudhisthira; but no one can write them off as liabilities from the account books of human civilisation. Many races, like the French and the Italians, who drink wines habitually, have made great contributions to the some total of world culture. There is no doubt that drinking is a great social evil and if people gave up drinking it would put a stop to much suffering at certain levels of human existence. Gambling also is a cause of misery when indulged in by relatively poor persons in an excessive manner. But one cannot say that drinking and gambling are the basic causes of all human misery and that prohibition of consumption of alcoholic liquor and abolition of horse racing will make the world free from its major sorrows. Ninety percent of our countrymen do not drink or gamble and they are miserable because they cannot find any productive work during several months in the year. They lack education, training, organisation and finance. Want of education, training, planning, organisation and the resources for the provision of all these are a more potent cause of our backwardness and penury than drink or *juar*. But politicians like to simplify all complex problems in order to appear convincing to the electorate. For instance if one had to show how disarmament conditioned the fuller provision of means wherewith the country could receive education, training, planned progress in the field of employment etc. etc., the matter assumes a very complex shape. The forces which play a very active part in military preparedness or disarmament would have connections with far away countries and the factors involved would be many and not at all simple. But unless one could

reduce the military budget and defence expenditure one would never be able to find adequate resources for constructive developments needed for national progress. There are many social evils apart from drink or gambling. For two hundred years men like Raja Rammohan Ray, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Maharshi Debendranath Thakur, Gopalkrishna Gokhale, Lala Lajpat Ray, Sri Arabinda Ghosh, and many others have been trying to create social conditions favourable to progress and prosperity. Things have improved but a lot more remains to be achieved. Bribery and corruption are rampant in many institutions of great importance and require to be stopped if at all Indians desire to live and thrive in an atmosphere free from vice of all kinds. There are many things which require cleaning up. Watering of milk by milkmen, food adulteration, cheating buyers by supplying short weight, charging too much in prices, passing off substandard quality goods as superior stuff etc. are only a few examples. Politicians avoid discussion of such matter, for fear of alienating voters who are involved in such practices in very large numbers. Truth and morality are at a discount in almost all fields of life and if one tried to establish what was right in place of what was blatantly wrong, one would find not many supporters.

Other Ways of Improving Living Conditions

It is quite possible for a citizen of India to be pushed into a backward village where there is no pure drinking water, nor any proper roads by which one can go to the village in a motor car or any arrangement for medical assistance, supply of fuel, various necessary articles of consumption and protection from the activities of robbers and hooligans. There are possibly more than one hundred thousand such villages in India and the villagers are economically so near destitution that they cannot either organise and pay for boring or digging for water or set up shops,

dispensaries, schools or other institutions which bring well being to the people of a country. It is possible that many villages in India have only a few hundred inhabitants who somehow manage to live and live in primitive mud hovels and cultivate their lands with implements which have remained the same since the days when the first invaders entered India thousands of years ago. Their produce is mostly what they need for their own consumption and anything that they cannot consume themselves they exchange with other goods in *hats* which often assemble once or twice a week in far off places. The villagers have to carry their surplus products on their heads, or swinging from slings or in bullock carts. The bullock carts can use the muddy tracks leading in or out of these villages when there are rainless days, for the wheels of carts get stuck in the mud if there is any rain. No one has thought of brick or concrete tracks, for that would cost money which the villagers can ill afford. To go back to the question of pure drinking water, a hundred thousand deep wells may cost about a hundred and fifty crores of rupees and India could have provided the funds if only the politicians came to any decision about this. Physicians and dispensaries, brick or concrete tracks along the muddy lanes, schools etc. etc., all could have been arranged if some leaders insisted that these should be arranged for the villagers. But big men think of doing things in a big way. They formulate their plans in thousands of crores and borrow money on a large scale to set up steel factories, hydro-electric power generation centres and international air lines or shipping lines. Digging or boring wells, building cottages, village roads and other small things which will not require collecting international experts nor demand discussion in big conferences. But one must not forget that though India is a very large country with a population of 600 million, her villages are small and pri-

mitive. A country in which mud huts crop up near the great palaces of the multi millionaires and small hand looms turn out cloth which compete in the markets with the goods that are mass produced in the most elaborate and modern factories. It is a land in which herbal remedies are prescribed by the old ladies in the big cities where there are many physicians holding the highest medical degrees of London, Paris, Vienna or the great universities of the USA. Great mechanically operated machine tools produce parts for motor cars, mining implements and things required for house building. Alongside of the large factories which turn out these bits and pieces by the hundred gross there are the little workshops with their hand operated bellows, sixteen pound hammers the anvils and the files which have been in use since the days of Akbar the great or even earlier. So that the little far away villages which cannot be reached except by bullock cart during fair weather are not the only links with the past in this land of contrasts where palaces rub shoulders with mud huts and mile long convoys of twelve tonner trucks roar past the small carts which carry a few hundred weights a few miles during the sunrise and sunset hours. An occasional elephant may also appear on the scene where all these come to the fore front or may be a few camels or a flock of sheep. Yet there are certain major roads in the big cities where carts are not permitted to operate during the peak hours of the day. The foot paths of the same roads however accommodate palmists, spiritual sooth sayers and various other types of dealers in magic remedies and mysterious cures for all kinds of Psycho-Pathological ailments. And one must not forget the beggars.

Is there really any intensive demand for improved ways of living. For a change over from the old to the new and from make believes to the positive precision of Science and Technology? There are thousands of men

women and children who dwell on the pavements not for want of money but out of free choice. There are scores of persons who seek medical advice from mendicants who squat outside the great hospitals where free medical aid is given under the supervision of competent surgeons and physicians. Fairly affluent persons do not send their children to schools, do not eat or dress with an eye to health and comfort nor live in suitable houses in a sanitary and hygienic manner. A crowded existence in which they pass their days in a herded way. This is the way our grandfathers lived and what was good for them should be good for us, they say. But is it good for the nation and the nation's health, strength and well being ?

The Nation must progress no matter if large numbers of persons agree to face cholera, snakes, mud and bone breaking bullock cart rides and sickness of all kinds in a fatalistic manner. If the nation had to carry out its programme of planned advancement according to the wishes and desire of the least progressive elements in the population, planned progress would have no meaning or significance. A nation must plan its way of life according to the scientific findings of its experts of the social sciences. The most active and intelligent persons in the nation must study, with the assistance of foreign experts, what should be done to make the people of the country, healthy, wealthy and strong, and there after put into effect that they have discovered as the best way to go ahead.

The least intelligent and the least progressive should be kept down and suppressed.

Strikes, Lock Outs, Disputes Etc

Employer employee disputes began in the dim past, long before the world saw any factories, large scale employment of workers or trades unions. The reasons which induced workers to protest against the actions or decisions relating to the terms and conditions of

service of employees must have been similar to what is now experienced as causes of employer employee disputes. Ill treatment of workers, irregular payment of wages, paying unfairly low remuneration for work done, lack of proper supply of food, drink, housing for rest and residence etc. etc. always made workers complain and demand redress, then as now. The workers developed trades unions and the employers their chambers of commerce to represent their cases in an organised and conjoint manner. The government too came into the picture by enacting labour laws and the formulation of rules and regulations relating to betterment of working conditions and prevention of stoppage of work and fall in the quantum of the national product. But inspite of all the progress made in the field of improving the terms and conditions of work of persons employed on monthly, weekly or daily rates of wages, disputes continued to crop up and the threat of strikes, lock outs or stoppage and slowing down of work never disappeared totally. Strikes or lock outs took place at times and large numbers of workers were involved at times causing loss of millions of man hours of work and production. On the one hand government officials did their level best to settle the employer employee disputes by bipartite or tripartite negotiations or references to courts of adjudication, while on the other hand the trades unions backed by political parties tried to intensify the propaganda for not yielding an inch of ground or modifying the workers' demands to the advantage of the employers. Students of economics would point out that almost all improvement in working conditions and money gains have come to workers through peaceful negotiations and *not through strikes*. Also that lock outs have seldom been of any advantage to employers. But past history never has any great appeal to workers when they are excited and **are spoiling** for a fight. So, sooner or later, a

some centre of work, the workers call for a strike and end up by actually stopping work. The result is a great deal of suffering, borrowing of money at high rates of interest from extortionate money lenders, loss of production to the nation and an eventual settlement bringing no advantage to any of the contestants. Another addition to the long list of fruitless strikes.

Things That Obstruct National Progress

India is too large a country to have simple and homogenous qualities in all its territorial zones and their inhabitants. We therefore find many races, castes, communities, languages, dialects, religions, sects, ways of living, behaviour, social manners, customs, rituals etc. etc. as we move about the various parts of this subcontinent. Sociologists agree however that there is a clearly identifiable element of unity in this great arena of variety and diversity. But one has to admit that the presence of all these differences certainly stand in the way of easy and perfect national integration. That there is such a thing as Indian nationalism. Indian culture and civilisation has been due to the presence of certain unifying factors. Broadly speaking the languages of India have certain connections with Sanskrit which is the classical language of India. The Prakrits from which most of the language of India have evolved, are the older than Sanskrit root languages of India. There are some languages which have not much connection with the language of the Vedas which was the vehicle of expression of philosophical thoughts of the Aryan invaders who came into India in the third and second millenium B.C. The Dravidian languages which were the parent languages of some South Indian languages must have been used by some inhabitants of India before the arrival of the Aryans. The other languages which lent words and idioms to Indian languages are Arabic and Persian. These connections were not very old. Other

contacts that might have been there could have come through other invasions of Bactro-Sythian, Huns or various Tibeto Chinese inroads. The oldest spoken languages of India are the Austro-Asiatic groups of tribal languages which have supplied words and phrases to most Indian languages to some extent. The above described characteristics of Indian languages are applicable more or less exclusively to Indian languages. The thoughts, ideas, philosophical conceptions, mythologies, fables, folk tales etc. that the speakers of these languages display a familiarity with identify them as Indians. Leaving out the languages if we examine the music of the land of Bharat we should discover a great affinity among the melodies and the rhythms. The epics which need to be recited in tune by bards are also easily recognisable as being the same with slight differences. If we examine the food, clothing, household goods, hand written books, pictures, statuary, toys, utensils etc. of the peoples of India we would again find certain basic similarities which will clearly establish their Indian character. These characteristics will not be found in China, Japan, Egypt or Scandinavia. The facts stated so far show that there are certain traits which are the unifying forces in Indian languages and other things and matters Indian. But there are various other factors and forces which prevent easy unification. Some of these are caste separatism, desire to establish certain languages as link languages which would automatically reduce the importance of other languages in certain areas of the country, attempts to force languages on minority groups of certain provinces; also to deny them some of the privileges of citizenship such as in the matter of employment etc. etc. Other factors which stand in the way of national integration are religious and sectarian differences, lack of education and superstitions which restrict the growth, of a wider and national outlook. Cast consciousness is such a

dangerous thing that it cuts across the human influences which help the development of a democratic outlook. The fuller realisation of the rights of man would also be impeded in places where ignorant and superstitious men and women force their views on persons with a progressive and reforming outlook. There were also the question of communalism, the activities of interested parties to create disunity and the political leaders who had their own axes to grind. With all these active forces in function to destroy the growth of a national and scientifically progressive outlook, it was no wonder that the peoples of India were divided into numerous self contained groups which had their different languages, ways of thought and behaviour, mutual antagonisms and exclusiveness. They intermarried and interdined within their own narrow communal, sectarian and-caste limits. Even mahomedans and other communities developed their own castes in a manner of speaking and the wider unifying forces could not work freely and complete the work of Indias national integration.

Political Parties and Nationnism

One would expect that spread of ploitical thought would make people more attached to the ideals of nationalism and that the formation and development of political parties, would lead to a more intensive consciousness of national ideals. These national ideals may assume different shapes and forms according as the ideologies of the political parties develop their basic differences. The ideologies however donot go very deep and affect the ways of life and general conduct of the people professing the party ideals. The Congress Party of India always preached non-violent non co-operation vis a vis the British raj of India ; but the members of the party quite often engaged in fights and took part in political activities organised and sponsored by the British. The Communists preached communism and said they were whole hearted adherents of Marxist

principles of setting up social institutions. But many communists in India owned property individually, invested money and participated in everything that a capitalist society held out for gainful utilisation by its members. The various political parties had their own ideas about various matters which differed but they all believed in the formation of a Government of India and in assuring control of that Government by sending members of the Parliamentary houses and the legislative assemblies in the states. That is they believed in the Constitution of India and acted according to its provisions during such periods as did not enable them to alter that constitution and replace it by a new one to fit in with their political, social and economic beliefs. So that there were many many political parties which tolerated Indias national structure temporarily and worked to acquire such powers as would enable them to change that structure fundamentally if found necessary. political parties, as such, therefore did not support and nourish the current ideals of nationalism. Some parties did while others bided their time to change those ideals and put new ideals in their place. The existence of many political parties, with ideologies which basically differed from one another did not help the growth of nationalistic institutions.

Extra Territorial Loyalties

In ancient times kingdoms, empires and conquered territories used to be far flung and contacts between the rulers and the ruled were loose and easily removable for the reason that means of communication were not available excepting with difficulty and at great cost. The heads of the states lived in distant centres of government and a number of garrisons were stationed at strategic points which were separated from one another by hundreds of miles. Egypt, Sumeria, Athens, Carthage or Rome in the earliest days of recorded history received tributes for far off territories of their large

empires as did the Hans or Tangs of China and the Nandas or Mauryas of India. Quite often when changes of dynasties took place many parts of those ancient empires did not receive information about the changes until long after the wars or the revolutions bringing about the changes had taken place. These facts show that subjects of large kingdoms or empires maintained their ruler ruled relations with their overlords as a matter of form. Actual governmental powers were in the hands of the local dignitaries who paid tribute to the overlords while they thought that was expedient, and stopped the payments whenever they felt strong enough to take to the path of defiance of imperial authority. The loyalty that the tribute paying *dukes or emirs* displayed towards their overlords was extra territorial loyalty for all practical purposes. There were no regular or direct connection between the overlord and the subject lord. It was something like the relation that exists between

senior members of the international blocs and the weaker members. United States of America or the USSR and the Netherlands, Denmark or Czecho Slovakia and Bulgaria. There are other types extra territorial loyalties too which involve no stationing of garrisons nor payment of tributes. The United Nations and their contributing member for example. The members have to obey certain directives of the U. N. and the U. N. can take punitive action against disobeying members if provoked in a blatant manner. There are other cases where one finds a preceptor-disciple relation between two states, the one providing the ideological guide lines and the other reciting slogans as per the teaching of the intellectual overlords. There are no connections in a government-wise manner; what prevails is something like *Guru-Shishwa* relationship. But the disciple is as much a moral subject as a tribute paying vassal.

SOCIAL VALUES FOR A NEW AGE IN INDIA

Dr. V. T. PATIL

The values of any society go on changing from time to time depending upon the circumstances and conditions that develop over a considerable period. Social values are dynamic in nature. They ceaselessly undergo change in their substance and emphasis. Only in a stagnant and backward society do values remain rooted in the unchanging past. But even in a traditional society some social change does take place, though it is not adequate enough to meet the socio-economic requirements of the people.

When I am referring to social values for a new age in India I am not decrying or disparaging the monumental contribution of our ancient epics like *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*. These great epics depict the tussle between the *Kauravas* and *Pandavas* and *Rama* and *Ravana* as the battles between the forces of darkness and of light and of the never ending struggle between forces of good and evil. The *Bhagavadgita* proclaims an entire philosophy. It embodies a sensitive and indepth portrayal of ways of life which are perennially valid ethical norms. The Vedas contain original and refreshingly new perspectives on all facets of human life and universe. The critical parts of the Vedanta system are full of subtle and penetrating exposition of concepts like substance, cause, person, knowledge etc. Past Indian tradition was dominated for more than two millennia by the doctrines of *maya*, *karma* and the transmigration of soul.

A developing society like India is engaged in the quest for the 'elixir of life' which constitutes an intrinsic part of a traditional culture in the process of tradition. Social organisa-

tion in such a society is shaped by religious institutions and most of the masses understand the idiom of religion only. Since time immemorial Hinduism, Islam and Buddhism have had a significant hold on the life of the Indian people. Hinduism acted as a cementing force for large groups of amorphous people bound together loosely. It also gave legitimacy to the socio-economic and political ethos of the people. Other religions like Buddhism and Islam were universal and secular in their appeal and did away with racial distinctions.

The implication is that religion can be a strong motivating and cohesive force. On the other hand, it can also become a potent obstacle in generating rapid socio-economic transformation. The constructive aspect of religion should be strengthened to foster the process of revitalization, rejuvenation and nation-building. Progress, modernization and urbanization, spring from the deep well-springs for social action that is clearly derived from the history and traditional heritage of a nation. Religion is not only a road to salvation in a developing society, but it also moulds the social organisation in a way that it makes it sturdy and integrative. It is in such a scheme of things that a religious ideology has potentialities for creating the necessary conditions of an ethical revolution in man as a unit of society. If religion develops an adequate adaptability to the process of social change, then it can play a useful role in the society. Religion must fuse with the impulse and momentum for change and development.

Modern world-view is based on empirical scientific knowledge. It implies rationality and

while being secular is also of universal character. The confrontation of tradition with modernity in India is reaching a definitive stage. Modernism is not altogether new in the Indian context. It is more than hundred years old, and during this period it has made a steady and orderly progress. If past tradition proves as a crag on the development of our society, then a break with the past becomes meaningful. However, this is not always the case. A complete alienation with the past need not be contemplated at this stage of the development of the Indian society. No society can do that, nor is it compellingly necessary for India to cut off completely with its ancient and chequered tradition and history. Our past is remarkably rich and varied, capable of providing the motivating force for modernism to strike root and forge ahead in the upheavals of the contemporary world. India's past offers examples of the spirit of free and critical inquiry of the highest intellectual order, the unrelenting pursuit of truth, a forward looking and secular approach to life and a tradition of abstract thought which forms an integral part of the progress of modern knowledge. Thus the past can provide a bridge for the masses to link up clearly the present and the future.

In a society which is poised for transition to a modern social order, the immemorial problems of illiteracy, disease and hunger act as serious impediments to social change. In such a society belief and value systems are archaic, and the twin qualities of indifference and apathy constitute important elements of the system. The weight of inertia combined with the crucial impact of customs, superstitions and mores determine the socio-cultural pattern of the system. In addition the nature of the social structure is a highly inhibiting factor in the change over from the values of the past to that of the present and the future. The high degree or level of stratification which is a characteristic feature in an underdeveloped country hinders

mobility and prevents meaningful social change.

Consequently social change is accompanied by fears, uncertainties, anxieties and disorientation. New and unpredictable rigidities develop in the system that give rise to vested interests whose welfare depends upon the preservation and protection of the *status quo*. But every society at any point of time is in the process of change and resistance to such change is disfunctional leading to a disequilibrium in the social system. Any stresses and strains that follow such a process must be neutralised and absorbed by the society without provoking conflict or violence. Conflict or violence in an underdeveloped society is not the function of poverty, but its source can be traced to social development and change.

Class and caste structures, the nature of political institutions, economic factors and cultural phenomena also affect in a considerable measure individual and group attitudes. New values and new ideas are fundamental requirements for the creation of a new sense of identity on the personal and cultural level. Institutional and psychological changes are necessary and inevitable. This involves the development of a new consciousness, new values, new ideas, a new human culture and a new life style. The technological revolution followed by the development of a modern communications system, the tremendous expansion of the national school system, the impact of new leaders and the dawn of the welfare system, are all symbolic of radical attitudinal changes that will eventually bring about peaceful socio-economic transformation of a traditional society.

Every political culture is a blend of old patterns and values as represented by its traditional aspect which are clearly different from the corpus of modern beliefs and attitudes. Tradition in India is playing a very important role in the democratisation and modernisation of Indian society. For instance, caste system has undergone major changes from below and

within. Caste is playing the role of destroying the old orders inequalities by removing its moral basis and social structure. Caste has enabled millions of Indians to acquire power by participating in the processes and institutions of political democracy. Everything depends upon the character of the traditional culture itself. If the nature of a traditional society is such that it fosters a deep sense of communality of interests and identity, then tradition can certainly provide an ideal foundation for modernising Indian society.

In this context, the role of intellectuals in creating these new values and ideas is of crucial significance. They must develop a modern mind that transcends the narrow sphere of their professional work. Many competent economists, physicists, engineers, chemists etc. cling to traditional habits in their private life. For instance, when they fall ill they do not only consult qualified physicians but also perform pujas to propitiate the Gods, take talismans and consult holy men. This conservative attitude smacks of ignorance of what modernity really is and what its likely benefits are going to be. Intellectuals need to come out of their groove by showing laudable willingness to adjust with new ideas and practices.

Professor Edward Shils has very rightly commented on the attitudes of intellectuals in underdeveloped countries. He asserts that they frequently express an ambivalent attitude towards things foreign or western. The intellectuals appreciate foreign culture and regard as inferior to their native culture. This attitude projects an inferiority complex and the sooner it is given up the better. The culture of underdeveloped societies is rich and varied and it can become a source of strength and inspiration for the people to achieve their national aspirations. It is, therefore, necessary for individuals to give up dogmatic ideas and to refurbish their intellect with the right attitude to analyse and understand phenomena in their proper

perspective.

Historically, the intellectuals in India during the freedom struggle were in the vanguard of the movement by means of the spoken and the written word. They gave a clarion call for complete independence and socio-economic reform. Under colonial or imperial rule they played the role of social critics. To be sure they have the specific role of explaining in an idiom which the masses understand, the policies and the ideological formulas that have currency at any given time. They have crucial responsibility as legitimizers of political power and this requires that they shift from the periphery to the centre of the socio-political and economic life of the country. Intellectuals must put off their blinkers and put on their intellect by participating fully in the public life of the country. Intellectuals should not lead an ivory tower existence by ruminating and offering facile solutions to the problems of the day that are lacking in realism. They carry their estrangement to such lengths that they view with contempt the backwardness and poverty of the people and their resistance to constructive change. Their feelings toward the masses are neither helpful nor very sympathetic and this further alienates them from the people.

For the creation of new values our educational system must be revamped at the earliest opportunity. It must develop the critical faculty of the individuals along with proper attitudes to life and knowledge. Institutions of higher learning should constitute the brains trust of the nation, a repository of leaders of knowledge, creative thought and meaningful action. True education should become an integral part of the life of people. Such individuals imbued with high cultural values and a vital and potent intellectual force can become the torch bearers of change in the onward march of the nation. This means that there must be an atmosphere

in which the right social and moral values may be imbibed and practised. Education must inculcate such values as respect for freedom, tolerance of dissent, quest for truth, self-respect of individuals, justice and fair-play. These values will lead to a deepening and broadening of man's life.

Acquisition of knowledge must be looked upon as an end in itself. It should not be used merely as a means to earn a livelihood. The goal of all education is to enlighten and illuminate the human mind. Too much emphasis on an utilitarian attitude to the exclusion of the humanistic traditions constitutes misplaced emphasis on non-essentials. The mind should become self-disciplined and not a slave to multitude of facts. It must become a storehouse of various branches of knowledge, indicating superior knowledge and better training in the art of creative thinking.

It is imperative that scientific and rational attitudes are developed by the people so that proper and effective solutions can be found to

the great and challenging problems of the day. Whether it is pollution in the environment or conservation of energy or increasing agricultural and industrial production, all these problems require an attitude of mind that is creative and purposive. Man is facing gigantic problems in different areas and given human ingenuity and skill there can be no doubt that he will be able to find solutions to these vexed issues.

The fundamental problem then is not one of finding out ways and means of preserving those values that are of significance in Indian tradition. On the contrary, the question is one of identifying such elements or factors with a view to preserve them for posterity. Added to this, if scientific temper gets hold of the people, and if medioeval and obscurantist strands in our confused thought are substituted by rational and modern lines of thinking, then the decks for the creation of new and dynamic values for a new society will be laid firmly,

A BIRD'S EYE-VIEW OF THE 42nd AMENDMENT

A. V. RATNA REDDY

The 42nd Amendment Bill has been passed with massive majority both in the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha.

Introducing the Bill, the then Union Law Minister Mr. H. R. Gokhale said, that although the Bill had 59 clauses, it covers

basically seven or eight topics. Outlining the objectives of the Bill, Sardar Swaran Singh, Chairman of the Committee on Constitutional Changes, pointed out in the Lok Sabha, "the framework of new proposals to amend the Constitution could be broadly divided into two

parts- the political part and the Socio-economic part. Two vital additions were made to the political content of the Constitution by incorporating 'Socialism' and 'integrity' to the Preamble. The inclusion of 'Socialism' had deepened the socio-economic content of the 'Constitution'. However, it appears that the contents of the Bill tilt more in favour of the political rather than the economic objectives. It strengthens the one organ of the government against the other and upsets checks and balances embedded in the Constitution.

SOME OPINIONS ON THE OBJECTIVES OF THE BILL :

Some members of the then Parliament expressed the view that the fifth Lok Sabha, bereft of the mandate, was not morally entitled to introduce the Bill ; a few preferred to refer the Bill to a Joint Select Committee of both Houses ; others were of the view that even by administrative means the socio-economic objects of the Bill could be achieved without amending the Constitution. Besides, the Pradesh Congress Committees of Bihar, U. P., Punjab and Haryana were for convening a new Constituent Assembly to make more radical changes in the Constitution. A section of the public favoured referendum.

The government, on the contrary, was of the view that the judiciary stood in the way of progressive socio-economic legislation and hence it felt the imperative need to introduce the constitutional amendments. Pointing out the necessity of Constitutional amendment and allaying the fears of the people and the opposition M. P's, the then Prime Minister said : "our intention of bringing some amendments to the Constitution is only to strengthen the sovereignty of Parliament and to see that the Constitution is interpreted correctly and in the spirit intended by its makers and to meet the changing needs of the people". But quite amazingly, the stress on socio-economic justice

does not find the expected place in the economic objectives of the Bill.

ECONOMIC PROGRAMME

The preamble of the Constitution of India incorporates the ideal of 'Justice-social, economic and political'. The concept of 'Just economic' can be broadly interpreted in terms to Socialism both in letter and spirit. The Bill wanted to make the preamble more meaningful by substituting the word 'Socialist' to it. But the inclusion of the ideal 'socialism' in the Preamble is not accompanied by any institutional changes in the Constitution. As such, Socialism remains only a distant dream and a pious wish,

As one of the main objects of the Bill is to herald socio-economic revolution, it would require a concept and constitutional means to implement it. The lack of clear-out expression of socialism is evident in the Bill, since it does not have a specific prefix to it.

The Bill does not devise the means to reduce the class differences. The apparent redeeming features are, it gives primacy to the Directive Principles of State Policy over the Fundamental Rights ; provides free legal aid to the poor (CI.8) ; stands for worker's participation in industries (CI.9) ; protects the children and youth against exploitation (CI.7) ; and expands the preamble by substituting the word Socialist (CI.2A). Even some of these measures do not appear to come upto expectation. For instance, what is wanted is not the mere participation of workers in the management of industries but partnership or ownership of industries by the workers. As a matter of fact, the 42nd Amendment in pursuing the economic objective is not revolutionary either in thought or in deed. While the Bill makes no expected changes in the socio-economic sphere, it dishes out surprising changes in the political aspect-which has provoked bitter controversy.

POLITICAL OBJECTIVES :

Some of the political objectives attained by the Bill are :

Substituting the words "unity and integrity of the nation" for the words "unity of the Nation", (CI.2(B));

2. inserting the provision for the prevention or prohibition of anti-national activities of individuals and associations (CI.5);

3. inserting the Fundamental Duties of the citizen (GI 11);

4. making it explicit that the President shall act in accordance with the advice of the cabinet (CI.13);

5. authorising the government of India to deploy any armed force of the Union for dealing with any grave situation of law and order in any state (CI.43) and

6. establishing the supremacy of Parliament in amending the Constitution (CI.55) and

7. empowering the President of India to alter or modify any provision of the Constitution (CI.59(1)).

Except the first objective, the rest are not free from misgivings in one way or other. For example CI.5, which deals with anti-national activities of individuals and associations, cuts at the very roots of democracy, namely, civil liberties, rule of Law and separation of powers. CI.13 removes the implicit discretionary power of the President of India. The substituted CI. 13 for Art.74(1) of the Constitution would have far reaching consequences on the form of the state and the government. When the President is deprived of his discretionary power, he can not guarantee the rights of the states and the states will become merely the administrative units of the Central Government. Further the Constitutional inability of the President would thoroughly be exploited by the ruling party to its advantage.

CI.11 enshrines the Fundamental Duties of the citizen. But the Fundamental Duties as listed in Part IV A are equally applicable to the

Government also. What makes a government national is its deep attachment to them. One has to decide the nature of a government, on the basis of the Fundamental Duties, whether it is national or not. When the Fundamental Duties are applied to the government, it has to abide by them morally, even though the government believes in the creed of nationalism as an out-dated concept. Thus they act as a check on the government, if any deviation is made from them.

CI.43 empowers the Union government to deploy any armed force of the Union to any state to maintain law and order. This power may be misused by the Union government for brow-beating the opposition parties which are in power in states.

CI.55 establishes the supremacy of parliament. Its sovereignty is absolute only in matters of constitutional amendment. As the Supreme Court can invalidate the Central laws, its sovereignty is not absolute but only limited. Besides, the legal sovereignty of parliament may come into conflict with the political sovereignty of people.

Ironically CI.59(1) instead of providing solutions to the smooth working of the Constitution, would create conflict of authority between the President of India and the Council of Ministers on the one hand, and the President and Parliament on the other, atleast during the transitional period of two years. The clause is to be studied in relation to the substituted CI. 13 of Art. 74(1) of the Constitution. Where is the guarantee that the President shall accept the advice of the Cabinet in matters pertaining to CI.56(1)? If both the President and the Council of Ministers insist on observing CI.59 (1) and CI.13 respectively, Constitutional deadlock would arise. Besides, by virtue of CI. 59(1), the President may dare to alter the very CI.13 itself. As far as the conflict of authority between the president and parliament is concerned, CI.59(1) vests the President with Cons-

tituent Powers and this makes an inroad into the sovereign powers of Parliament in amending the Constitution. These changes upset the system of Checks and Balances.

CHECKS AND BALANCES

(a) The Bill strengthens the Union Council of Ministers at the cost of discretionary power of the President (C.13). The abolition of discretionary power makes the President subordinate to the Council of Ministers. The Cabinet becomes the supreme executive in theory and practice.

(b) It strengthens the Union government at the cost of autonomy of the states. To maintain law and order, the Centre may deploy the Union troops to any State. (CI.43). Any law made in exercise of the power of the legislature of the state by parliament or the President shall continue in force until altered or repealed or amended by a competent legislature (CI.51(2)); the term of the President's rule in a state is extended from six months to one year (CI.50); the inclusion of education etc. in the concurrent list establishes the ascendancy of the Union over the states (CI.57). The High Courts are deprived of the power to invalidate the laws made by the Central government. (CI.39).

(c) It establishes the supremacy of the Parliament over the Judiciary as contemplated. (CI.55). It bars the Supreme Court's jurisdiction in interpreting Constitutional amendments

and bars the High Courts to invalidate the Central laws.

(d) It strengthens the Union executive at the alter of Parliament. CI.59(1) empowers the President of India to alter or modify or abolish any provision of the Constitution.

(e) Parliament's legislation on anti-national activity overrides the Fundamental Rights of individuals and associations. (CI.5). Besides, it gives primacy to the Directive Principles of State policy over the Fundamental Rights.

As a result of upsetting the system of checks and balances, the axe of the amendment has fallen heavily on the Supreme Court's interpretation of Constitutional amendment on the one hand, and the high courts jurisdiction to invalidate the Central laws on the other. To seek the redressal of grievances against the Central laws, the citizen has to move the Supreme Court instead of the High Court. This measure in a way discourages the individual to seek justice against Central laws for it is too costly an affair to appeal to the supreme court. The amendment has also affected the supremacy of the Fundamental Rights of the citizen and autonomy of states.

The reversal of checks and balances in the Bill thus reveals the Parliament's suspicion of judicial impediments in interpreting the Constitution, fear of the State government and the discretionary power of the President.



THE TRAGEDY OF SCIENCE

SANTOSH KUMAR DE

We have passed the hunting and gathering age of the prehistoric era. The age in which we live is called the civilized age. In this civilized age we enjoy all sorts of advantages and comforts which the hunting and gathering societies could not dream of; but at the same time we have to pay a high price for that. If we examine the pros and cons of the advantages of this civilization, it will be seen that our future is not of peace and happiness—grim and stern realities await for us. True, we have no longer to run the whole day after uncertain gains or to gather fruits and roots in forests for the satisfaction of our hunger, we have not to live in caves and bushes like the stone age men. Now, in our comfortable homes we fill up our stomach with agricultural products. For our clothings we need not worry. We have solved that problem. All these are the blessings of science and technology no doubt; but have we ever bothered our head to see what price we had to pay for all these.

If we probe deep we shall see that mineral resources are vanishing, and poor grades of fossil fuels are now being exploited, often at great expense in pollution of the air, water and landscape. Europe is depleting its ground water reserves at three times the replacement rate, the United States at twice the rate. Tokyo is slowly sinking into the sea! some parts (according to report) have sunk 6 feet since World War II, mostly because industries pump water from underground reserves.

The condition of India though not so horrible and lamentable, scientists have already sounded a stern warning.

For cultivation, the number of deep and

shallow tubewells has increased many times in India since 1948. As a result, the underground water being almost exhausted, the foundation of houses are sinking at many places and vertical cracks are seen on walls of many houses; cracks and fissures are also seen on some grounds.

For high-yielding crops D.D.T. and various insecticides are being lavishly used. As a result, if not in our country, in Europe and America the poison of D.D.T. has been detected in a small quantity in the cows' milk and in an alarmingly large quantity in mothers' milk. Not only this, the poison of D. D. T. being carried by rivers and seas has been detected in the Arctic Region and is causing death and destruction to marine animals there. D. D. T. poison has been detected in the blood of the penguins, pelicans etc. They are dying in numbers. Fishes have met the same fate—they are on the verge of extinction.

Motor cars, lorries, trucks are infinitesimally smaller in our country in comparison with Europe and America; still, the small number of cars and buses that ply on the road are ejecting huge quantity of smoke to which the smoke from factory chimnies and the smoke coming out of the domestic fireplaces (about 8 to 10 lakhs of fireplaces are used both in the morning and in the evening in Calcutta alone) being added is causing distress for the free breathing, and the people are suffering from various diseases of the heart and lungs such as Asthma, T. B. Emphysema etc (a kind of lungs trouble) in large number.

There is an environmental crisis which threatens not only to degrade the quality of life,

but also to destroy life itself. Some experts contend that the balance of nature is being so upset that the very survival of humanity is at stake !

Since the beginning of the industrial revolution, the increasing use of fossil fuel has resulted in a steady buildup of carbon dioxide content of the atmosphere. It is estimated that the atmospheric content of carbondioxide has risen from a preindustrial Revolution value of slightly under 290 parts per million (PPm) by volume to about 320 PPm and that by the end of the century it may rise to 400 PPm. In the eager search for the benefits of modern science and technology we have polluted the sky and the earth from pole to pole, and now we run the risk of destroying this planet as a suitable place for human habitation.

Besides the smoke nuisance, the untreated residue of farms and factories, municipal wastes and garbages being thrown in rivers and canals, they are being choked up . . . Pure river or canal water is not available nowadays. The air as well as water is polluted in all industrial countries of Europe and America. Next to Europe and America, the environmental pollution is highest in Japan. There 700 million tons of garbage and untreated factory residues are thrown in the rivers and the sea. What is this ? Is not this the aftermath of our civilization ?

The condition of our country is no less lamentable. Dr. Noteswaram, Director General, Indian Observatories says,—the amount of garbage and organic waste is on increase for the last 14 years from 50% to 100% in metropolitan cities like Calcutta, Delhi, Canpore. For extension of industry in Durgapore-Asansole area untreated residues are being indiscriminately thrown in the water of the Damodar. The Hindustan Steel Ltd, the Durgapore Project and the small and big factories in Howrah-Ulubarua area are polluting the atmosphere day

and night. The water of the Hoogly, Damodar and the Padma has been polluted, and now they carry more than a hundred varieties of disease bacteria, to say nothing of chemical toxins from industrial waste. Who is responsible " Our industrial civilization ?

The inordinate demand for the goods our industries produce and a lack of understanding of the consequences of water-borne waste disposal are the ultimate causes of this disaster. If this be the condition of an industrially-backward country like India, the condition of industrially-advanced countries can be easily imagined.

The Mississippi and Missouri, the biggest river of America are now almost muddied ditches. Lake Erie suffers from an extremely heavy concentration of industrial wastes. The water of Lake Michigan is now milky blue-green, so polluted is its water. Because of increasing pollution and destruction of biological life, the Great Lakes (Erie and Michigan) are coming to be known as "Dead Seas"

Dr. Paul Kotin, Director of the National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences estimates that a tenth of the nation's 70 billions a year for health-services goes for treating illness resulting from environmental pollution, and Americans lose another \$28 billion through missed wages, cost of compensation and rehabilitation resulting from such illness.

Such is the condition not only of America but also of Russia, Germany, France, Netherlands and Japan more or less. Pure water and air are not available anywhere.

Over and above this environmental pollution we have to hear every minute of every day loud, nerve-shaking sounds. Sheer noise is a mounting problem in our big cities. The chatter, the honking, the noise in factories, the jingling sounds on the radio and mike, diesel engines thundering down the high ways, roaring jet engines overhead—all these combine into an

incessant din in our cities, contributing to the stress, frustration, hypertension and anxiety of our modern urban living.

Noise, say some experts, is a major contributing factor in several health problems. Dr. Vern O Knudsen of the University of California has found that exposure to over 90 decibels can flush the skin, constrict the stomach muscles, and shorten tempers. Other doctors suspect that noise may be a hidden factor in heart disease, high blood pressure, allergy, nervousness, and even mental health.

If we analyse the cause of this environmental crisis, we will see that it is the result of man's inordinate desire for pleasure and comfort of life. If people had led simple, natural life as in the old days, such problems would never have arisen. Artificial and mechanical life is at the root of this disaster; or should we say wastefulness and carelessness of individuals outweigh the positive effects of technology?

Americans collectively use more of world's resources than any other nation. One scientist estimates that Americans comprise 6% of the world's population (now 5%) but consume 40% or more of the natural resources and produce 50% of industrial pollution. The average American uses more electric power than fifty Asians or Africans. The generation of electric power is prime producer of pollution. Both the production and consumption of electric power inescapably generate heat. Thermal pollution will soon become intolerable at first locally, then on the global scale. A single American accounts for more detergents, pesticides, radio-active substance, fertilizers, fungicides and defoliants in the rivers and ocean than are produced by a thousand people in Indonesia. One American is responsible for putting more carbon monoxide and Benzopyrene in the air than 200 Pakistanis or Indians. The United States accounts for 30% of the poisons being dumped into the sky and the seas.

America's voracious individual appetite for material possessions and creature comforts far surpasses those of any other people. This unbridled, soulless consumerism cannot be supported.

Due to the blessings of science factories and industries have sprung up generally in cities and suburbs. But it is not an unmixed blessing; for, labourers who work there are mostly outsiders. Peasants without homestead land, illiterate poverty-stricken daylaboures are coming like flood to towns and cities in the vain hope of eking out their existence anyhow. Those who get any job in mills and factories are fortunate, and those who do not, live in streets and endanger the sanitary condition. Pilfering, pickpocketing, dacoity, prostitution and all sorts of illegal works have become their profession. The outsiders who get job in mills, instead of merging themselves with the people of the land, form their own society and lead isolated life. This creates another problem—"alienation" according to sociologists.

One sociologist in his book,—*"Problem of Industrial Society"* writes,—*"Conditions inherent in the structure of modern society result in the alienation of industrial man."*

The latest technology of the age of machinery viz. telegraph telephone, television, telecommunication and other forms of mass media seem to help spread discontent, strike, student-movement, ceasework, go-slow movement etc for, within a short time these movements spread from one place to another. One sociologist in this connection says,—

"Mass communication and swift transportation contribute to unrest, to unity in groups that find common ground, and to polarization. Much of the student protest around the world may be attributed to social contagion through mass media, which leads not only to similar complaints but also to similar protest tactics."

At the same time, the more flamboyant and

extremist elements of each movement being the most news-worthy get the major share of attention."

(———Introduction to Sociology by Mavis Hitumen Biesanz and John Biesanz.)

After this, they again say in this mechanical age workers, of course, have been able to earn some advantages through their unions but the general public have to suffer much, and to illustrate this they mention the Cease-work Movement of the workers of the Electric Supply Corporation of England in 1970 for enhancement of their wages. As a result of this movement the production of industrial goods was not only stopped, dairy and poultry workers had also to suffer. Hundreds and thousands of domestic fowls died of cold, and computers ceased to work.

This is the evil side of technology and science. But we must say at the same time, science has made our life easy and comfortable. Technology has created mechanized transportation system and labour saving devices in all sectors of modern life: food and energy production, office-and housework. Machines also allow us considerable leisure to relax. Many of the drudgeries, dangers and miseries found in pre-industrial societies have been banished by technology. Still, we must say science is not an unmixed blessing.

Science and technology have both advantages and disadvantages, perhaps, there is nothing unmixed good in this world. This is an age of interdependence. Everything is connected to every thing else. So, production of industrial goods cannot be stopped on the plea that it is spreading pollution. We cannot put a stop to nuclear research in fear of atomic warfare, mass poisoning, radiation and pollutants. The cultivation of science is not bad, only its abuse is bad. We have to take measures against the wrong use of science. Measures should be taken to solve the problem of pollution, smog etc before they reach the

point of no return.

We again say innumerable are the blessings of science. Its blessings have been showered on trade, industry, commerce and health. The evils that we see are the effects of its abuse. Science in the hand of selfish people brings disaster. To bring peace and happiness in the world, science must be in the hand of philosophy. Science without religion cannot do good to the world; for, science without religion makes a man apathetic, selfish, stern, revengeful, hard-hearted and devoid of the sense of humanity.

Western countries have made no correlation between science and philosophy; so they have become warmongers, and have exerted all their energy for invention of ever-new destructive weapons of war. Our view is, science without religion or philosophy is lame, and religion without science is blind and onesided. There is no fundamental difference between science and philosophy. In this atomic age human civilization is on the brink of ruin. If religion or philosophy is not correlated with science, our future is doomed. Science, again we say, without philosophy is incomplete; so philosophy should be the foundation stone of science. The direction of our Shastras in this connection seems to be the same. In our Srimad Bhagbat Gita there is a direction to realise science with religion or philosophy. We draw our readers' attention to the verse No 2, chapter VII of the Bhagbat Gita in which Sri Krishna says, "I shall tell you elaborately of that knowledge of philosophy with science, if you know it you shall have to know nothing else".

In the Rajyoga Verse No 1 again Sri Krishna Says, "I shall tell you of this secret knowledge (Brahma Gnan) with science, on hearing which thou shalt be free from the bondage of this world."

From this it seems to us, in ancient days there was arrangement, in our country for teaching science with philosophy. So, in those

days philosophers being well-versed in science did never try to discover weapons for mass killing. When science will be combined with philosophy, peace and prosperity will reign in this world.

Rene Dubois, an eminent microbiologist says,—“Together religion and science make human life more than a flash of occasional enjoyments lighting up a mass of pain and misery; they save it from being a ‘bagatelle’ of transient experience and convert it into an adventure of the spirit.”

In this connection we may mention a remark of our celebrated Bankim Chandra Chatterjee:—The day when the science of Europe will be combined with the disinterested (selfless) religion of India, man will be God. Then science and technology will never be used for selfish motives.

Dr. Radhakrishnan says almost the same thing. “The primitive man was fighting with stones and sticks, the modern man is fighting with guns and gases. This is civilization...If the science of the West is necessary for the comforts of mankind, the wisdom of the East is necessary for its salvation.”

The tragedy of science is that science has not been correlated with religion. Science is used for selfish motives, and scientists never think of the human survival problem, and solution of all the world's problems. Scientists must remember that there are limits to the rate at which the earth's resources can be exploited, that there are limits to ability of our biosphere to absorb pollution, that there are limits to ability of our biosphere to absorb pollution, that there are limits to the capacity of the globe to support human life.

Thirty-three distinguished scientists of the world issued a manifesto for mankind, called Blueprint for Survival in which they say “Industrial Man” has burgled the world of its Raw Materials. In another hundred years most of the important raw materials will have been used up—gone ! That includes oil, copper, tin, gold, silver, zinc, mercury, lead, and platinum. And these thirty three distinguished scientists do not think the ingenuity of science will be able to produce substitutes!

Let scientists and technologists, therefore, be cautious and use science only for the good of mankind and not for selfish and short-range gain !



KATLASAM THE EDUCATIONIST

S. KRISHNA BHATTA

Known for his ready wit and subtle humour (like Bernard Shaw), the late Sri T. P. Kailasam a genius of this country wrote plays both in English and in Kannada. When he took up writing, the Kannada Drama was stinking in a stagnant stereotyped style; and the credit of revolutionising it should go to him (and also to Sriranga). Kailasam's long stay in England had, no doubt, influenced him to some extent in many aspects including drama. But he had a deep-rooted regard for the cultural values of our ancient country. While his Kannada plays teach us morals of family and society, his English plays highlight the greatness of some epic characters. Further his casual remarks about education reveal the true educationist in him and serve as a perennial source of inspiration for the youth of the country.

Of Kailasam's English plays and playlets, *The Burden* deals with an episode from *The Ramayana*, while *The Mahabharata* supplies themes for his other plays, namely, *The Purpose, Fulfilment, The Curse of Karna* and *Keechaka*.

In the playlet *The Burden*, Kailasam presents the young Bharata's feelings on seeing Ayodhya without his father Dasaratha (since dead) and his elder brother Rama (since banished). An unselfish and an unassuming prince, Bharata cannot even tolerate himself being praised as 'Boy-King'. The playwright shows the young man's love for all, his respect for elders and his noble attitude to the worldly affairs.

In his masterpiece *The Purpose*, Kailasam portrays Ekalavya as a devoted pupil. In this connection, he enunciates 'the five elements'

necessary for education—the pupil's perfect mastery of the ground-work (here, of archery), his power to concentrate, his deep and fervent love for his *guru* (teacher), the latter's whole-hearted willingness to teach and lastly an assiduous practice. Here is a stress on the power of penance, its potentiality of concentration and single-minded effort on one hand, and accomplishing something (here, learning archery) or the other. Ekalavya learns archery solely to protect, to protect the weak from the tyranny of the strong. Further, the playwright describes three kinds of workers (*karmis*) whose purposes are different; Ekalavya belongs to the third category of people whose 'one aim is in his labour that others might reap the harvest of his toils without the least profit to himself'. Such an attitude of sacrifice to one's family, to one's institution, to one's nation should be the real aim of education.

Kailasam's Karna the tragic hero of his play *The Curse* is an example of sincerity in learning, of chivalry and righteousness, and of respect for teachers and elders. In the very first scene itself, his tutor Parasurama praises Karna's 'selfless love, reverence and loyalty (to guru)' and says "thou hast crept nearest my heart". He further cautions Karna. ".....Use the prowess of thine arms for but the sacred rite of succouring distressed beings on this earth"; and this must be the real purpose of a student's gaining knowledge.

In his last English play *Keechaka*, Kailasam's hero shows his deep reverence for his *guru* Balarama. On an occasion, he is frank enough even to admit his fault of forgetting his *guru*. He remarks, "Anyone's rank has nothing to do with the learning he gets for

himself, provided he remembers his own self and more—his own *guru*”.

Next, Kailasam gives his views on real education in many of his Kannada plays also. While giving a picture of his contemporary society, he ‘brought various specimens of society for the first time on the stage—hollow students even with university degrees, empty-handed lawyers who boast of themselves, torn boy-scouts unconsciously showing nobility, widows who were subjected to bitter suffering, hen-pecked husbands impoverished by their wives’.

In his Kannada play *Tollu-gatti* (Hollow and Scound), Kailasam discusses the purpose of education and concludes that the best education lies at the mother’s feet (‘Makkaliskool-manelave?’). Of the two brothers of the play, Puttu has a brilliant career in his school education and scorns at all the members of the family. But, Madhu, an utter failure in the formal education, educates himself in the home-school by service and sacrifice under the guidance of his mother. The success-mad father gives all comforts to Puttu, but ill-treats Madhu. In the end, in addition to serving his sick mother, Madhu risks his life to save others from fire, whereas the selfish Puttu conveniently escapes from the scene. Then one of the neighbours remarks, “.....That which is hollow, will continue to be hollow! and that which is sound, will continue to be sound”. Speaking through the mother in the play, Kailasam says, “The rent we have to pay God for living in this world is to be helpful to the people around: and thus, the children’s real school is home.

Kailasam is not blind to the evils of the dowry system. In his playlet *Talikattokko-leene?* (Wage for tying the sacred margal-yam, the matrimonial symbol?), he humorously takes to task the young as well as the old who are mainly responsible for the social evil.

In his play *Benbvalilled* (Boasting without worth), Kailasam makes a casual indirect reference to education. Mudmani (‘the pet-jewel’) the son of the boasting lawyer Ahoblu is a ‘Double Distilled Duffer’, an account of whom the Goddess of Learning Saraswati is emaciated. The father simply boasts of his son too without giving him right type of education.

Polee Kittee (Kittee the Vegabond) which is the most popular one among Kailasam’s Kannada plays, deals with the Boy-Scout Movement. It appears that Kittee’s character is another face of the ideal boy of *Tollu-gatti*. In the play, Kittee a poor boy without much formal education joins a Boy-Scout troupe with the hope of getting some sweatmeats. But it happens that, being a born Scout he unconsciously lives up to the Scout ideals and teaches other Scouts. Though outwardly rude, he has a soft heart and a sense of real service which he proves on many occasions even risking his life—saving a child from being run over by a bicycle helping a poor old man in earning his livelihood etc. Kittee’s act of sacrifice goes to the climax when he rescues all the members of a family from a house caught in fire.

What is education, according to Kailasam? In the words of Kamaloo of the Play *Ammavra-ganda* (Husband of ‘Madam’), ‘E’ducate?’ What does the word mean?..... ‘E’ means ‘out’; ‘Duc’ —, to lead; thus, ‘Education’ means ‘to lead out’ —At home, the mother teaches the child many things right from his birth.....’ One should not speak falsehood’, ‘One should not harm the people around’, ‘One should be helpful to all, etc. etc.—The schools and Colleges should expose these virtues and thereby make the boys useful to the family, to the society and to the nation.....This is ‘Education’.....On the other hand, suppose parents send children to schools after neglecting and spoiling them in their childhood,

making them bundles of selfishness ; Then, what is the use of adopting any perfect system of education in schools ? This is almost similar to what Swami Vivekananda meant when he defined education' as 'the manifestation of the perfection that is already in man'.

Kailasam's plays are full of statements which are intended to educate the masses : For example, "Mention money ? Then go away ; Think of heart ? Then come near ;" ; "The secret of a gentleman is to give respect and take respect" : "Those who suffer for others in

this world are equal to God——even more than God ;"; "Better stand on your own legs".

Thus the current of our great culture conceived by your Rishis and nourished by a galaxy of great men like Sri Shankara and Sri Vivekananda eternally flows in various forms of modern literature. True to this noble culture, Kailasam adopts the merits of both the past and the present in projecting a picture of true practical education needed for the country. This is Kailasam the Educationist.

SILK INDUSTRY OF INDIA

BENOD BEHARI THAKUR

Silk, named after the Chinese queen Si-ling-chu meaning enlightened one, has been a matter of an enlightenment to us through ages. Introduction of Silk Industry is replete with interesting stories. The origin is attributed to China which has been described as cradle of silkworms from 2500 B. C. In India, it came from China but the epics evidence that Tasar silk and Kshouma-bastra were there in India. Silk is produced by different kinds of larvae.

There are interesting poems about Silk in China which were translated by Dr. Brushell.

"Silk cocoons come out from China glaring
over India to Levant area
From here upto Spain
Travelling through Italy, France and
Florence,

Listen, Oh ! gents and ladies,
Hence its use begins.

The scent of Cocoons boiling filling the
streets

The women in each house in busy bands,
With smiling faces gather round the stove,
And reel together Steam on Scalded hands,
They throw the bright Cocoons into the
basin"

And wind out silk in long un-broken skein
In India similar adages and folk-lore exist.
India, enjoyed its zenith in silk in the long past
in the European markets. She exported as much
as 15 lakh lbs, of Rawsilk per annum to the
European markets in the 19th century:

Japan, backed by technological developments, increased her production in leaps and

bounds. In pre-war period, she exported as much as 712 crores lbs. of Rawsilk and also exported cheap silk fabrics of simplicity. Even after war, India imported such fabrics in large quantities for some years. Indian silk brocades and printed fabrics are universally known but the Regime of Ruling Chiefs are gone and now economic fabrics will be in demand.

There is demand for raw silk everywhere but this can not be produced every where. America consumes the largest quantity but does not produce any Rawsilk because the Industry requires suitable climate and cheap labour.

India, has a vast tract of Sericulture and she is a labour-intensive country, Once 26 districts of Bengal including some of the districts in Bangladesh and in Behar produced Rawsilk. Indian soil is very suitable for Mulberry cultivation the food plant of the silk worms; whereas in Japan, the igneous soil has to be literally impregnated by artificial manures.

After war, Japan has continued to decrease her production for various economic causes, but the Quality of Rawsilk was far improved.

Formerly, there were 10 (Ten) grades viz, 3A special 3A, 2A, AG and at present the improvement in quality has led to adopt higher standards beginning from GA speical, 6A, 5A etc. Previously, Indian Rawsilk mostly ranked at "G" the last grade.

The improvement in quality in Japan is mainly to enable Rawsilk to hold its position as the best fibre. Scientists' corner has..... proceeded unremittingly to make an exact silk fibre. But the properties and composition of natural silk are still imperious. Dr. Robert B. Woodward of Harvard University announced that within 30 years hence, hundreds of new synthetics and "protein analogous" may be evolved. He is said to have produced chains 10,000 amino-acids units length—the largest on record. Even then Dr. Woodward does not claim his syntheses to be chemically indistinguishable from that spun by silkworms. The handle and feel of Natural silk are just the indefinite quality which can not be obtained in other fibre and is superior in the properties though the inherent defects for the build of cocoons make them difficult to numerous end uses.

Natural silk is a protein and contains the

Amino-acids	ON FIBROIN					ON SERICIN	
	Bengal Silk	Italian Silk	Haruko Jap. Silk	Canton Silk	Indian Tusah	Canton Silk	Indian Tusah
Glycine	30.5	36.0	35.0	37.5	9.5	1.2	1.6
Alanine	20.0	21.0	32.6	23.5	34.0	9.2	9.8
Leucine	1.2	1.5	0.7	1.5	1.5	5.0	4.8
Serine	1.75	1.6	0.7	1.5	2.0	5.8	5.4
Aspartic acid	0.80	present	1.0	0.75	2.5	2.5	2.8
Glutamic acid	Trace	Nil	0.07	Not detected	1.0	2.0	1.8
Phenyl-Alamyne	1.5	1.5	1.3	1.6	0.6	0.6	0.2
Tyrosine	10.5	10.5	3.7	9.8	9.2	2.3	1.0
Proline	1.0	present	0.07	1.0	1.0	2.5	3.0

Compiled from Zeitsch Physiol Chem. 1909-10 wone of Abderhalden, Sington, Fletcher, Skita, Suwa, Brahm, Spack. Worms and Stranch.

following amino-acids. Japan, along with the improvement in quality of cocoons in the build and yield, has progressed to make such silk which excels all other in its composition. Dr. Howilt observed that Japanese literature did not give a clear picture of what they had actually been doing.

An instrumental reading of earlier scientists of the comparable results of hydrolysis is given below: The amino-acids have great technical bearing in crepeing, shrinkage, sthenosing, dyeing, curling and self sealing of fabrics etc.

Not only Japan improved the quality but brought the cost of production too low.

When Japan has reduced her bulk of production, at present; it is an opportune moment for India to develop her silk industry because India is a labour intensive country. India lost her foreign markets for poor quality. The average quality ranked at "G" The indigenous cocoons are inferior in build and gives only 250 yds. average of thin filament whereas Japanese cocoons gave 1300 yds. of higher titre (size or thickness) and the cost was brought too low at 1/3 rd. cost of production of our Rawsilk.

The enormous development of Japan was not only due to the suitable climate but all-round development and scientific research in production process and strict application of measures by laws and financial assistance to the producers and manufacturers at each stage coupled with formation of guilds, societies and foreign market research, education of workers at all levels of higher scientific standards and production of economic fabrics on power on *specialy equipped looms* suitable for silk weaving and profitable utilisation of bye-products on scientific basis.

Silk is not a homogenous fibre and requires careful setting in poor weaving.

India, without any technical development, lagged behind. If properly developed, this is the only industry which provides about three

dozens of occupations beginning from mulberry cultivation, rearing of Silkworms, reeling, weaving, dyeing, printing, marketing, spun Silk Industry etc.

Before 1950, the total output of Rawsilk in India was 20 lakh lbs. per annum which has now increased to 45 lakh lbs. Mysore produces the largest quantity. India ranks 5th in world production of Rawsilk producing 2,445 metric tons computing to 5% of world production. Japan produced in 1974, 18,936 metric tons (42%).

It is a matter of interest that in face of the overwhelming progress of synthetic fabrics, the production of Rawsilk has never decreased excepting that Rayon acted as a temporary fraud over natural silk. Education of the consumers in use of natural silk is however necessary.

The role of wild silks in India is no less important. India produces all the varieties viz. Mulberry, Tasar, Eri and Muga. She has the monopoly of producing Muga silk in Assam. Tasar is also very important. India ranks 2nd next to China in Tasar production. Tasar is produced on large scale in Behar, M.P. and some Maharashtra districts and Orissa and Mayurbhanj. West Bengal consumes a considerable quantity of Tasar cocoons for Tasar weaving. Unlike mulberry silk, *Tasar contains Sulphur* which renders Tasar to resemble the character of wool. In foreign, wool like fibre is produced from Tasar waste.

The Government has progressively been encouraging the Industry and they have in the 5th plan proposed for an outlay of Rs. 35 crores with an export target of Rs 87.50 crores in five years. The present import position is around Rs 2700,000 and export of Rs 1500,00,000, based on average of 1973-74-75.

Research stations and Institutions for development of the Industry on the lines of Japan, have been established and new high yielding races have been evolved.

We may expect and be conscious of the fact that in the context of the ceaselessly progressive course of development, silk industry will regain its past glory, by intensifying her production, improvement in quality and reduction of cost coupled with production of economic price fabrics to suit all pockets and for increasing exports. Silk waste still forms a substantial material of export. Nothing or no bye-

product of sericulture is left out in Japan and they are profitably used.

Our silk industry is at present enjoying all the benefits of protection, rather it is basking in a closed market. But we must strive to raise the Industry to an equal standard with others if not competitive, although the standards of Japan are too far ahead.

THE STRUCTURE OF WILDE'S COMEDIES A SET PATTERN

D. RADHA KRISHNAYYA

Oscar Wilde (1854-1900) wrote four comedies, *Lady Windermere's Fan* (1892), *A Woman of No Importance* (1893), *An Ideal Husband* (1895) and *The Importance of Being Earnest* (1895). The basic situation in all these plays emerges out of a secret in each play. The comic pattern of the first three is based on the problem of the women with a past opposed by the puritan whose false values are exposed. This is due to the influence of continental dramatists. "When Wilde began to write his comedies, in the early nineties, the English theatre was still thriving on the art of Alexander Dumas Fils, Emile Augier, Octave Feuillet and even George Ohnet. The plots of

three of Wilde's comedies, *Lady Windermere's Fan* (1892), *A Woman of No Importance* (1893) and *An Ideal Husband* (1895), with their problems of the fallen women trying to regain a respectable position in society or to drag a respectable family down to her own sordid level, remind one immediately of those of *La Dame aux Camelias*, *La Demi-monde*, *Le Mariage d'Olympe* and of countless other plays of Dumas Fils, Augier and their imitators; and Wilde's fourth comedy, *The Importance of Being Earnest* (1895), has many farcical elements in common with the plays of Eugene Labiche."¹

Lady Windermere's Fan contains all the

elements that constitute the set pattern. There is a puritan woman, a woman with a past, a spouse with a secret and the secret leading to blackmail. "It is notable that this situation of the beautiful and good and rather stupid wife, and the distinguished husband with a secret, recurs in *An Ideal Husband*. It is varied in *A Woman of No Importance* where the austere woman, who has yielded to a distinguished, but essentially stupid, lover, has the secret to keep. There is one even in *The Importance of Being Earnest*: the mystery of Worthing's birth."²

The secret in *Lady Windermere's Fan* is the relationship between Mrs. Erlynne and Lady Windermere. In *A Woman of No Importance*, the secret is the relationship between Mrs. Arbuthnot and Lord Illingworth. Robert Chiltern's fortune and rise to power is the secret in *An Ideal Husband*. While Worthing's birth is the main secret in *The Importance of Being Earnest*, Jack and Algernon have each a secret.

The comic pattern is much similar in the first three plays. The third play, *An Ideal Husband*, is almost a replica of the first, *The Lady Windermere's Fan*. The secret in each play leads to blackmail. The husband who guards the secret is blackmailed by the fallen woman. Lord Windermere does not like his puritan wife to know that a demi-rep like Mrs. Erlynne is her mother. The price he pays is a quarrel, the first since marriage, with his wife. "It is a fair assumption that the author's experience of blackmail in actual life suggested blackmail as the theme for the piece."³ This situation recurs in *An Ideal Husband*. We find again "the husband with a secret in his life, in this case, a shameful secret; and the stiffly upright and unbending, puritanical wife who is considerably younger than her husband. Out of the middle of Europe comes a blackmailer; Mrs. Erlynne is now named Mrs. Cheveley."⁴ Robert Chiltern endeavours, as Lord Windermere endeavoured in the case of Mrs. Erlynne,

to say some kind words about Mrs. Cheveley. Like Lord Windermere, he too risks a quarrel with his devoted wife and pays the price of alienation of her adoration and affection. The Erlynne-Lady Windermere scene in *Darlington's rooms* is repeated in *Lord Goring's house*. Thus "Wilde returns in this play to the general pattern of *Lady Windermere's Fan*. There is another tiresomely high-minded wife who is confronted at her own party by the adventures with a mysterious hold on her husband and emerges from the subsequent ordeal with a somewhat broadened outlook; another crucial scene late at night in a bachelor's house interrupted by the furious but mistaken husband; the same sort of complications; the same reliance on dropped things and intercepted letters."⁵ The set pattern of the two plays comprising the puritan wife, the husband with a secret and the blackmail seems to be the result of Wilde's own experience. "All authors reveal themselves in their work, however detached they seem to be."⁶ *Lady Windermere* and *Lady Chiltern* are perhaps modelled on his wife, Constance. His shameful secret, sodomy, and the blackmail he underwent provided the plot.

A Woman of No Importance is the second comedy of Wilde. "As with the first, the play concerns a woman with a past, a Mrs. Arbuthnot, the woman of the title."⁷ In *Lady Windermere's Fan*, a woman deserts her husband and daughter and meets the daughter after twenty years under a false name. This situation is rearranged in *A Woman of No Importance*. A woman deserts her lover as she bears him a bastard son. She meets him after twenty years under a false name. Lord Illingworth is a male Mrs. Erlynne and has the potentialities of a blackmailer. As Mrs. Erlynne claims relationship with her daughter deserted twenty years ago, Lord Illingworth claims his son whom he forgot for twenty years. The element of blackmail is present in a veiled

manner as evident from the piteous appeal of Mrs. Arbuthnot : 'Leave me the little vineyard of my life : Leave me the walled-in garden and the well of water ; the ewe-lamb God sent me, in pity or in wrath, oh, leave me that ! George don't take Gerald from me.'⁸ Lord Illingworth remains unmoved. Mrs. Arbuthnot is as helpless to prevent Lord Illingworth's taking away Gerald as Lord Windermere is to prevent Mrs. Erlynne's entry into his house. Like Lord Windermere, Mrs. Arbuthnot is anxious to guard her secret and so Lord Illingworth, like Mrs. Erlynne, has his way. "Our assumption that Wilde's puritanical young women characters may have been based on the elementary evangelical piety of his wife is supported by the re-appearance of Lady Windermere as Hester, who is not less emphatic than that vehement lady on the punishment that should be meted out to sinners."⁹

The first three comedies have other structural similarities. Each is in four acts. The action takes place within twenty-four hours. The place of action is London for the first and third plays while the second play takes place in the Shires. The classical unities of time, place and action are observed. In each case, the play tends to become a tragedy towards the end of the third act but is skilfully steered back as the curtain falls. In atmosphere, they are serio-comedies as mounting tension co-exists with the comic situation. They are all she-comedies, having a woman with a past as the key figure. She is Mrs. Erlynne in *Lady Windermere's Fan*, Mrs. Arbuthnot in *A Woman of No Importance* and Mrs. Cheveley in *An Ideal Husband*. A puritan woman acts as a foil to each of them. She is Lady Windermere in the first play, Lady Chiltern in the second and Miss Hester Worsley in the third. When Lady Chiltern declared, "One's past is what one is. It is the only way by which people should be

judged."¹⁰ She was "Miss Hester Worsley speaking with an English accent, just as Miss Hester Worsley was Lady Windermere speaking with an American accent."¹¹

The Importance of Being Earnest, the last play of Wilde, is much lighter than the three previous serio-comedies. "It is like no farce and no comedy and farcical comedy on earth."¹² Most of the elements constituting the set pattern are also here, but they are toned down by the farcical atmosphere. The whole play revolves on the secret of Worthing's birth. "Once we accepted the baby deposited in the handbag in the Left Luggage Office at Victoria station, the ensuing complications follow one another with almost mathematical precision."¹³ The situation develops directly out of the individual secrets of Jack and Algernon. Jack, who resides in the country, makes frequent visits to the town on the false plea of seeing his mythical brother, Earnest, while Algernon invents a sick friend, Bunbury, whom he is supposed to visit in the country to explain his absence in the town. Each comes to know the secret of the other, but dares not to divulge it for fear of self-exposure. Thus when Algy intrudes into Jack's place pretending to be Ernest, the latter is almost blackmailed indirectly to tolerate his actions. Algy's knowledge of Jack's place as defiantly as Mrs. Erlynne enters Lady Windermere's house, for he knows Jack, like Lord Windermere, cannot risk the exposure of the secret. Lady Bracknell is the eldest sister of Lady Windermere, Lady Chiltern and Miss Hester Worsley in having a self-made of conduct and compromising it conveniently. Miss Prism is mistaken to be a fallen woman for a while and Algy is thought to be an illegitimate child like Gerald.

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SPOKEN ENGLISH

P. BAYAPA REDDY

Language is useful for two reasons (a) for communication (b) to express and record its culture. An individual needs language to become an effective member of the society and the society, in turn, needs language to carry out all its function. Language, when used for communication becomes like a tool. The order in which the four skills of communication are presented, is listening with understanding-

speaking-reading-writing.

Spoken language is important because it comes first in the history of every language community and in the life of every human being. It is used much more than written language. The writing systems are only an attempt to represent spoken language by marks on paper.

One can communicate one's own words by

speech. He can make the hearer active by means of his words. In the words of Rabindranath Tagore, 'man can speak and the speech is the force which combines a mind with others'. In India, English is serving as something more than a foreign language and something less than a second language. It has many more users and many more uses than a foreign language has. It is something like medicine which the patient does not want to swallow but still swallows to get his weakness or physical shortcoming cured.

Of all the forms that English takes today the one that calls out most pressingly for attention is spoken English. Without giving over much importance to Spoken English, we may not be in a position to communicate our ideas intelligibly to others. In the present context there are as many pronunciations as there are speakers. We can easily recognise from which region the speaker has come. The Tamil speakers of English say 'Buri' for 'Puri', 'dousand' for 'thousand'. They find it very difficult to pronounce the 'f' sound. Likewise the Telugu speakers of English add *u* sound to every word generally. They want 'wateru' for 'water', 'booku' for 'book'. In Hindi speaking area people say 'ischool' for 'school', 'matri-eulasan' for 'matriculation'. Sometimes they drag certain syllables. The following sentence has caused considerable concern in the minds of the Indian speakers of English. 'The examination of matriculation is a botheration to Indian nation whose occupation is cultivation'. Thus our regional speech habits have absorbed spoken English and regionalised it. The result is that intelligibility has begun to suffer even in our interprovincial contacts. It need hardly be mentioned here that we must improve our spoken English for intelligibility.

It is often said that the teaching of English in our colleges is a monologue. The teacher is the performer and the students are the observers. He feels satisfied if he fills each hour

with sixty minutes worth of talk leaving his poor listeners panting for breath. He is annoyed if he is disturbed by his students. He almost stops bothering about his students' spoken English with the result he is encouraging diffidence in the tender hearts of the students. To rectify this the teacher should start with a dialogue. He should give scope for the active participation of students in group discussions, elocution and debating competitions.

As per the curriculum for the ten year school course prepared by the N. C. E. R. T, it is clear that the study of English would begin in the sixth class throughout the country. Keeping this in mind proper attention should be paid to pronunciation at the initial stages. It is in the initial stages only when the child picks correct stress, rhythm and intonation patterns of the language. All that he needs to know later on is the pronunciation of individual words. At first the pupil has to concentrate on sound. To meet the need, pattern drills are used. These pattern drills present various features of the language in a systematic way for the beginner. They consist of a series of examples of a single pronunciation feature that is new, but include material already learned as part of the phrases presented. Since a pattern is established, the pupil will soon be making his own statements following the established form.

There are certain aids which can be conveniently used for the improvement of spoken English. The language laboratory owes its existence to the recognition that the spoken form of language is central to effective communication. The only realistic purpose of the language laboratory is to provide a convenient means of hearing and responding to audiolingual (hearing and speaking) drills. It can be used for listening to, identifying, distinguishing between and copying sounds, stresses, tones and tone patterns in pronunciation practice and ear training. The

student has got an opportunity to hear his own efforts in pronunciation and compare them with 'the master voices'. in the words of Mr. Edward M. Stack 'a thirty-minute period of laboratory practice is the equivalent of at least three or four weeks of class room recitation, based upon time during which a student is personally and actively involved in practice.'

Radio has special value for education. In the words of Mr. James W. Brown 'through radio, teachers can bring to their class rooms the full range of the world of sound'. It can provide models of speech which students may be encouraged to emulate. The Indian students of English can listen to the B. B. C. and try to perfect their speech habits. Sporadic attempts to use radio programmes in education have begun and are being operated successfully in India especially by the various Regional Institutes of English. Mr. George Watson of Wisconsin University observes: 'Radio is not an addition to education. Radio is not something to be placed on top of education. Rather, radio is education'.

The tape recorder is considered to be the most versatile device for teaching spoken English for students. Frequently the teacher will present prepared tapes and follow this with free conversation which is recorded and then played back for group listening and criticism. It will also permit a student to use self-pacing and retracing and allow him freedom to select material. In addition, it will allow him to record and listen to his own responses objectively comparing his efforts with 'the models'.

Sound film strips and slides are effective means of communicating the spoken skill. Gramophone records can have a profound effect on the spoken English of the learners.

A number of records are designed to help the learners to teach the difficult point. Young learners will find it of utmost interest to listen to these records and it will much amuse them to imitate the stress and intonation recorded therein.

Mr. Randolph Quirk observes: 'The Indian English has a large vocabulary identical with that of Standard English.....The more educated the Indian, the more likely it is that the differences lie only in pronunciation'. We shall thank ourselves for doing our job thoroughly if we make an earnest effort to teach the refinements of pronunciation with a view to bring in similarity in our interprovincial and intercontinental contacts.

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DOMINATION BY NORTH

P. RAJESWARA RAO

The domination of North over South is not peculiar to India. It is not a mere feeling but a phenomenon. We have had it in U. S. A., Ireland, Korea, Vietnam and Philippines. Foreigners with a vested interest often exploited the situation and followed the policy of divide and rule. U. S. A. tried to fight communism in the terrain of Korea and Vietnam by supporting the puppet regimes in the South of those countries.

Mythologically, domination of North over South in India began with the crossing of Vindhya by Sage Agastya. He never went back. His memory is cherished more in the South than in the North. Subsequently, Lord Sri Rama came to Dandakaranya in obedience to banishment from Ayodhya and proceeded up to Bhadrachalam on the banks of Godavari in Andhra Pradesh, where he stayed till Ravana carried away Sita. Ultimately, Rama proceeded to Kishkindha said to be located in Rayalaseema, conquering on the way every one who obstructed him. After killing Vali, with monkeys under the leadership of Sugriva as followers, he conquered Srilanka and installed his stooge Vibhishana on the throne. Parasurama came to Kerala, threatened Sea Lord with his axe, made him give way and colonised the place with Brahmins known as Nambudris, who symbolised economic and social domination till recently.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad used to say that, Avatars like Rama, Krishna and Buddha were from the North, the Acharyas like Nagarjuna, Shankara, Ramanuja, Madhva and Vallabha were from the South. Gandhiji observed that, while he was the Bania Sutrakar, Dr. Pattabhi

Sitaramiah was the Brahmin commentator. Thus, while the original voice was from the North, there were only echoes from the South. Social and religious reform movements like Brahmo-Samaj, Arya Samaj; Ramakrishna Mission, Radhaswamy cult, Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh and Anand Marg originating in the North spread to the South.

North has always been dynamic since it has had to face invasions many a time. South is inclined to be static, sedate and placid. The Indian War of Independence of 1857 had no impact on the South. The Indian National Congress was initially guided and controlled by North Indian stalwarts like Dadabhai Naoroji, Surendranath Banerjee, Phirozeshah Mehta, Gopalakrishna Gokhale and Madan Mohan Malaviya. Those from the South like V. Krishnaswamy Iyer, P. Anandacharyulu and C. Sankar Nair were simply camp followers to the Northern leaders. When the extremists like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lajpat Rai and Bipin Chandra Pal came on the scene, they too had admirers in the South. Even the violent revolutionary movement is from the North and its echoes in the South are few.

When the Southerners tried to assert in public life, they were eased out. C. S. Ranga Iyer was a hot favourite of Motilal Nehru. Motilal got him elected to the old Central Assembly from a Constituency in Uttar Pradesh. There was rivalry for leadership of the Swaraj Party in the Central Assembly between Motilal Nehru and Srinivasa Iyengar. Both were legal luminaries with exceptional ability. But Motilal became the leader, as he was from the North and also had the blessings.

of Mahatma Gandhi. When Ranga Iyer sided Srinivasa Iyengar, Motilal became angry beyond words and parted company with Ranga Iyer. Out of disgust, Srinivasa Iyengar who was allied to Subash Chandra Bose described sarcastically Motilal, Jawaharlal and Gandhi as God the father, God the son and the holy ghost respectively. It is not possible for South Indians, whatever be their roots among the people, to survive in public life against the wishes of North Indian leadership. Andhra Kesari Prakasam could not continue for long as the Prime Minister of the composite State of Madras on account of the opposition of Gandhi and Patel, who desired Rajaji to be the Premier of Madras in 1946.

North Indian leadership displayed a poor opinion of the contribution of South to the national struggle. The annual report submitted to the Karachi Session of the Congress in 1931 stated that participation of South India in the Salt Satyagraha of 1930 was comparatively less. Then S. Satyamurty fought in the open session and got that clause deleted from the report, as it touched the self-respect of the South and was opposed to facts.

For the Presidentship of the Tripuri Session of the Congress in 1939, there was keen contest between Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya and Subash Chandra Bose. Gandhiji did not indicate that Pattabhi was his candidate before the election but confessed after the result was known that Pattabhi's defeat was his defeat. If Gandhiji expressed his views beforehand, the result would have been different. Though Gandhiji had faithful followers like Rajaji, Kumarappa, Kelappan and Pattabhi in the South, he declared that Jawaharlal was his political heir.

After the dawn of freedom, things were no better. The business houses in the North were given a free hand to exploit the South in Commerce and Industry. It may be recalled that C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer was the legal

adviser to Motilal on personal matters. Mirza Ismail enjoyed the privilege of friendship with Gandhiji. A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar was accustomed to serve faithfully any party in power. Gandhiji desired that J. C. Kumarappa should be the first Finance Minister of free India. But Jawaharlal did not utilise the services of any one of them. On the other hand, he gave positions of responsibility and trust to H. P. Mody, Maharaj Singh and Ambedkar, who were not only loyal to the British but also opposed the national struggle.

It is possible for a South Indian to become a President, but never a Prime Minister. Even to become a President, a South Indian has to cross many hurdles. Jawaharlal wanted to make Rajaji the first President of India. But he had to give up the idea when the public opinion in the North was favourable to Rajendra Prasad. After the first term of Rajendra Prasad, Jawaharlal wanted to oblige Radhakrishnan, who wanted to be the President. But Rajendra Prasad desired a second term and he had it. The suggestion of Radhakrishnan to appoint Shaik Abdullah as Education Minister at the Centre, Karan Singh as Prime Minister and Hafiz Mohamud Itrahim as Sadr-i-Riyasat to solve the Kashmir problem was not heeded by Jawaharlal.

At the time of Chinese aggression in 1962, Sri Prakasa felt that Rajaji as Prime Minister would successfully meet the critical situation. But his advice proved to be a cry in the wilderness. Under the three-language formula South Indians are obliged to learn Hindi while none from the North cares to learn a South Indian language. It is said that South Indians are noted for short hand (do little work) and long tongue (talk much). It is further said that North is Punjabhumi, while South is Karmabhumi. A number of Parks and Streets and even persons in the South are named after North Indian leaders while no such corresponding practice is current in the North. It creates

an impression that people from the North are distinguished, while those from the South are otherwise. To prove the impression Statues of North Indian leaders are littered throughout the South while no Statue of a South Indian is found in the North. The instances are illustrative and not exhaustive. The attitude of D. K. leader E. V. Ramaswamy Naicker towards Hindi and North Indians is understandable.

Hence, the assertion of C. Subrahmanyam that Janata Party is dominated by the North is not farther from truth. Recent elections to the State Assembly demonstrated that national parties like the Congress and the Janata had no

place in Tamil Nadu and the real contest was between the regional parties—A. D. M. K. and D. M. K. and the A. D. M. K. has come to power. The situation is almost similar even in centrally-administered Pondicherry. There is no use of gainsaying the fact, concealing the truth and mincing matters. What is needed is a juster estimate and generous appreciation of the problem and promotion of equal opportunities to the deserving from the South, irrespective of the area and population of this region. Otherwise, Kerala, Karnatak and Andhra Pradesh may be tempted to imitate Tamil Nadu.

JANE AUSTEN IN INDIA

ATMA RAM

Born on December 16, 1775 at Steventon, Jane Austen had five brothers and sister. She spent an uneventful life—first twenty-five years at her birth place, a few years at Bath and Southampton, and finally moved to Chawton, some twenty miles from Winchester, she died on July 18, 1817. An author of six great novels, she was a consummate novelist. She never visited India. Nor did she make any

significant reference to India in her novels or extent letters. Her novels, however, have been great favourites with Indian readers. In most Indian Universities one of her novels is usually prescribed for study at the College or University level. It is worthwhile to learn about the appeal of her novels to Indians.

Some of her novels have been frequently reprinted in this country, and quite a few of

them have been ably translated into Indian languages. *Pride and Prejudice* has been rendered into more than half-a-dozen languages, including Hindi, Bengali, Gujarati, Tamil, Telugu, Marathi and Kannada; *Sense and Sensibility* has been rendered into Bengali, and *Emma* into Tamil. All these 'translations' were published after 1950. On the side of critical scholarship on Jane Austen, one may note two research papers published in *The Indian Journal of English Studies*, two papers in the *University Research Journals*, and some general articles published in magazines like *The Modern Review* and the *Mirror*. Only two doctoral dissertations on her work have been done in India: one at the Banaras Hindu Varsity and the other at the Punjab University; the one studies Jane Austen's concept of social life, while the other presents a critical analysis of her women characters. So far no book-length study of her work has been made in this country, although the author of *Action of English Comedy* (1970) has contributed one very useful and elaborate chapter on her art.

One major cause of Jane Austen's appeal to an Indian reader is the pre-dominance of what E. M. Forster calls "domestic humour" in her novels. Jane Austen, like her favourite heroine, Elizabeth Bennet, never reduces to ridicule what is wise and good. "Follies and nonsense, whims and inconsistencies do divert me, I own, and I laugh at them whenever I can." As in Henry Fielding, the source of humour in her is ridiculous, and it lies in the conflict between illusion of reality. Her attitude towards the evil-doers hardens in her later works. This perhaps accounts for the popularity of *Pride and Prejudice*, a novel which presents a unique combination of poetry of wit with the dramatic structure of fiction. To most readers in our country *Pride and Prejudice* means Jane Austen and Jane Austen means *Pride and Prejudice*.

Some eminent critics find fault with the happy endings in her novels. G. B. Stern, for instance, comments on the finale of *Emma* in this strain: "Oh, Miss Austen, it was a bad solution, an unhappy end, could we see beyond the last pages of the book." To some, the conclusion seems ironic. Andrew Wright finds the new Emma slightly less amusing and more serious, whereas Angus Wilson laments over her "narrow outlook". However, the response of an Indian reader is radically different. To him the ending is neither ironic nor unnatural. Since the story is largely seen through Emma's consciousness, he sympathises with her. There is a marriage of virtue, goodness, judgement, taste, tenderness and beauty. Emma's self-revelation is partial: she may again, and probably will, commit such mistakes. But a truly perfect wife is boring to live with; so would be a truly perfect husband. An ideal wife should be intelligent but certainly less smart than her husband. And when there is love, small imperfections matter little. Emma and Mr. Knightley have had "the beauty of truth and sincerity" in all their dealings with each other. Thus the "perfect happiness of the union" provided at the end is both real and logical.

Jane Austen was a typical country woman with her characteristic views and tastes. She was fond of village life. Her family has recorded her love for the country, though she herself speaks little of the landscape in her novels. She chooses to paint country families — "pictures of domestic life in country villages" — "3 or 4 families in a country village is the thing to work on", she observes to one of her nieces. This too accounts for her appeal to Indian readers. India comprises over half a million villages. To most readers in the country the rural way of life is a reality, a way within the compass of their experiences. And the village life in the late eighteenth century England had

something in common with the rural life in India in our age. Here readers follow the pattern of her novels. For example, they understand *Mansfield Park* in right perspective because Jane Austen associates good of all kinds with rural areas and bad of all kinds with London. Her delineation of family life is authentic. It is for this reason that even when read without any introduction or literary background, her novels never sound jejune.

In family life small details are not mere minutiae, as these play a vital role in the daily social intercourse. To the readers with manly tastes these accounts may appear "paltry" or "cold". A perceptive reader however, finds these meaningful, as he understands the salient features of her character—analysis. Jane Austen holds that small actions or gestures reveal the nature of a person. In doing big things usually all people are alike. However, in doing small things persons, particularly women, are really themselves. It is the small things that go to make domestic life that she writes about. Thus the small actions omission and commission are important in a study of Austen's characters. She has rightly compared her art to a miniature painting on ivory, only two inches wide. In a miniature painting not only the range is small, but the touches are also minute and neat. It is the small details that depict her characters adequately. The raw material used is commonplace and ordinary, and the novelist has remarkable control over her material. It is mainly for this reading reason that to the readers who are accustomed to reading about big events or great situations in novels, she appears to be too much preoccupied with small and dull things, and to some "of all great writers she is most difficult to catch in the act of greatness." However, to the readers of Mulk Raj Anand, R. K. Narayan, Kamala Markanday and Mrs. Ruth Jhabvala her technique is neither unfamiliar nor insipid.

Jane Austen's main pre-occupation is with love and marriage which makes her works interesting. All her six novels are love-stories. Matrimony existing or intended, constitutes the main situation in her novels. As a realist, she recognises the due importance of material gains in matrimonial alliance. In a letter she writes about the financial aspect of the prospective lovers: "As to money, that will come you may be sure because they can't do without it." She however, favours love-mariages and studies in detail the prerequisites of a happy marriage. It matrimony is a social as well as a family affair, mutual understanding, old acquaintances identical tastes, friends fortune and reconciled parents are by no means insignificant consideration. It is to be noted that Jane Austen approaches the subject from a women's point of view, and in all novels, except in *Pride and Prejudice*, the marriages of the heroes and the heroines actually take place when all discordant elements, viz, parental wrath, lack of fortune or friends, etc. are done away with. This is largely compatible with the Indian view of marriage. For example, marriage in the same or known families is generally favoured in the rural areas here. As the matrimonial notices (in newspapers) repeatedly emphasise 'girl' is the main consideration and the arranged marriage is our counterpart of the Jane Austen marriage. Here these matters fall within the ambit of women's activities.

What is an ideal marriage? For Jane Austen it is the union of manly traits of man and womanly traits of woman. It is the union of a Darcy with Elizabeth Bennet, of a Wentworth with Anne Eliot, of a Knightley with Emma Woodhouse. In India this view is shared by many. In the famous national epic *The Ramayana*, Lord Rama embodies manly virtues, whereas Sita represents feminine accomplishments. The same is true for Lord Krishna and Radha. Here masculine women and effeminate men are often held up to ridicule.

Jane Austen's opinion of women is quite favourable and high. But she also thought men considerably competent and capable; her own brothers must have strengthened this conviction. Men like Mr. Knightley, Mr. Darcy and Captain Wentworth are lovely figures. According to Jane Austen, there is no clash between the sexes: each might shine in his or her own field. Whereas man's forte is strength, woman's is tenderness. Says Henry Tilney in *Northanger Abbey*: "In every power in which taste is the foundation, excellence is pretty fairly divided between the sexes." This view is in line with the traditional Indian outlook on man and woman.

In her novels Jane Austen studies at length young women who are neither devils nor goddesses. She is often interested in the type of his girl who does not try to substitute a false, romantic fictionalised view of life for actual experience. An ideal woman is honest, selfless, obliging and tender. Jane Austen's novels can be read as the novelist's search towards a rational and amiable woman. In *Sense and Sensibility* her endeavour is to give sense to sensibility in the character-study of Marianne Dashwood. In Elizabeth Bennet she creates a sincere, straightforward and intelligent woman, a "rational creature speaking the truth from her

heart'. Here Jane Austen is nearest her goal. In *Northanger Abbey* Catherine Morland moves towards this ideal in the later half of the novel. In *Fanny Price* the rational view develops slowly yet steadily. The movement from "vain spirit," to a "serious spirit" in *Emma* is a progress to the same aim. *Persuasion* is a novel of somewhat different nature. Yet Anne Elliot too, displays the outlook of a rational young woman, growing wiser after every experience. It is woman's womanly aspect that will win her lasting affection and admiration. Jane Austen's heroines will always fascinate us because they embody this trait so beautifully. She has done a singular service to women in her "pure novels" by making a point: a woman is great in her own right. Today her novels are so meaningful.

In a joint-family various relationships are important. Jane Austen loved intensely members of her family and showered maximum affection on her elder sister Cassandra. She was an advocate for strong family relationships. She observes in a letter: "I like first cousins to be first cousins and interested about each other. They are one remove from B and S.", Her artistic treatment of parent-child, brother-sister and sister-sister relationships make her novels attractive and interesting to Indian readers.



LEO TOLSTOY : THE GREAT RUSSIAN WRITER

(Viewed by a Modern Russian critic)

VICTORIA LAVRETSKAYA

"There is no man in the world more worthy the name of genius, more complex, controversial and in all respects sublime. He possesses quality that always arouses in me the desire to cry out to one and all: look what a remarkable man is living in our midst"

—Maxim Gorky

Leo Tolstoy, The great Russian writer was born on September 9, 1828, in an aristocratic family. He saw light in the hereditary manorial estate of Yasnaya Polyana, near the town of Tula, on a leather sofa which we can see today in the manor house that has been turned into a museum.

Tolstoy was orphaned in early childhood and a distant relative of the Tolstoys, Yergolskaya, brought up the boy, his three elder brothers and sister. The future writer grew up in an atmosphere of kindness, mutual respect and love,

In 1841 Tolstoy went to Kajan to his aunt Yuslikova and enrolled at Kazan University first at the oriental and then at the law department.

With a thirst for experience so characteristic of youth, Tolstoy immersed himself completely in the social whirl typical of a youth of his noble birth. His time was completely taken up by carousing with friends and by love affairs. At that time Tolstoy was still free of all pangs of conscience regarding his idle life. That came later, when scenes of the peoples poverty

expressed themselves in the bitter words: "I am guilty...". Later he recalled his years at the University with shame and profound repentance.

The impressions and experiences of these initial years of development Tolstoy described in his first work, the autobiographical trilogy "Childhood", "Boyhood" and "Youth". With the appearance of "Childhood" Russia's reading public clearly understood that a great new writer was being born. In 1851, feeling deeply dissatisfied with himself and the life he was leading, Tolstoy went to the Caucasus. He enlisted in the regiment in which his elder brother Nicolai was serving. His impressions of military life in the Caucasus he recorded in the stories "Incursion", "Felling Timber", "Notes of a Marker". Soon Tolstoy was transferred to the Crimea where he took an active part in the defence of Sevastopol against Britain, France and Turkey in the Crimean war. Fresh in the wake of events he wrote his essays on Sevastopol.

Tolstoy was the first writer in the world to tell the horrible truth about war, to show it in blood, suffering and death: with striking sincerity and force he described the powerful feeling that led the Russian soldier to victory, the feeling of love for his motherland.

In 1855 Tolstoy resigned from the army and devoted himself wholly to writing. He was welcomed by the most progressive magazine of

the time, "sovremennik", which had brought together the best writers of Russia: Nekrasov, Ostrovsky, Turgenev, Chernyshevsky and Debolyubov.

The first time that Tolstoy keenly felt the tragedy of the oppression of the poor by the rich was when he went to Europe in 1857. His story-monologue "Lucerne" was written under the painful impression of a scene in Switzerland when he witnessed the bourgeois public humiliating a wandering musician.

The major problem in the life of Russia at that time was the liberation of the peasants from serfdom. How was it to be carried out, through reform or revolution? Tolstoy tried to find his own way. Rejecting revolution he tried to improve the conditions of the peasants at Yasnaya Polyana: he made his domestics free men, built a school for the peasant children and himself conducted lessons. Very soon, however, these activities put the Tsarist Government on guard. There was a search in Yasnaya Polyana and the school had to be closed.

Leo Tolstoy devoted six years of intensive work to the historical epic "War and Peace" which belongs to the world treasury of literature. The writer was most exacting in his approach to this work of genius about the liberating patriotic war of 1812. Suffice it to say that he rewrote the beginning of the novel 15 times.

The Russian people are the collective hero of the epic, the people who had withstood the foreign invader and preserved the freedom of their country. In the novel, Tolstoy, the moralist, with his sermon of "non-resistance to evil" and his views regarding the individual as the plaything in the hands of history, incapable of influencing events, clashes with Tolstoy, the artist, who gives a truthful portrait of the Russian people as an active force. It was only the Russian people's patriotism, heroism and hatred for the enemy that saved Russia from thralldom.

"Anna Karenina" (1873-1877).

The family drama in the book is given against a background of Russian society after reform that liberated the peasants from serfdom. "Everything turned upside down and is only now settling down"—that is how one of the novels characters, Konstantin Levin, defines that period. New capitalist relations started to penetrate into the countryside and the "nest" of the gentry gradually fell to ruin. Tolstoy showed that neither the reform nor the innovations that it brought alleviated the lot of the peasants: capitalist exploitation proved to be just as excruciating as the former patriarchal one.

In the novel the author mercilessly castigated the high society of St. Petersburg, exposing its parasitical existence, corruption, hypocrisy and bigotry. All these features are concentrated in Anna's husband, Karenin, that "evil ministerial machine", whose image grows to the proportions of a sinister symbol of autocratic-bureaucratic Russia. With shattering artistic force, Tolstoy revealed the tragedy of Anna, a spiritually gifted and morally fine woman.

The years of Tolstoy's great change were spent in public activities, preaching and journalism. First Yasnaya Polyana then the house in Khamovnichesky Alley in Moscow became places of pilgrimage of the writer's admirers and the followers of his teaching. Tolstoy's voice was heard throughout the world. He called for justice and compassion, he descended on the instigators of war and extolled peace and friendship among peoples, he called on people to strive for moral perfection and goodness. Tolstoy became the living conscience of his time.

The most outstanding work of the nineties, permeated with the idea of a decisive rejection of the world of property, was the novel "Resurrection" (1899). Objectively, the main idea of the book is that the power of the Tsar, the landed gentry, the bourgeoisie and the officials is anti-popular and criminal and hence should be destroyed. (Abridged)

WILFRED OWEN'S INFLUENCE ON THREE GENERATIONS OF POETS

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(Continued from previous issue)

Owen's quite different experiences from Eliot's under the dark shadow of a similar great war would, if he were to put it in Eliot's language, be an inversion of Eliot's optimistic declaration and stand somewhat like this :

So the light shall be the darkness, and the dancing the stillness

And, in fact, he has put it in his own language in many of his war poems. The history of the journey of Owen's soul as of his soldiers', is the history of a journey of a generation of young men, under the curse of one of the most cataclysmic of events in the history of the world, from the world of 'the light' and 'the dancing' into a world of 'the darkness' and 'the stillness' of death. To this journey Owen's poetry bears a most eloquent testimony. And most vividly and exquisitely Owen describes this journey in his *Spring Offensive*. In this poem, the soldiers, before the spring offensive, 'faced (The sun, like a friend with whom their love is done, 'raced together.) Over an open stretch of herb and heather', and 'plunged and fell away past this world's verge'. If they 'fell', they fell either in 'the sorrowful dark of hell', or in 'the dark pits/Of war, and died', or 'in the dark damp soil' where they 'Lie dark for ever under abysmal war', and not, Owen tells us in a note of bitter indignation, as 'Some say God caught them even before they fell'. The idea of this mad dance of death finds an exquisite expression again in the following lines from his *Insensibility* :

He signs along the march

Which we march taciturn, because of dusk,
The long, forlorn, relentless trend

From larger day to huger night.

It is not without significance that Owen's last, and acknowledged by many critics to be his greatest, poem, *Strange Meeting*, should close with the mutual recognition of the poet and the enemy he had killed 'in this dark' 'hell' of 'Hell' where they sleep their eternal sleep :

"I knew you *in this dark* for so you frowned
Yesterday through me as you jabbed and
killed.

I parried ; but my hands were loath and cold.

Let us sleep now....."

In the lyric fourth movement of *East Coker* Eliot starts with allusions to Christ and the Church and gets mixed up with the war at the end, more or less, in the same manner as Owen did in his *Miners* where he started with a colliery disaster and got 'mixed up with the war at the end' as he declared in a letter to his mother.¹⁰⁵ 'The wounded surgeon' (st. 1), 'the dying nurse' (st. 2), and 'the ruined millionaire' (st. 3) stand, respectively, for Christ, the Church or Mary, and Adam.¹⁰⁶ In the fifth or the concluding stanza of the movement the double associations with the crucifixion of Christ and World War II are clearly seen :

The dripping blood if our only drink,
The bloody flesh our only food :

In spite of which we like to think

That we are sound, substantial flesh and blood

Again, in spite of that, we call this Friday good.

Our insatiable thirst for blood is evinced in the large scale slaughter in the battlefield. This is a symptom that our sickness has grown worst, so that 'the distempered part' of our soul must needs be operated upon if the diseased soul is to be 'healed'. 'The enigma of the fever chart' is the abnormal and undiagnosed nature of the soul's disease responsible for the present disorder of the world as is seen in the outbreak of World War II. 'The enigma of the fever chart,' says Prof. Grover Smith, 'is the abnormal and, in worldly logic, inexplicable disorder of human history and the human soul. It is also the divinely willed ("resolved") good producible from that disorder and from its concomitant suffering' 107 Thus we can see that the Second World War is, in Eliot's view, a symptom of the disease of the human soul and that earthly sufferings that will ensue when 'the wounded surgeon plies the steel are necessary for the purgation of the' soul.

The movement gives a better meaning when it is interpreted in the context of Second World War. In fact, as has been noted already *East Coker* was written in 1940 when the Second World War was entering its grimmest phase in the West, a reference to which is made as a caitic has rightly suggested, in the lyric of the fourth movement of the poem, where he uses the image of the sick world.

"The whole earth is our hospital" and proclaims that only through greater sickness can the cure come'

The prominence of the imagery of blood in the movement is another proof of its association with the war: mark, for instance, such phrases associated with blood as 'the wounded surgeon' 'the bleeding hands,' 'the

dripping blood,' 'the bloody flesh' and 'substantial flesh and blood'. This prominence of the blood imagery links the movement with Owen's poetry in which similar imagery is dominant and has been noted clearly by Dr. Welland in his *Wilfred Owen: A Critical Study*. 108 Not only this. The blending of the imagery of blood in the context of the war with the crucifixion of Christ is strongly reminiscent of similar blending of imagery in Owen's poetry.

In this respect the last stanza of the movement may be compared with, say, the following lines from Owen's *Strange Meeting*:

I would have poured my spirit without stir
of stir
But not through wounds: not on the cessant war.
Foreheads of men have bled where no wounds were.

Dr. Welland's comment on the lines is worthy of quotation here:

"The implied reference to Christ's 'agony and bloody sweat' is inescapable, illuminating and wholly successful... 109

In this context compare also following lines from Owen's *At a Caivary near the Ancre*:

One ever hangs where shelled roads part.
In this war He too lost limb,
But his disciples hide apart,
And now the soldiers bear with Him.

.....
But they who love the greater love
Lay down their life; they do not hate.

The dripping blood image is again strongly reminiscent of war poetry in general. A specific instance of the image can be seen in general. A specific instance of the image can be seen in Owen's *Apologia Poemate Meo*

Bound with the bandage of the arm that drips;

Knit in the webbing of the rifle-thong.

It can be seen that the image of the world as a hospital in which the human soul is

treated for sickness is steadily elaborated in the movement from beginning to end. In the religious sense, which was of course there in Eliot's mind earthly sufferings are intended for the restoration of the spiritual health of the soul. The paradoxical idea that 'our only health is the disease' is developed both by St. John of the Cross and by Marvell in his 'Dialogue between the Soul and Body' 'When the soul is sick, it can learn only through humility, only if it accepts the paradox that 'Our only health is the disease.'¹¹⁰ The idea, embodied in 'our only health is the disease and' 'The whole earth is our hospital,' has been derived from a passage in Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici*, where he holds that our life is a hospital in which the soul is treated for its sickness so that the disease of our body is the health of our spirit.¹¹¹ If our spiritual health is to be restored, our sickness must grow worse:

And that to be restored, our sickness must grow worse.

If to be warmed, then I must freeze
And quake in frigid purgatorial fires

Prof. Grover Smith observes: "Complete healing demands intensity of purgatorial suffering, both here and in the life to come."¹¹² And to the diseased human soul the purgatorial suffering has come in the shape of Second World War.

It may be incidentally mentioned that the hospital image in the literal sense has been employed by Owen in his *Conscious* where an invalid soldier who has lost his consciousness is slowly regaining it in a military hospital ward. Some relevant lines from the poem are quoted below for a comparison:

His fingers wake, and flutter up the bed.
His eyes come open with a pull of will,

... ..

What a smooth floor the ward has: what a rug;

Who is that talking somewhere out of sight?

... ..

Nurse Doctor "Yes; all right, all right."

But sudden evening muddles all the air

There seems no time to want a drink of water,

Nurse looks so far away. And everywhere

Music and roses burnt through crimson slaughter.

He can't remember where he saw blue sky.

More blankets. Cold. He's cold. And yet so hot.

It will be seen that in this war poem Owen has set a scene in a hospital ward which in the most general terms may provide the background of Eliot's lyric particularly of its first, second and fourth stanzas and that with a slight alteration of some of its phrases and images incorporating some symbolical significance, the sense of Owen's poem can be made to approach that of Eliot's lyric. Thus for Owen's 'Nurse' and 'Doctor', Eliot has 'the wounded surgeon' and 'the dying nurse', and we can see that with the mere addition of the qualifying words, the figures of Christ and the Church or Mary immediately emerge. The thirst of the patient in Owen's poem for 'a drink of water is reflected in Eliot's 'The dripping blood our only drink'. The fourth stanza of Eliot's lyric may be seen, somewhat reflects the idea embodied in the last six lines of Owen's poem. Eliot's phrases 'warmed' and 'freeze' and the line 'And quake in frigid purgatorial fires' in the fourth stanza may serve as counterparts to Owen's 'More blankets, Cold. He's cold. And yet so hot. 'The word 'rose's is common to both passages, and for Owen's 'crimson slaughter', Eliot has, of course, as has been noted above, a number of blood images.

Finally, it may be noted that the modern, clinical imagery on which the fourth movement of Eliot's *East Coker* is based and which abounds in Eliot's poetry, was also anticipated

by Owen. An instance of this kind of imagery has been pointed out by Dr. Welland in the following lines from Owen's *Spring Offensive*:¹¹³

For though the summer oozed into their
veins

Like an injected drug for their bodies' pains

That the lyric of the fourth movement of

East Coker gives a better meaning with reference to the Second World War has also been acknowledged by Prof. Smith. "The concluding stanza of *East Coker*, Part IV," says Prof. Smith, 'uses the symbolism of flesh and blood.' The symbolism has, in his view, besides its religious and mystical associations, an allusion to World War II. He further asserts that 'the image also were better with reference to the field of battle, the context being World War II. War is the hell that can become our purgatory.'¹¹⁴ In other words, the sufferings inflicted by the war provides the purgatorial fire for the diseased soul of the world.

The chill ascends from feet to knees,

The fever sings in mental wires.

If to be warmed, then I must freeze

And quake in frigid purgatorial fires

Of which the flame is roses, and the smoke
is briars.

Thus we can see that Eliot's phrase 'frigid purgatorial fires' in the fourth stanza of the movement becomes significant in the context of the Second World War, although its allusion to the basic faiths of Catholic Christianity and to Dante's *Divine Comedy* is clear enough. Earthly sufferings are essential for the purgation of the soul just as in Dante's *Divine Comedy* the purgatorial fire leads to the vision of the Paradise.

In the fifth or the concluding stanza of the movement the imagery of war mixed up with that of the crucifixion of Christ stands out clearly. The implication of the final stanza is that it is only by strictly following the principle of Christ—'be killed ; but do not kill'—, or as

Prof. Smith puts it, by 'heading Christ' that the diseased human soul can be expected to 'do well',¹¹⁵ and the 'inexplicable disorder of human history' apparent in the outbreak of the Great War can be set to order and peace. And this, we know, was Owen's 'realisation' and reading of the First World War in terms of Christianity so clearly expressed in one of his letters (to be quoted later) from the hospital on the Somme. The remedy which Eliot suggests for the 'disorder of human history' resulting from the 'sickness' of the human soul is exactly what Owen has suggested, indirectly, in the letter referred to above and, directly, in many of his poems. The following lines from Owen's *Exposure* will provide a good example,

Since we believe not otherwise can kind
fires burn ;

Nor ever suns smile true on child, or field,
or fruit,

For God's invincible spring our love is
made afraid ;

Therefores, not loath, we lie out there ;
therefore were born,

For love of God seems dying.

In the closing lines of the movement Eliot makes a satiric glance at the fact that 'although we are drinkers of blood and eaters of flesh', 'yet we speak of 'Good' Friday without considering that the day makes our values meaningless. 'The force of the expression 'in spite of that, we call this Friday good' is that although Good Friday is the anniversary of Atonement and should be observed as a day of penance, prayer, and sacrifice because of the crucifixion, on that day, of Christ who, 'besides enduring His Passion with bleeding hands for us, suffered along with us for the sin of Adam',¹¹⁶ yet the Great War shows that we have whistled 'one of Christ's essential commands, 'be killed ; but do not kill,' down the wind. We profess Christianity, yet in our actions we belie it. The Great War was no respecter of Good Friday and on that day, too,

it continued as usual. Or, to put it in other words, everyday in the battlefield was a Good Friday as everyday there saw the crucifixion of thousands of Christ-soldiers. Thus everyday on the Western Front the scene of the crucifixion of Christ was being re-enacted. The hatred evinced in the large scale slaughter in the field of battle is the very negation of the principle of love for which Christ stood and sacrificed himself. Eliot's meaning as implied in the stanza as in the whole movement, has found an exquisite expression in Owen's letter referred to above and quoted below. Owen's idea in that letter is that our organised slaughter of men in the battlefield is an unmistakable proof that we have sacrificed 'one of Christ's essential commands' at the altar of War :

"Already I have comprehended a light which never will filter into the dogma of any national church : namely, that one of Christ's essential commands was.....be killed ; but do not kill...It can only be ignored ; and I think pulpit professionals are ignoring it very skilfully and successfully indeed...And am I not myself a conscientious objector with a very seared conscience ? ...Christ is literally in 'on man's land'. There men often hear His voice : Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for a friend... Thus you see how pure Christianity will not fit in with pure patriotism "117

Owen no doubt denounced war and the war mongers. But equally he denounced himself for his participation in the war, although he was forced by circumstances of war, as Dr. Weiland has pointed out, to join the

Gise, who with a thought besmirch
Blood over all our soul

'But of the intensity of the spiritual crisis, Dr. Weiland says, 'into which his participation in the war plunged him there can be no doubt. The sense of guilt and of divided responsibility

that I have indicated in *Mental Cases*, *Spring Offensive*, and elsewhere is best formulated by Owen himself in a letter to Osbert Sitwell of July 1918 from Scarborough.....

"For fourteen hours yesterday I was at work—teaching Christ to lift his cross by numbers. and how to adjust his crown ; and not to imagine he thirst till after the last halt ; I attended his Supper to see that there were no complaints ; and inspected his feet that they should be worthy of the nails. I see to it that he is dumb and stands at attention before his accusers. With a piece of silver I buy him everyday, and with maps I make him familiar with the topography of Golgotha."

The significance of that elaborate metaphor lies in the role the writer assigns to himself ; he is in every sense betraying the Christ-soldier and thus alienating himself from the mercy of Christ.'118

We can see that the role of the crucifier in which Owen thinks of himself in the above letter is echoed in the last stanza of Eliot's lyric movement in *East Coker*. Moreover, the satiric touch in the last two lines of the lyric also, it may be seen, partakes something of the nature of similar touches found in many of Owen's poems e. g. *Mental Cases*, *Spring Offensive* etc.). Eliot also, like Owen, does not absolve himself from his share of 'the sense of guilt and of divided responsibility' which the War involved, even though in consideration of his age he had not to actively participate in it. And we can easily imagine the twitch of conscience which Eliot must have felt when he accepted the job during the Second World War of an air-raid warden. For even such a job implied his tacit support to the War. That he was fully conscious of his share of the common guilt is apparent in the manner in which he, echoing Owen, uses the words 'our' and 'we' (the words are repeated) in the concluding stanza of the lyric movement to indicate that

sense of the common guilt. In the closing lines of his *Mental Cases* Owen has, for instance.

—Thus their hands are plucking at each other ;

.....

Snatching after us who smote them, brother,
Pawing us who dealt them war and madness.

Or, in his *Insensibility*.

We wise, who with a thought bemirch
Blood over all our soul

We can see that 'the sense of common guilt and of divided responsibility' is implied as much in Eliot's 'our' and 'we' as in Owen's 'us' 'we', and 'our' in the examples cited above. Furthermore, it will be observed that in the context of the Second World War Eliot uses the blood imagery in the closing stanza of the lyric in as exactly the same sense as, in the context of the first World War, Owen does in the lines quoted above from *Insensibility*.

Finally, Eliot's phrase 'the dying nurse' in the second stanza of his lyric movement should be remarked upon here. By 'the dying nurse' Eliot means exactly what Owen means by the moral degradation of the church as elaborated in the letter (referred to above) from the hospital on the Somme in which he says that 'the pulpit professionals are ignoring it (Christ's essential command) very skilfully and successfully indeed...' For Eliot, as for Owen, the Church is 'the dying nurse' who is dying a moral death in sacrificing Christ's principle of love and giving an uncritical support to the continuance of the war, and in showing, in wartime utter indifference to the troubles of the people. The moral death of the Church and the utter indifference of the pulpit professionals' to the troubles of men during the War are clearly stated in Owen's *Le Christianisms* :

So the Church Christ was hit and buried
Under its rubbish and its rubble.

In cellars, packed-up saints lie serried,
Well out of hearing of our trouble.

One Virgin still immaculate
Smiles on for war to flatter her.
she' halo'd with an old tin hat,
But a piece of hell will batter her.

Eliot's religious position in the Good Friday lyric as Owen's in his war poems, in relation to the War is that in wartime the Church has utterly failed to offer the moral consolation it was expected to do. In short, in this Good Friday lyric Eliot tacitly and indirectly accuses, as Owen has done in his letter referred to above as well as in many of his poems (cf. *At a Cavalry near the Ancre*) that 'Christ has been betrayed by His Church.'

The religious problem underlying Eliot's *Four Quartets* written during the Second World War is much the same as that which troubled Owen during the first World War. Eliot resolves his conflict by a synthesis of the essentials of the religions of the world including Christianity and by explorations, in the realm of the spirit, of time and eternity and of 'the point of intersection of the timeless with time.' Owen resolved his spiritual crisis by the 'comprehension' of 'a light which never will filter into the dogma of any rational church, 'and by the realisation of the essential spirit of Christianity that 'Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for a friend, 'and that 'pure Christianity will not fit in with pure patriotism.

Eliot's spiritual explorations lead him through his intricate and labyrinthine symbols and wide-ranging associations, to the paradisaical glimpse of the divine love similar to and suggestive of Dante's vision of the 'multifoliate rose' of the Paradise, and in the closing lines of his last Quartet *Little Gidding*. To Owen who lived face to face with death in the hell-like trenches of the first World War and, Whose world is but the trembling of a

flare, And heaven but as the highway for a shell, such a paradisaal glimpse as Eliot's at the close of his *Four Quartets* was not vouchsafed. His bitter experiences of the War, which made him 'a conscientious objector with a very scared conscience,' led him, on the other hand, to the realisation of a religion of humanity, of the universal brotherhood of man — a brotherhood whose 'fellowships are 'Bound with the bandage of the arm that drips' the message of which Owen has conveyed so eloquently in all his poetry. Eliot concludes his *Four Quartets* assailed by 'the tongues of flame' of the war with a facile optimism that is remarkable in wartime thus:

All manner of thing shall be well
When the tongues of flame are in-folded
Ino the crowned knot of fire
And the fire and the roses are one.

Math essen's final observations on the *Four Quartets* of Eliot are worth quoting here:

"Essential evil still constitutes more of Eliot's subject matter than essential good but the magnificent orchestration of his themes has prepared for that paradisaal glimpse at the close, and thereby makes it an decorative allusion, but an integrated, climax to the content no less than to the form. Such spiritual release and reconciliation are the chief reality for which he strives in a world that has seemed to him increasingly threatened with new dark ages."

And at the close of his *Strange Meeting* which, probably belongs to the last months of the prophetic soldier's life' and is supposed to be his last poem, Owen has distilled, through a myth of his own, exquisite pathos in his message of the universal brotherhood of man. And most appropriately, the message is conveyed through the mouth of the enemy he had killed:

I am the enemy you killed, my friend.

In the last line of *Little Gidding*, 'And the rose are one', which closes the poem as also the *Four Quartets*, a reference to the last cantos of Dante's *Paradiso* is implicit. The meaning of the line is that purgatorial flames are an essential condition for the vision of the paradise which, in Eliot's case, stands for a peaceful solution to all his spiritual problems which confront him in wartime. In the last canto of Dante's *Paradise* the heaven itself is represented both a mysterious vision of light' and as 'an eternal rose' with Mary, the queen of heaven, as the centre the petals whereof are formed by the souls of the blessed and by the white-robed angels fluttering their wings of gold. The symbols of 'the fire' and 'the rose' in Eliot's line are thus mere echoes of the corresponding symbols of the 'flame' or 'light' and 'the rose' of Dante's *Paradise*. The following extracts will throw illuminating light on the allusions contained in Eliot's line. The first is from the last canto of Dante *Paradiso* quoted together with a translation by Eliot in his essay on Dante:

Nel suo profondo vidi che s'eterna,

... ..

che fe Nettuno ammirar l'ombra d'Argo.

"Within its depths I saw ingathered, bound by love in one mass, the scattered leaves of the universe: substance and accidents and their relations, as though together fused, so that what I speak of is one simple flame.....120

105. Edmund Blunder: op. cit., p. 125.

106. D. E. S. Maxwell: op. cit. 177, also footnote 3; Grover Smith; op. cit., pp. 274-5.

107. Grover Smith: op. cit., p. 274.

108. D. S. R. Welland: op. cit., pp. 67ff.

109. Ibid., p. 67.

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| 110. F. O. Matthiessen : op. cit, p. 173. | 115. Ibid., p. 275. |
| “The thought of this work (Sir Thomas Browne’s Religio Medici) often bears upon the <i>Quarterly</i> .” | 116. Ibid., p. 274. |
| 112. Grover Smith : op. cit., p 275 | 117. Edmund Blunden : op. cit., p. 25 (Owen’s letter). |
| 113. D. S. R. Welland : op. cit., p. 80. | 118. D. S. R. Welland : op. cit., p. 84. |
| 114. Grover Smith : op. cit., p. 274. | 119. F. O. Mathiessen : op. cit., p. 195 |
| | 120. Eliot’s <i>Selected Essays</i> , p. 267 |

SARAT CHANDRA’S IMPACT ON MALAYALAM LITERATURE

SUKUMAR AZHICODE

At the very outset, I must admit I do not hold much sympathy for the academic analysts to whom the distinction between ‘influence’ and ‘impact’ in literature is all very clear and who, in this unusual clarity of mind given to them, do not hesitate to pronounce judgements on delicate questions of ‘influence’ and ‘impact’ of one writer or a period on another. When such exercises during the time of the centenary celebrations of Sarat Chandra Chatterji tend to belittle or totally deny the impact of the great Bengali novelist on Malayalam literature, except for a peripheral influence through the translations of his works upon the reading public in Malayalam, I positively feel like taking up cudgels in defence of Sarat Babu’s honour in the world of Malayalam letters. One would be easily accused of unreasonableness and, worse still, ungratefulness, if one were to repudiate the influence of a writer whose name was almost a household word among the

readers of fiction and among writers too in Malayalam, continuously for at least five decades. One should be insensitive to a very great degree if one were to scoff at this great amount of esteem in which Sarat Chandra Chatterji’s novels were held as something of an idle fancy of the reading public of Kerala. Let us look at this unusual phenomenon with all the sensitivity it demands and understanding it deserve.

Bengal has always been an unfailing source of influence on the general thinking and feeling of the country in its political, social, educational and literary phases especially during the period of the freedom-struggle. Sarat Chandra integrally belonged to and emerged from this powerful magnetic field. Naturally its impact was very profound. In literature, it went straight to the heart of the Malayalee and conquered it. Next to a novel in Malayalam or even on a par with it, the Malayali readers were

fond of the Bengali novel. Even in this year, the statement holds good, as exemplified by the popularity of the works of a host of modern Bengali novelists such as Tarasankar Banerji, Jaraandha, Prabodh Kumar Sanyal, Premendra Mitra, Bimal Kar and Manik Banerji. Lesser and younger writers from Bengal have their field-day in Malayalam periodicals which in their eagerness to cater to the needs of their readers regularly serialise translations of works of Bengali fiction. In the earlier days the rage was Rabindranath, Bankim Chandra and, of course, Sarat Chandra. Among the three, the last name was accepted as one rearer and dearer to them than the other two by reason of the very virtues which endeared him to the Bengali reading public in those pioneering days of the novels in India.

Sarat Chandra was indisputably a national favourite in literature as is amply proved by the bibliography published by the National Library at Calcutta in 1975 and also by the one given as an appendix of the several translations of Sarat novels, included in Subhod Chandra Sengupta's work, *Sarat Chandra, Man and Artist*, published by the Sahitya Akademi in 1975. All the Indian languages, not excluding those with very modest literary claims, have their quota of Sarat-chandra translations, regarded as a precious portion of the entire corpus of their literature. So far as Malayalam is concerned, the National Library's Bibliography (which is more exhaustive and reliable than the Sahitya Akademi bibliography) lists more than 40 renderings, covering about 35 of Sarat Chandra's works. This would mean that some of his works have had more than one translation. To be exact, novels like *Parinita* and *Srikar* have as many as three translations. Hindi and Gujarati have more multiple-translations of his novels. Among the Indian languages only Hindi outstrips Malayalam in the number of works translated from Sarat Chandra. That this spurt of translations lasted

more than half a century in Malayalam, unflaggingly throughout five decades, is indeed astounding. Sarat's first Malayalam translation (*viz. Chandranathan*) appeared in 1926, the latest being in 1977 (*viz. Savya Sachi*, the Malayalam rendering of *Pather Dasi*) and this latest need not at all be the last one!

One cannot overlook these significantly revealing dates that irrefutably speak of the lasting and sustained interest of the Malayalam readers in Sarat Chandra's novels and yet some shout that Sarat Chatterji has had no influence on Malayalam literature. The love-nay, the compulsive urge-felt by the Malayali writers to translate most of his works and by the Malayali readers to enjoy those translations is the first unmistakable indication of the influence cast over Kerala by this novelist. Only very great writers, and that too rarely, have been translated so often. This shows that he was a novelist not only of great intrinsic merit, but also capable of exerting considerable influence on a literary age of a whole country. He can rightly be celebrated as a novelists' novelist and through the sheer force of his creative imagination which is genuinely Bengali, but of universal significance and appeal, he gained easy entry into several literatures, particularly Malayalam literature. Therefore for the Malayalees he is not just another writer from Bengal but one who is quite near and a very much loved one at that. No other non-Malayali novelist was as much known and loved in Kerala as Sarat Babu. Yes, not even Tagore or Prem Chand! He was adopted almost as a Malayali novelist. It would be no exaggeration to say that the reading public of Kerala in those days were more fond of his translations than the many original novels available at that time in the language. The extent and depth of his popularity in Kerala was phenomenal. All this popularity was achieved not through translations that could be complimented, by and large, as good. Most of them were indifferent and some

downright poor. One reason for the inferiority of these translations was the fact that they were not direct renderings from Bengali, but twice removed from the original, since they were translated mostly from the Hindi versions. As far as I know only two translators, viz., R. C. Sarma and Karur Narayanan based their translations on the Bengali texts. The magnitude of the literary success of Chatterji in Malayalam can be appreciated only when placed against this fact of indirect translation to which he was repeatedly subjected. Yet he conquered the hearts of Keralites in no time and the sway that he established in Malayalam still stays.

Now it is time we delved deeper and strove harder to find out the subtler influences, if any, this Bengali writer could exercise over the minds of the writers in Malayalam. No doubt there exist such influences. But they are not as easily identifiable as the more recognisable ones described above. We know Sarat Chandra was a writer who boldly relinquished his job in Rangoon and took to writing as the sole means of livelihood. Since then, many writers in Kerala like S. K. Pottakkatt, Vaikkom Muhammad Basheer and K. Surendran (all novelists) threw away whatever jobs they were holding and made bold to settle down as independent full-time professional writers. Was there a subtle influence at work here? The Sarat-legend enjoying wide circulation at that time, who can deny that his career might have inspired them, at least sub-consciously?

It is true most of the translators of Sarat Babu were those who did not possess much intrinsic merit as writers. They were attracted by his novels and they did the translations. That was all. But reputed scholars like R. Narayana Panicker, K. Vasudevan Moosad and N. V. Krishna Variar were also drawn to this task. At least one front-rank novelist, viz., K. Surendran, also was inspired to translate

Sarat-fiction. This is a significant fact to be remembered by students of literatures.

This line of reasoning may be condemned more as a farfetched one, rather than fully factual. But it has to be admitted that Sarat Chandra's impact on Malayalam literary scene is largely indirect and inspirational. One may not notice any tangible influence, though there can be an underlying source of inspiration, of courses at a deeper level. When the fiction writers in Malayalam imbibed from diverse source their sympathy for the downtrodden, their fire of crusade against the forces of reaction and oppression, and their preference for realistic rendering of life, it could not be gainsaid that Sarat Chandra provided another rich source of inspiration to them. His novels and stories gave self-confidence to our novelists to exhibit greater social awareness and humanistic responsiveness in their creations. It would be difficult for anyone to enjoy reading novels like *Baja Didi*, *Charitrahin* and *Srikant* and fail to be deeply impressed by the emotional and artistic appeal of characters like Rajalakshmi and be inspired by their models in one's own creative life. This necessarily happened in Malayalam literature through Sarat's novels. In a large measure, he could provide the climate for the new change in Malayalam literature through his wide popularity which typified to the writers in Kerala the magnificent success a writer could achieve with this changed vision.

I have reserved to the last the most significant impact Sarat Chandra has had on Malayalam literature and in general, on Indian literatures. His writings, along with those of Tagore and Bankim, bridged the gulf that separated literatures in India and what may be called, Indian literature. His were days when India was struggling in the search for her total identity. Sarat Chandra was one of the pathfinders in this strenuous search. Ever since the collapse of the binding force of Sans-

krit, the concept of one Indian literature had ceased to exist. The undying artistic appeal and the underlying national spirit in the writings of literary doyens like Tagore, Bankim and Sarat pulled down the barriers of language and region, envisaging a generally distinctive literature of India submerging its internal linguistic differences. The farflung fascination cast upon

all the literatures in India by the writings of Sarat Chandra marked the emergence of an Indian literature. The idea of Indianness which is progressively being realised by the creative works of our writers in these days was envisioned and embodied by Sarat Chandra in his literary works. It is a great legacy and its impact is still strongly felt.

Current Affairs

The Two-headed Demon

Priyabrata Chatterjee writes in the Calcutta Municipal Gazette :—

Cracked lips. Vacant eyes staring at the black, pock marked empty tin plate. Blistered fingers poised in midair. Not a morsel to eat, not a drop to drink. A heavy tongue passes over chapped lips. This is a general picture of drought affected India during the cruel summer months. Two drops of tears roll down shrivelled cheeks. The emaciated head looks up and curses the God of rain. Fateful tears !

Then comes the deluge. Incessant rain. Rivers overflow. Flood ! The immensity, horror and sorrow of the situation beats any attempt at description. The pen or camera gets washed away by the mad onrush of news.

Delhi, Varanasi, Allahabad, Patna, Cuttack, Murshidabad, Malda, Midnapore, Bankura, Hooghly. Vast areas of land in which millions have made their home. But now under water. Washed away, never to be recovered. And home doesn't mean a room, or a sepia tinted album of photographs. It includes a son, an aged grandmother, a beloved milch cow, the ever alert housedog. All caught unawares and sucked into the swirling darkness of cascading water.

Drought and famine, Spectres which haunt the land. A coin to flip—which side does it land in.

Drought—the earth parched and cracked. Cracks large enough to put fingers in, spread in

every direction as far as the eye can see. Not a leaf on a tree, every husk of wheat burnt out. Bare branches reaching to the cloudless grey blue sky in agony as if supplicating for the drops that would not come. A bizarre witch dance, a ritual flagellation, where the chants fell on ears as deaf as the dead earth itself. Were those humans who lay or sat around the place? The dead shrivelled carcass of what had once been living—a cow lying on the dry river bed—was it once a living creature? The people seemed as helpless as all that surrounded them.

There was no will, no strength, no energy left to even see—a sightless stare, fixed, immobile was all that remained. Lirabs that did not move even to chase the flies that seemed the only sound mobile thing to touch the ghastly scene.

Lips, mouth, tongue so dry one could not even swallow. Eyes so moistureless, they could not blink. A bloated belly—distended with but air that neither filled it nor eased it—limbs caricatured angular stuck on sticks with claws which were once fingers and hands.

And then came the rains. The parched earth seemed to come alive and move to pull itself together. But more rains, and more, and more—torrents, sheets, floods of water to engulf all that came its way.

The cracks were filled, rivers overflowed, spreading like a moving devouring wave that rolled on and on in every direction and more than the eye could see. The tips of the highest trees were all that was visible, just bits of black in the churning grey hostile mess that seethed and moved and moved.

And the humans? Ah—the humans! A boat aimlessly pushed this way and that. Half a dozen adults, a few children, once more, apathetic huddling victims, not even knowing if help was any where in sight. A dotted number of rooftops and more huddled people cling-

ing to hold on before they too got just washed away like debris, rubbish—useless rubbish.

But there was land. Bits of land, higher ground where people managed to reach and hang on before they could be pulled into jetsome, floatsome that got washed away without a trace. And further on more land, a few huts some trees.

Life stirred here—an army rescue boat: jawans with relief. Further—a helicopter survive where, and where, where were those lots of living humanity who with helps would come more change to man, the upright living creature who once more reached out to value his right—the basic right—a right to live!!

Drought and Flood, the two-headed demon the scourge of India. Talk of brain drain and stuff seem just another way to escape the vital issues. Couldn't we, the Indian elite, the so called technocrats, evolve a central plan to tackle the Drought and Floods that yearly ravage the country? There doesn't seem to be any answer on the horizon. No hands to write an assurance on the sky. Only vultures. To feed either on the dry or the bloated corpses.

The Drama Of Floods.

Flash flood still threatens UP

LUCKNOW, Aug 9. (UNI & PTI) Scores of villages along the Bhagirathi river in the Garhwal hills and town along the Ganga in the plains continued to reel under the looming threat of flash floods as an official report confirmed the existence of a 1.5 km long lake at the site of the blockade on Bhagirathi, about 60 km off Uttar Kashi.

Floods Disrupt Road Links

NEW DELHI, Aug. 10,—Rivers have flooded vast areas in northern States, disrupting road communications and causing widespread damage, reports UNI.

Soldiers evacuated people from their flooded homes in parts of Punjab, while the Air Force dropped supplies to the marooned in

Uttar Pradesh.

Fourteen people were killed in Pauri Garhwal, Chamoli, Tehri Garhwal and Dehra Dun districts in the past eight days. More than 100 houses collapsed in the Doon valley.

In Bihar, flood waters from the Kosi and the Ganga have entered eight blocks in Parnea district. The areas affected include Maner, Danapur, Patna Sadar and Mokameh. Road communications in Bhojpur district have been disrupted.

According to a report from Gorakhpur, in Uttar Pradesh, more than 5000 villages, with a population of 300,000, have been flooded and about 600 boats engaged in relief and rescue operations. The death toll in the State has risen to 19.

... .. A portion of the high wall near the main entrance of Purana Quilla in New Delhi caved in this morning. The wall had become sodden following several days of heavy rain.

... .. Bharti Sevasram Sangha is providing relief to those affected by floods in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar.

DEATH TOLL IN U. P. FLOODS NOW 19

LUCKNOW, Aug. 11—The death toll in the current floods in Uttar Pradesh has risen to 193 with two more deaths reported today from Unnao district, says PTI.

The floods have affected about 12,000 villages in 31 districts of the State.

The State Government has requested the Centre for an assistance of Rs 110 crores.....

Flood water today entered the military cantonment area at Danapur, 7km west of Patna. More than 40 villages in the Diara area of Danapur subdivision have been inundated.

The Brahmaputra and its tributaries are again in high spate following torrential rain in their catchment areas for the past two days. Several paddy fields and huts have been submerged.

BIHAR RAILWAY

TRACKS FLOODED

PATNA, Aug. 13—The flood situation in Bihar today worsened as the waters of the Ganga covered the railway track at several points between Sahabpur Kamal and Monghyr Ghat in the Amritpur division of the North-Eastern Railway and affected 1,200 square km in Monghyr district in the south according to official source, reports PTI and UNI.

In Katihar the authorities have intensified rescue operations in Barari and Manihari blocks.

*Ganga Yamuna rising in UP

*Flood situation critical

*Army alerted

BARAUNI REFINERY IN DANGER

The flood situation in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and Haryana worsened on Sunday with the Major rivers rising unabated in heavy rains. According to UNI and PTI.

ALL RIVERS RISING

ARMY CALLED OUT IN MURSHIDABAD

THE Army has been called out to help rescue marooned people in the flood-affected areas of Murshidabad district, Mr. Jyoti Basu told reporters in Calcutta on Friday. Troops were deployed after the district administration felt that their assistance was needed.

The Second World War Shouldn't Be Followed By a Third

Yuri Kazakov writes in "Backgrounder"

The Second World War broke out at 4 : 45 a. m. on September 1, 1939. It was unprecedented as to the number of states and peoples involved in it (61 states took part; eight out of every 10 people in the world were citizens of these states; hostilities were conducted on the territory of 40 states), as to casualties and material damage (a total of 50-55 million people died in the war, 27 million of them were killed in action) and, lastly, as to political and social consequences and the scope

of shifts in all world processes. The changes brought about by the victory over the fascist and militarist bloc by the powers of the anti Hitler coalition which took shape during the war were predetermined first of all by the nature of the struggle waged by the citizens of dozens of states against the aggressors who tried to carry out the crazy plans of world domination.

Realistic conditions were created in many regions for profound democratic reforms. The colonial system collapsed under the blows dealt by the national liberation revolutions. More than 100 independent states emerged one after another and embarked upon the road of social transformation. Right after the war the working people in many capitalist countries scored major successes in social and political spheres.

Could Hitler assume that the events would take such a turn on Friday of September 1, 1935 and two days later, on Sunday, when Britain and France entered the war against Germany? No, he couldn't, and the "phoney war" waged for six months by these powers against Hitlerite armies, a war without military actions, could not back him in the "correctness of the step he had taken. The inside story of these events has long ceased to be a secret to anyone. In his fundamental research "World War Two" Basil Liddell Hart, a well-known British expert in military history and theory, wrote about the causes behind the lull that had set in after the occupation of Poland by Hitlerites. Now that there was a common border between Germany and Russia, he said, Britain and France saw the only hope in the rise of friction between these two states...and in Hitler directing his aggressive efforts to the east and not the west.

Raja Rammohan Roy

Gautam Neagi writes in the Indian Messenger

Though it is illogical, and also perhaps unhistorical, to single Rammohun out as the

'Father' of modern India, it is admitted by authorities like Dilip Kumar Biswas, Jogananda Das, Nemai Sadhan Bose; A. F. Salahuddin Ahmed, David Koff and Susobhan Sarkar that by his courage and conviction, his dynamic personality, high spirit, great wisdom and remarkable foresight, Rammohun facilitated the beginning of a new era in the history of India. Rabindranath Tagore has aptly summed up his greatness by the following words; 'He is a great pathmaker of this century who has removed ponderous obstacles that impeded our progress at every step, and initiated us into the present era of world-wide co-operation and humanity'.

The spirit of the Brahmo Movement brought a new thought, and subsequently a national consciousness in Indian society and synchronised with the emancipation of India from feudalism to nationalism and democracy from superstition and blind-faith to enlightenment and rationalism, from social taboos to equality, from stagnation and decaying culture to cultural advancement. In this connection we may quote the famous line of Dr. F. C. Southworth: "If I were to suggest a single word to describe the service the *Samaj* Brahmo has rendered during the nineteenth century to India and the world, that word would be emancipation".

The pioneers of the movement like Maharshi Debendranath Tagore, Rajnarayan Bose, Aksioy Kumar Dutta and Keshub Chandra Sen were men of great courage and moral stature. The leaders of the movement were persecuted, socially ostracized, rejected by their parents and relatives and even threatened with dire consequences, but they did not budge an inch from that stand what they had come to believe firmly as true and right. Even the secession of Keshub and his associates from the Maharshi resulting in the formation of *The Brahmo Samaj* of India in 1866, strengthened the movement instead of weakening it. Similarly

the second schism within the Samaj, eventually resulted in the formation of *The Sadwan Brahma Samaj* in 1878 helped to uphold the spirit of all round improvement of the people at a crucial moment when the movement might have turned into a retrograde mysticism. Rightly did the leaders of the Brahm movement seek to redress the pernicious evils of the casteism and dowry system, launch a crusade against early marriage and polygamy, champion women's equality with men and vigorously plunged into multifarious reform movements—educational, political, intellectual, moral.

India

Shri D. R. Mankekar in a book written only three years ago has summarised the position of India and its people as follows;

'As regards the electioneering slogan of our previous Prime Minister, Mrs Gandhi, viz "Garibi Hatao" our achievement 27 years after independence is that sixty per cent of the country's population live below the poverty line the figure was forty per cent some ten years ago; which means that the situation far from improving is worsening). Notwithstanding four 5 year plans and the Green Revolution... the rise in per capita income has been just about six tenths of one per cent a year. The grim procession of the ragged poor from the rural areas to the cities continues unabated. The figure of educated unemployed stands at 17 million. And what is worse, social discipline, the first imperative of economic progress and political stability is vanishing from the land. The rule of Law, the most precious gift of the British rule to the Indian people has been dissipated with criminal prodigality—the handiwork of a leadership impervious to civic values. Frequent strikes on railways, airlines and industry, gross inefficiency indiscipline in power plants and post telegraph and telephone services and too many bundhs in urban areas are

making life intolerable. And corruption and cynicism are rampant in the country's public life, driving common people to despair. To fill the cup to the brim are vexatious shortages, queues everywhere and for every thing, runaway inflation uncontrolled rises in prices of essential commodities, a universal sense of despondency where everything seems to be wrong.

In case anyone thinks that the foregoing summary of our predicament is not sufficiently devastating, Shri Mankekar reminds that the greatest and most urgent problem of India is not its absolute poverty, and still less its gross maldistribution of incomes—but its population explosion. "India's population to day (1975) is 600 million which even to-day it finds it impossible to feed, clothe, house and gainfully employ...one shudders to think what life would be like in this land 25 years hence, "Indian Messenger"

How to Tame the Elements

Yu. Khromov (In Science and Engineering)

According to the UN Bureau on relief to the victims of cataclysms over 1,000,000 people have died on the globe during the period from 1947 to 1970 as a result of earthquakes. Is it at all possible to safeguard mankind against dreadful underground storms?

"Safety from harm calls primarily for the construction of buildings that will safeguard man and his belongings," says Sabit Negmatulayev, a prominent Soviet expert, Director of the Institute of Antiseismic Construction and Seismology of the Tajik Academy of Sciences. Should the problem of earthquake forecast be solved and men knew the exact time and epicentre of seismic shock, it would be just possible to transfer a population to a safe area, whereas the removal of the facilities and machinery of industrial enterprises in a matter of days seems highly improbable. Thus, we should make maximum use of construction

materials and design characteristics.

Large-scale industrial and civil construction in Tajikistan is carried out with regard to earthquakes. Electric power stations, dams, man-made seas are being created in the area of 9-force earth-quakes. The most modern Soviet aluminium plant is being built in the area of 8-force earthquakes.

The researchers measured the seismic stability of a dam on a 1/50 full-scale model and later ran a number of tests on a specially built seismic platform. The Nurek hydroelectric power station currently generates commercial power: its designed capacity is 2.7 million kilowatt. Recently a model of the Rogun hydroelectric power station, the largest in Central Asia (capacity—3.6 mln kw) was tested for seismic stability.

But to provide recommendations on the construction of a chain of electric power stations in a seismic area is only part of the problem...

Experience has shown that the engineering activities of man affect the "behaviour" of earthquakes. Recently heavy seismic shocks were registered which seemed to be connected with mining, deposit fields development, liquid pressurization and depressurization of wells, construction of dams and filling in large water storage basins.

Accordingly, Tajik seismologists are concerned primarily with forecasting the impact of human activities on alterations in seismic activity. Scientists presume that the gradual filling of the Nurek reservoir (capacity—10.5 billion cubic metres of water) will favourably affect the character of seismic shocks. Seismic activity has by now increased ten-fold here, but the multiple weak shocks, discharging the accumulated tectonic energy in small "pieces" cataclysms-

On July 16, 1976 TASS announced: "Tashkent. Today, at 10.50 a.m. Moscow time the city's inhabitants sensed an approxi-

mately 5-force earth tremor. The instruments of the 'Tashkent' seismic station registered the epicentre within the city boundaries. No destruction occurred". Several years ago the capital of the Uzbek SSR experienced a devastating earthquake. This time even high-rise 20 storey buildings stood the test: on scientists recommendations they were reinforced with seismic-proof plastic belts and strong and flexible frames.

On a special testing ground construction experts are erecting life-size buildings of various designs which may later become standard ones. The strength of the houses is tested with explosions simulating earthquakes. What these houses "feel" at the moment is read from the multiple sensors and seismic instruments.

Gaining experience in constructing buildings so that people can be sure of their lives and belongings is only part of the problem. What is more important is the capability to scale down the dangerous in-depth processes directly within the bowels of the earth. Research in this direction is currently under way.

For the first time ever scientists with the help of an MHD-generator, succeeded in sounding the earth crust to the depth of 20,000 metres in the area of the Peter the Great ridge in the Pamirs-Hindukush region.

Rural Infrastructure

The infrastructure facilities:—Roads, transport, communication, boarding and lodging facilities, sanitation are woefully lacking in Rural parts. Most of the travelling in rural India is undertaken by businessmen. The agriculturist comes to an urban or semi urban centre in search of better seeds and farming implements. He has to travel by a country bus with erratic timings or huddle up in a second class compartment in a Railway train due to last minute travelling plan. Merchants travel to survey markets or realise dues. Salesmen are in constant fear of losing their samples which

they carry to the remote parts of the country. Company executives are better off, they are entitled to taxifare if there are local taxies or local dealers private conveyance. A common sight at small stations is a perturbed salesman running from station master to ticket collector for a last minute berth or travelling in the corridor of a train in order to keep an appointment. Boarding and lodging also pose major difficulties. A good and clean restaurant is difficult to locate. A salesman of a leading business house spends on an average 8 to 9 hours on his feet walking from one shopping area to another. 12 days in a month he is travelling in semi rural areas. Majority of salesmen selling consumer goods, cigarette and pharmaceuticals, in order to cope with the staying problem, plan out their itinerary in such a way so that the nights are spent in the train. Next morning they freshen up at the Railway retiring room, leave their baggage at the station masters or popular tea stall and proceed on their rounds.

At some places, he can find a Dakbungalow, without electricity or proper toilet facilities. There is total lack of public conveniences in rural areas. The Dak bungalows are invariably infested with bugs and mosquitoes. There is no means of communication. If an urgent message has to be conveyed to the salesman from the Head office, there is no way of getting in touch with him. Telegrams reach along with regular mail.

Businessmen constantly on the move have to be familiar with as many languages as possible. In several towns people do not know English or Hindi. The only way communicate is through their own mother tongue.

An American Medical representative on an average spends 39% of his time selling to customers, 32% on travelling and waiting, 5% on service calls and 24% on paper work. In a day on average; he works for 9 1/2 hours. Face to face selling takes only 3 3/4 hours generally between 11 a. m. and 1 p. m. A businessman in India spends 55% of his time in travelling. Development of rural roads in the

last 30 years has been negligible. The only mode of travel in Assam is by air. Maximum time is spent in travelling because of scattered markets. Lot of time is wasted in waiting for connecting or delayed flights. Only 27% of villages had an all weather road communication to wholesale markets. Even in Gujrat (highly developed) 35% of villages have no approach road at all and 22% had apology for roads with no culverts or bridges. They are unusable during rainy season. In U. P. 36% of villages had no roads to markets. Maharastra had no outlet for 40% of villages and 34% had Kaccha roads un-usable during rains. The position in more backward states of Bihar, Orissa, and A. P. can be imagined. Situation has not improved even today.

Road transport is a better alternative to Railway lines for economic development of hinterland. Railways are profitable only in economically developed areas, for transport of high valuing goods and passengers for long distances. Roads serve as important links between villages and cities and can be used by pedestrians, carts, tractors, cars, lorries and other means of Rural transport. Greater emphasis should be laid on public transport buses. Buses are poorly maintained and are erratic in service. They ply just twice a day with no service in monsoons.

In 1975 total number of vehicles was 23.5 lakhs including motor cycles and scooters. India has 3 vehicles per 1000 as against 24 in Thailand 257 in Japan. There are 47 nationalised transport undertakings running 65,000 buses and employing 5 lakhs people. Transport industry has a very high job potential. It is subject to heavy taxation. Only a fraction of these collections are spent in providing infrastructure. It contributed Rs. 1320 cr. in 1975-76, Expenditure on road maintenance was Rs. 320cr. Thailand spends 1.44% of national income on highways. India spends only 0.66%. Businessmen have to face all these difficulties to explore and expand markets and bridge the village and cities by creating more demand for goods services in remote areas.

Mysore Economic Journal

Indian and Foreign Periodicals

One Year Of Janata Party In Power.

This spring, to be more precise, March, marks exactly a year since the Parliamentary elections brought the Janata Party to power. The Indian Press is now assessing the results of the Janata Party's rule.

Most diverse views are expressed in this connection, depending on the political thinking of observers. It is pointed out by commentators, for example, that in such a vast country as India, with her multiplicity of forms of the economy, the legacy of colonialism weighing heavily upon it, one year of even most promising steps is incapable of producing appreciable practical results.

Solving Socio-Economic Problems

There are, indeed, a number of steps. Many of them are aimed at solving socio-economic problems by the methods reflecting the ideology of the Janata Party. For instance, main stress is laid on the development of agriculture and the branches of industry catering to it, on the development of small-scale cottage industries—chiefly with a view to lowering the level of unemployment. At the same time, claims of big and small industries have not been ignored.

On the price front, the initial period was marked by rising prices. The price growth has since been stalled. However, the other day, George Fernandes, Minister of Industry, had to publicly admit that all appeal to the traders' "consciousness" proved futile. The state annual budget for the new fiscal year submitted before the Parliament, in the view of some economists, has also latent possibilities for increasing inflationary tendencies.

After the advent of the Janata Party to power, some people had predicted that Soviet-Indian relations would worsen. The new Indian government has given the lie to these inventions. It clearly stated that all round co-operation with the USSR accorded and accordss now with the national interests of India. This stand has later been repeatedly confirmed in practice. New short-and long-term bilateral agreements have been concluded in the field of trade and economic, scientific and technical cooperation.

Strong Bonds

In welcoming recently the Soviet delegation led by I. V. Arkhipov, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, which took part in the meeting of the Soviet-Indian Joint Commission on Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation held in Delhi, A. B. Vajpayee, the Indian Minister of External Affairs, said that friendship between India and the Soviet Union was as ever.

As far as many other aspects of political developments in the country over the year of the Janata Party government in power are concerned, Indian commentators show noticeable caution in their appraisals and forecasts for the future. This is quite natural, since the internal political situation in India remains intricate.

Issued by the Information Department of the USSR Consulate General in Calcutta.

WHY THE USA WANTS THE NEUTRON BOMB

Soviet Point of View

Neutron weapons have been developed mainly for use against countries that do not

have a nuclear arsenal or cannot strike retaliatory blow at the USA said Nikolai Ledorenko, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, in an interview with Vadimir Ostrovsky, APN correspondent.

The former permanent Soviet delegate to the UN and the Security Council, Nikolai Fedorenko, believes that Washington's spectacle of agreeing with NATO allies on plans for the production and stationing of neutron warheads in Europe was a hypocritical interlude. The US efforts to get the leading western countries' approval for the manufacture of mass destruction weapons are prompted by the pentagon's far-reaching plans.

Consent by the NATO powers would ease the US policy of controlling many parts of the world. It would ease it because in the event neutron weapons being used or of a threat to use them, all the responsibility will be borne, not by the USA alone, but together with its allies. NATO's 'collective' responsibility for the possible use of these weapons is freeing the hands of Pentagon strategists.

In the opinion of Nikolai Fedorenko, formerly Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR neutron weapons, of whatever calibre, are designed for use in countries with large populations or with big population densities, including island territories like Japan. Such countries include first of all China and India, and also states on the African continent. There is no doubt that these weapons will give their owners an advantage in military operations conducted against countries without a nuclear arsenal.

The neutron bomb looks enticing for those who own mines, oil pipelines and wells, industrial enterprises, land and its resources in an area where this weapon will be used. It will keep the material values largely intact, but destroy the people fighting for their freedom and independence for an end to the exploita-

tion by foreign monopolies. In a word, neutron weapons may be described as an anti-insurgent, colonial weapon. They are also suitable for blackmailing smaller countries politically and also for struggle against the mass anti-apartheid movement in South Africa.

Nikolai Fedorenko drew attention to US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance's recent statement on conditions under which the United States would use nuclear weapons. The Soviet scientist believes that the statement confirms once again the reality of Pentagon plans to use neutron weapons in various ways, since the number of countries against which the USA will not use nuclear weapons is limited. The resilient way in which the statement is couched leaves loopholes for justifying the use of the neutron bomb in any conflict situation, in areas most remote from the USA.

Nikolai Fedorenko, who had dealt with the disarmament problem in the UN for many years, knows well position of the west and, in particular, of NATO on that question. He stressed that a view now widely current in the West is that with a nuclear parity existing between sides, the use of any kind of nuclear weapons by any side is not only reckless but borders on suicide.

The same position was also expressed by President J. Carter at Annapolis. The Soviet scientist, however, observed that this realistic concept is contradicted by the Pentagon's doctrine on "limited nuclear war." And still Nikolai Fedorenko is convinced that the neutron bomb, despite publicity emphasising its need for Western Europe, has been first of all developed for other areas situated far from nuclear arsenals. For in Western Europe, undoubtedly, even the stationing of neutron weapons on NATO positions will compel the other side to take retaliatory steps and will exercise a destabilising influence on the strategic situation.

The neutron bomb has been developed as a nuclear weapon of possible use, because other varieties of the nuclear arms which were developed earlier possess a greater destructive power. But the lowering of the calibre of nuclear weapons, Nikolai Fedorenko is deeply convinced, does not change things in the field of nuclear war. To hundreds of thousands and millions of its victims it does not matter what weapon will take their lives. So the most reliable step in limiting the possibility of such a war being unleashed would be to ban the production of the neutron bomb.

Issued by the Information Dept of the USSR Consulate General in Calcutta.

RETURN FROM ORBIT

Mikhail Chernyshov (In Science and Engineering)

The orbital expedition of Soviet cosmonauts Yury Romanenko and Georgy Grechko for 96 days, the longest in the history of cosmonautics has been a brilliant success. On March 16, 1978, upon completing work on board the orbital station Salyut-6, the researchers returned to earth.

"Without man outer space will always be alien and infinitely distant. We must make it earthly". These words were said by Georgy Grechko before the launch. More than fifty major experiments, beginning with astrophysics and ending with medical and biological studies, have been carried out during the flight. Such rare atmospheric phenomena, as noctilucent clouds, were additionally studied on the initiative of the cosmonauts themselves. Reports of the crew about the discovery of the hitherto unknown annular geological structures in the area of Yakutia evoked great interest among specialists.

Two visiting expeditions, including one international, had been to the station. Vladimir Janibekov and Oleg Makarov, Alexei Gubarev and Czechoslovak cosmonaut Vladimir Remek worked in turn together with the basic crew,

and brought back to earth the results not only of their studies, but also part of those that were conducted by Yury Romanenko and Georgy Grechko.

The journey of the automatic transport spaceship *Progress-1* that provided the station with additional fuel, food and other necessary materials has become a milestone in the history of cosmonautics, too. The joint operation of *Salyut-6* with two transport spaceship substantially added to the efficiency and reliability of the orbital complex as a whole. In the opinion of specialists, such experiments are an important step on the way to creating ever larger scientific orbital laboratories with every extended periods of active existence.

More than 1,500 round-the-world trips were made by sky frigate during the expedition's work.

Extensive territories of the medium and southern latitudes of the Soviet Union--Siberia, Central Asia, Kazakhstan, Altai, the Volga area and the Central Black Soil zone--have been photographed. Particularly detailed studies were made of those regions where major economic projects are under construction or planned; for example, the zone of the Baikal-Amur Railway.

The Soviet Union has always regarded outer space as the arena of international cooperation. Now cooperation is more and more spreading to manned flights. For example, photographs of the earth were made by the *Salyut-6* crew by means of a multi-zonal camera MKF/6 M, developed at the Carl Zeiss Jena enterprise.

Specialists of the German Democratic Republic took an active part in this work. Among the biological studies carried out aboard the station is the experiment *Isitos*; prepared jointly with scientists of France. An extensive programme of orbital observations over glaciers will be a marked contribution of

Soviet cosmonautics to an atlas of snow and ice resources of the planet being compiled in the Soviet Union at UNESCO's request.

The work of the international crew undoubtedly became the most vivid example of integration. Conducted by Alexei Gubarev and Vladimir Remek, Soviet-Czechoslovak experiments in the field of space technology, biology and earth observations are a logical stage in the cooperation widely carried out by nine socialist countries under the Intercosmos programme.

In the last period before bringing the cosmonauts back to earth, use was made of the entire arsenal of modern preventive techniques so as to prepare the crew for terrestrial gravitation.

Personal Property In The USSR

Chapter 2 of the new Soviet Constitution, on the Economic System of the USSR, contains an Article about personal property of citizens. Personal property, thereby, is included in the country's economic system as one of its elements.

While the socialist ownership of the means of production in its various forms is the foundation of national production and the material basis of social and cultural development of Soviet society, personal property meets individual requirements of citizens.

The basis of the personal property is Soviet people's earned incomes: wages and salaries, the incomes distributed on collective farms, maintenance grants for students, retirement and invalidity pensions, royalties, and so on. The law in the USSR permits individual labour in handicrafts, farming, the provision of services for the public based exclusively on the personal work of individual citizens and members of their families. The incomes from the individual labour, however, occupy an insignificant place in the overall incomes of Soviet citizens.

The inseparable interrelationship between

personal property and socialist property, the former being the derivative of the latter, is the main feature characterizing personal property in socialist society.

A characteristic feature of the personal property in the USSR is that it is aimed at personal consumption, at satisfying people's material and cultural requirements and cannot be used by them as a means of deriving unearned incomes or organising private enterprise. The personal property may include articles of personal consumption. In other words, in the USSR there can be no private owners of factories workshops, shops, cinemas and so on. All those are state property. The personal property may include articles of everyday use, personal consumption, a house, a small holding and earned savings.

It should be borne in mind, however, that individual requirements of people in the Soviet Union are satisfied not only through their personal property. A great part in this is played by social consumption funds, i. e., allocations from the state and from public organisations (such as, say, trade unions) to satisfy the personal requirements of the people. These funds are used for children's maintenance in child-care centres and boarding-schools (if parents so wish), for material security of disabled for education at all levels medical service, public transport medical treatment at health centres and resorts, for leisure and sports facilities. Allocations are also provided for paying to the population benefits allowances and maintenance grants (allowances for single mothers and mothers of many children, maintenance grants to students, cost of housing maintenance, for essential services and so on).

Housing rent, for instance, has not been changed in the Soviet Union since 1928, while the average wages and salaries increased more than 5-fold since 1940 alone. The maintenance of a child in kindergartens or nurseries costs

five times more, on the average, than the amount of money its parents pay. Conducting its price policy, the state ensures the stability of low prices of prime necessities.

Thus, the satisfaction of citizens' requirements from social funds expands the opportunities for using personal property to meet other needs of the people at their own discretion.

The Soviet state helps its citizens essentially not only through social consumption funds. They also may have subsidiary small-holdings for fruit and vegetable growing. The state and collective farms provide assistance to citizens in working these small-holdings, help till the land; ensure fodder, and so on. Great help is also provided by the state in building individual dwelling. For this purpose a plot of land is given, assistance is provided in designing and in building a house and building materials are provided as well.

Article 13 of the new Soviet Constitution stipulates that the personal property of citizens and the right to inherit it are protected by the state. Citizens can dispose of their property as they see fit. It can be sold or exchanged, allowed to be used temporarily for fee or free, it can be gifted, willed and so on. But it cannot be used as a means of deriving unearned incomes.

To ensure the principle of personal consumption the Soviet law establishes certain rules as to the size of the property and its usage. For instance, a married couple and their minors may have only one house belonging to one of the spouses or owned jointly. A house can be sold or bought not more frequently than once in three years. The codes of the Soviet Union republics establish the size-limit of dwelling houses being the citizens' property.

All this is meant not to allow profiteering by building houses, to use them for personal needs, not to let them. At the same time there are exceptions to the rules established by law. To satisfy the legitimate interests of citizens,

for instance, a bigger house may be built provided it is occupied by a large family. The legislation of the Union republics also establishes the limit for livestock and poultry kept as personal property.

Personal property is of an individual nature and as a rule, single citizen is its owner. However, in some cases the right to possess property is exercised by two or more persons. For instance, have inherited from their parents a house, son and daughter remain to live in it as common owners. Such common owners may be relatives who have built a house jointly, etc. This is common property the right to which is determined by the respective share of the participant.

There is also joint common property in which shares are not determined, and the participants jointly exercise their right. Such a form is the property of a collective farmer's family (a collective-farm household) or of husband and wife as far as the belongings they have acquired during their marriage are concerned.

The Sofia University

The setting up of a Bulgarian university had been long desired by many enlighteners and leaders of the Bulgarian national revival period in the first half of the 19th century.

After the liberation of Bulgaria from Ottoman domination (1878), issue of opening the university was raised with new zeal. A great many obstacles had to be surmounted before the ceremonial opening of the higher course in pedagogics at the boys' high school No. 1 which took place on October 1, 1888. This is considered to be the birth date of today's Kliment Ohridski University of Sofia. In 1889 the higher pedagogical course was renamed into a higher school, and the name of the university was decreed by law in 1904.

In the first academic year after the socialist revolution in Bulgaria (1944), the Sofia University trained about 13,000 regular students

which is much more than in the previous year. Included in it at that time were also the medical and theological faculties and those of agronomy and veterinary medicine. In the years that followed the number of students grew explosively; to reach its absolute maximum of about 32,000 regular students during the 1947-1978 academic year. This rapid growth provided the centrifugal forces that account for the branching off within a short time of the School of Medicine, the Academy of Agricultural Sciences, the Theological Academy and the Higher Institute of Economics as independent higher educational establishments from the Sofia University. In the current year some 0,660 students are studying at the eleven faculties of the Sofia University.

Since present there are 26 higher educational establishments in the country, the Sofia University has become a part of the general system of higher education. Its place and role in this system is determined by the qualitative improvement of education and the development of post graduate studentship and specialization and work on doctoral theses.

By decision of the Council of Ministers of April 21, 1972 the Kliment Ohridski University of Sofia was integrated with the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. Close collaboration

between these two major scientific educational establishments dates a long time back and yield very good results.

Today the University of Sofia has at its disposal the potential ties of the whole scientific staff of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. This has multiplied its possibilities with respect to teaching. On the other hand, the teaching staff of the Sofia University is included in the unified research plan of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and the Sofia University. This makes it possible for the teaching staff to participate in highly specialized research teams.

In the future of the Sofia University is to specialize in the training of highly qualified staff rather than the mass production of cadres. It is to translate into reality the appeal for linking up higher education with research work. Its integration with the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences provides excellent conditions in this respect.]

Postgraduate studies at the Sofia University considerably expand by direct enlistment of firstclass graduates without competitions.

As the first Bulgarian higher educational establishment the Sofia University today sets the tone in the system of higher education in Bulgaria, in which it takes a leading place. This is borne out by the fact that the Day of the University December 8 has now become the holiday of all Bulgarian students.



REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

I Remember, I Remember (Prose poems) by
Sasi Bhusan Das

(Published by Roy and Roy Co.30/15
Selimpur Rd Cal 31. Rs 20/)

Mr S. B. Das has already established his name as the writer of two remarkable books, *Phonetics Spoken English* and *Wilfred Owen's Strange Meeting—A critical study*. Now the scholar has recently published a small volume of prose poems, *I Remember, I Remember*. A reader is likely to approach a scholar's poetry with some misgiving. But a glance through some of the pieces at once reveals the scholar-poet's poetic feeling. Even the first title piece, an autobiographi-account of the author's boyhood days, is remarkable for its rhythmic quality and poetic beauty. Two rivers, The Surma and the Kushiara exercised considerable influence on the scholar-poet's adolescent years. Of one he speaks :

The river of my life flows as quietly as
ever,

Though I see it not except in imagination.

It still flows quietly, quietly,

Into my veins, into my blood.

And instantly. I see in a vision my boyhood
self

Sitting on a branch of the Gulancha tree,

Or diving in and out of the river

With peals of loud laughter.

All the pieces are not of equal merit, some descend even to mere statements. But the rhythm and poetry of many of the stanzas of the pieces of the volume are unmistakable and inescapable. In *It Was Dark* the scholar-poet speaks of a spiritual gloom and longs for light. *What do you Want?* Is an elaboration of Buddha's doctrine of curtailment desires.

Things Do Not Happen as You Desire conveys the idea that a man is as much a creature of his destiny as he is a creator of it :

Things come and pass/And leave their
effects behind

They may let you down or they may lift you
up

They may leave your corpse behind with
your ghost moaning over it

Or, they may lift you up on the crest of the
waves of glory

With your lively form dancing over it

What is the Meaning? Is just a poetic rendering of Krishna's doctrine of action. 'My gospel is silence. I preach it to the world—' is the burden of the piece *My Gospel* and is reminiscent of Arnold's *Quiet work*.

Quite a number of pieces containing echoes from well-known poets and writers and though the poets in most cases are mentioned, the pieces can be enjoyed without difficulty even without reference to the poets, or writers. The echoes are obviously intended to enrich the meaning of the contexts of the passages—a technique that was exploited with superb effects by T. S. Eliot. But Mr. Das's poems are original not derivative at all.

It is for the readers to judge if there are not haunting rhythm, genuine poetic sentiment and imaginative touches in the following passages culled at random from some of the pieces of the book :

Pattern is there in the universe,

Pattern in the movement of the stars, suns,
and the planets

Pattern in the rainbow clouds as in the
wings of the butterflies,

In the petals of the flowers and in the
feathers of a peacock
As it spreads its wings and dances.

Pattern in the kingfisher's plumage
As it darts from a tree down to a river.—
(Pattern)

You cannot make a show of your love
where it is not,
Nor can you hide it where it is.
If you meet your love, your love will burst
out—

As a flood of moonlight breaks over
The barriers of darkness of the darkest of
nights.—(Love)

The fear of death is conveyed through a
splendid sea-octopus image :

Like an octopus in a green sea slowly and
steadily
Moving towards its victim with its distended
tentacles
And suddenly closing in their firm grip on
the unwary victims
—(Fear of Death)

Now a mathematical image to explain his
relation with the society :

My relation to the human world
Was that of a tangent to a circle,
There being just a point of contact.
(Journey from Obscurity)

An object of Nature serves as the image of
'the birds that have left their nests'.

Their memory of the past has faded from
their minds,
Like the fragrance of a flower that fades
As it falls to the ground, or like sweet
thoughts

in a dream.—(The Birds that Have Left Their
Nests)

The last piece 'It Is Raining' is the longest
one in the book. It has the pattern partly of

Eliot's *The Waste Land* and partly of his *Four Quartets*. But the author is humble enough to admit that it is far from his intention to imitate far less to emulate him. But we wish the scholar poet cut out some passage to give the long poem a near and organic unity. But this piece also contains some splendid imagery of high originality. In fact, there is a galaxy of splendid images in the piece which are bound to attract the attention of any reader. The marks of boots on the melted tar of the streets are conveyed by an image as follows :

A few passers—by with quick uneasy steps
cross the streets

Covered with molten tar—on which Sun
God's name is writ large

In bold, black letters of human boots.

Towards the close of the poem the scholar-poet says that when he listens to the music of rain his identity is lost in the rain—an archetype of Jung's Collective Unconsciousness.

I become the rain, the rain, become my . .
self

And both are lost in a bright point of
consciousness

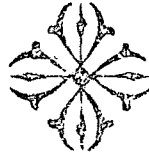
Of the rhythm and music of the primitive
rain.

The book of prose poems deserves to be read by all lovers of poetry, modern or old-fashioned, as much for the novelty and imagery and technique as for the genuine feeling of poetry the current of which passes through many of the pieces in the volume. The present poet steers clear of obscurities and recondite imagery the love of so much of modern poetry. His style is simple and lucid. Both private and public libraries should have copies of S. B. Das's new volume of prose poems which is sure to provide delightful reading to the readers

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NOTES

National Structure

are certain characteristics in a national make up and its moral influences which give it strength and solidarity while the absence of these factors would weaken the nation and render it susceptible to develop tendencies that bring about disintegration if allowed to grow. If the people constituting the nation speak the same language, obey the same religious and moral precepts, follow the same social norms, find no difficulty in living in the same locality, in intermarrying, inter-dining and to coexist in close fellowship; then the nation should be considered to be closely integrated and bound by bonds of homogeneity. On the other hand the peoples constituting the nation may be divided into many heterogeneous communities which are different from one another in point of language, race, religion, manners and social practices; and are so antagonistic to each other as prohibit them from inter marrying or inter dining or induce them to live their own exclusive existence without any social intercourse among the different communities. Institutions like the

caste system of India with hundreds of castes and subcastes split up a nation into innumerable groups and subgroups which have no social contacts with one another nor any fellowship between the self contained groups. Apart from the castes there are also other barriers which prevent the people from developing any solidarity. These are the walls of languages and dialects, the religions and communal bars and the socio-religious taboos which do not permit inter dining; inter marrying or even having any friendly contacts with other communities. There are scores of dialects of the numerous languages for example which India has. These dialects develop different word forms and idioms every few miles and the same basic language will be substantially different from village to village excepting among the educated people. In the sphere of caste the divisions are many and we find that there is no unqualified freedom to inter marry or inter dine even among Brahmins or the other basic castes. subcastes and sub-sub-castes crop up and stand in the way of inter marriage. These considerations also prevent social amity and the result is the splitting up

of the community into an infinite number of mutually exclusive sub communities which obstruct national integration and solidarity. Going deeper into the evils of the social divisions that has stood in the way of national unity we have to take particular note of the lowest castes. At the extreme end of the caste bodies we find the schedule castes, the untouchables or the people who sort of form a fifth caste. If one looks for cases of inhuman treatment of fellow members of the same nation and deadly callousness in the sphere of human relations, these out castes of the Indian caste system would provide the worst examples of social injustice which for sheer viciousness could never be surpassed by anything found anywhere else in the world. Anti Semetism with its pogroms or the lynching of Negroes in America would provide some isolated instances of cruel treatment of other persons; but would never give us such a systematised pattern of utter disregard of human values as the Indian untouchability presents to students of social anthropology. The massacre of millions of Jews by the Nazis went on during a war time out burst of sadism; but the treatment meted out to the untouchables by the so called caste people in certain parts of India has been there in all its obscene ugliness for long centuries and nothing ever uprooted its poison fangs even in a noticeable manner at any time. during these endless decades when great social reforms had been staged by the great nation builders of India. This cancerous sore has remained there as an incurable wound in the social body of India which attracted evil minded "high caste" anti social criminals to commit acts of inhuman ferocity against the poor "low caste" people who lack the ability to defend themselves. Murder, rape, arson and robbery with violence are commonly taking place in certain parts of the country where "caste" people are mainly illiterate and the low caste people are helplessly poverty stricken.

In these areas crimes against the untouchables are committed in an organised manner and quite often Government forces sit back and watch things happening without making much of an effort to maintain law and order. The virus of caste has entered all communities and high caste groups are generally supported by the "superior" elements of the Muslim community too. Governmental efforts to raise the standard of living of the schedule castes by granting them priority in the field of employment usually aggravate the anti low caste attitude of the "upper" classes and make things worse.

Caste consciousness and the antagonisms arising out of this imaginary sense of superiority would have disintegrated the nation had it been equally strongly developed in all parts of the country. But, fortunately many parts of the country are reasonably free from the poison of caste. Education, culture and nationalism have much to do with this freedom, as also the advent of a number of reformers whose teachings had gone deep into the life of the people of certain regions. Men like Raja Rammohun Ray, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Maharshi Debendranath Tagore, Keshub Chandra Sen, Sree Arabinda, Swami Vivekanda Rabindranath Tagore and many others have helped to make Bengal relatively free from superstition and evil trends in social outlook. The great reformers who were the founders and guiding spirit of the Brahma Samaj, the Arya Samaj and the Prarthana Samaj had much to provide inspiration to the people of the states of Maharashtra, Punjab and Gujrat. Men like G. K. Gokhale, Ranade, Narayan Chandavarkar, Lajpat Rai, Mahatma Gandhi, Subhash Chandra Bose and others who were fighters in the political field should also be remembered as path finders who provided leadership where and when it was most needed. The presence of these great leaders at critical moments saved India from disintegration which would have

taken place inevitably had the sponsors of casteism, linguism and other disintegrating forces been not checked and held back when they attempted to act most anti-nationally.

Another dangerous element in the nation's disintegrating forces is found in communalism. Normally all clashes and quarells used to take place between members of the same community, for the reason that clashes of interests seldom occurred between members of different communities. But the British employed agents provocateurs to start inter communal clashes with the idea of creating new problems for Indians who carried on anti British propaganda. The usual tactics employed were throwing beef bones in Hindu temples or pieces of porc in the grounds of Muslim Musjids. Once rioting started incidents of street fights intensified the inter communal tension. Out of communal clashes the British succeeded in creating a demand for a separate Muslim state by dividing India into a Muslim majority state and a Hindu majority region with a government in which non-Muslims predominated. This eventually brought about the formation of Pakistan and India by a partition of India. Other problems were created by the Indians and the Pakistanis among which the question of language requires to be specially mentioned. The Congress politicians desired that Hindi written in the Devanagri script should be the state language of India. The idea behind this was to replace English by Hindi. This idea was a highly problematic one for Hindi was hardly developed sufficiently to take the place of an internationally recognised and highly developed language like English. About 10 percent of Hindi speaking Indians are literate and among them there are very few who can teach Hindi to persons whose language is Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Bengali or similar Indian languages. People who can teach Hindi to speakers of Russian, German, French and other European languages would be even less

in number. Then there is the question of the reluctance of many Indians to learn Hindi. There is also the fact of Millions of Indians who know English quite well and who carry on legal, engineering, medical, educational and various other types of work in English. For nearly two hundred years English has been the state language of India and numerous records had been kept in English which will all have to be translated into Hindi and where are the Hindi-English Scholars who could undertake this difficult task and do it in a manner that will fulfil all requirements. Since independence all states have been making use of the regional languages for all administrative and other purposes. The records that have been amassed during the last thirty years would be considerable and the conversion of all that into Hindi would be a major job, for number of competent translators. The old method of keeping all records in English is no longer possible; nor is it possible to keep all records in Hindi. Where are the Hindi scholars who would do the work?

A new factor which affects the activities and life of the people of the country in various ways has come into the field of human relations and the inter relations of different sections of the community since India became independent about thirty years ago. This is the political party system which so organises and diverts the peoples' political authority into the hands of their constitutional representatives as enable a handful of politicians to wield all administrative power as delegated to them by a democratic method of elections. No doubt, the political party men make solemn declaration, regarding their political faith and objectives; but out of every 100 things that they do only a few come clearly and directly within the declared ideological undertakings. The rest remain untouched by any promises or avowals. There is thus a wide freedom for the political party

men to act as they find convenient. There is also the possibility of corrupt practice and chances of acting under the influence of party bosses. The party men usually look at things more from the party angle than for what will benefit the constituents. So that, everything said and done this type of government by elected party men does not guarantee that the government will look after the interest of the people who vote them into power. Self seeking political party adherents are a great menace to the general public in modern democracies. And the more illiterate, innocent and trusting the people are the more likely they are to be mercilessly exploited. The party men make a great show of their deep attachment to the ideals of public well being and national advancement, but that relates mainly to their publicity program rather than to their work schedule. If the public were actively critical they would weigh the pronouncements of the party men against their actual achievements. But the public lack the education and the wide awake vision that one needs in order to be active judges of the actions of their political helmsmen. More than three fourths of our voters are innocent uneducated villagers. They fall an easy prey to political tall talk, false promises and open flattery. And the party propagandists are fully equipped with all the weapons that can be used to break down any resistance that the voters may offer. The villagers cannot understand that a man may lack all merit and yet parade his totally non-existent virtues with great pomp and eclat. The talkers talk convincingly and win support from the poor gullibles who abound in the rural localities of this sub continent.

Facts and the truth are valued at a heavy discount in the community and to the presence of all this misguiding propaganda and organised arrangement to glorify the inglorious and to boost what should be socially rejected. People firstly never know the true facts on

account of specially cooked statistics and false announcements made by allegedly leading members of powerful political and business groups. As the majority of the people cannot read and write and merely listen to bazar talk, radio announcements and occasional speeches given by very important persons; the public are systematically bamboozled and made to live in a world in which all facts are made to order and all opinions are manufactured to sense a purpose which is seldom of any real advantage to the exploited masses. Public benefit and social welfare are kept in the forefront for display and some good comes to the general public in a spectacular manner in order to prove the great humanitarian urge that the politicians harbour in their heart. But that is something which the nation's economy can easily accommodate by a fair distribution of ten percent of the national product. What happens to the rest of the vast surplus that remains unconsumed after the people receive the barest necessities of life is in anybody's sphere of research. Efforts are constantly made by persons who fight for fair play and justice to cut down exploitation and to enable people to live better, but how far they succeed can never be very accurately estimated. These discussions are entered into in order to make things more visible where the usually stay unseen in the deep dark corners of institutional and personal secrets. There is never enough light in these fields of social enquiry.

Encephalitis

Japanese Encephalitis has appeared in certain parts of India and has caused the death of several hundred persons in scattered centres where the disease manifested its active presence. The disease first began its onslaught in Japan and there after started to come towards India through Indo China, Thailand and Burma. A number of cases of Japanese Encephalitis were discovered in north Bengal and many of them proved fatal. High fever, inflamed and painful

condition of the brain were the usual symptoms. People contracting this disease were usually found to be living in close proximity of cattle pigs and poultry. Medical enquiry also located pigs and some other animals to be carriers of the disease. And mosquitos usually carry the Virus of encephalites from one person to another. The steps that people are advised to take in order to prevent the spread of the disease are removal of Khatahs and Piggeries and also the removal of poultry from near human dwellings. No specific medicines have been discovered as yet to contain this disease although attempts are being constantly made to check the spread of encephalitis. The Virus of this disease has not yet been isolated but one expects this to happen very soon. It is similar to the Virus of Dengue and people who have suffered from Dengue usually do not contract the Japanese Encephalitis. There have been talks about a Japanese prophylactic inoculation but one considers that to be conjectural and not precisely factual. However the Japanese are enterprising and they may achieve something.

China's Economic Growth

The political outlook of the Chinese people and their leaders vary radically from that of the people of India. The Chinese people have accepted an autocratic system of communism as their national ideal and they have given up all individual freedoms in order to achieve their national objectives of military strength, in industrial and scientific progress and the great effectiveness of an utterly totalitarian form of administration. The Indian people who are numerically second only to the Chinese and whose territorial vastness also is very impressive and large, do not believe in surrendering their individual rights to speak and express their opinions in regard to various matters freely and without seeking the approval of her governmental controllers of the country, have preserved their freedoms in different spheres of

life in a manner that is quite different from the Chinese acceptance of communistic authoritarianism. But the two peoples have one thing in common and that is their faith in planned growth and in the excellence of an economic system which has reserved a very large slice of work for an ever expanding public sector and not very much for exclusive individual enterprise.

India broke away from her British domination in August 1947 and the Chinese leaders also accepted communism two years after that in October 1949. In India there are many political parties which function actively and the Congress Party had remained in power since the beginning of independence until a little more than a year ago when a coalition of a number of parties took over power under the name of Janata Party. In China all parties (about eight) are in fact subservient to the Communist Party and in point of fact the Communist Party is the ruling party.

China now has a population of about 800 million persons whereas India's total of inhabitants would be about 600 million. China has many languages but a common state language is used for all state purposes and the pictographic written language is progressively being replaced by a 26 letter phonetic script which will eventually enable the Chinese to write what they wish to communicate in the manner of European languages. Among the religions of China one should take particular notice of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism. There are several million Muslims in China too and some Christians. Education is not sponsored by the government with any special fervour. As a matter of fact educational institutions were closed in large numbers during the Cultural Revolution.

In normal times China operated a large number of educational institutions which included a large number of universities. China had about 1500 cinemas. The party newspaper

had a circulation of 4.4 millions daily. Medical treatment is partly free and the doctors are trained in Western system of medicine as well as in traditional Chinese system. China's national finances are fairly stable and the national debt is very limited. The Chinese defence arrangements are very good and China has the most modern weapons and air force planes. The navy has nearly a hundred submarines and various other types of war ships. The naval air force is fairly large and the conventional air crafts number nearly 3000 front line crafts. Agriculture is extremely well organised and the forests are 12m. hectares in extent. Among minerals coal is mined in large quantities. Next come iron, oil and, natural gas, tin and tungsten (China being the world's most important source of tungsten and wolfram.) Other minerals produced in China are phosphate rock, salt, aluminium, copper, lead, zinc, antimony, asbestos, manganese, sulphur, bauxite, barite, bismuth, gold, graphite, gypsum, mercury, molybdenum and silver. There are 30 million industrial workers in China who operate cotton and silk spinning and weaving mills, steel plants, cement factories, paper manufacturing machinery, aluminium, chemicals, motor cars, trucks etc. etc. There are eight grades of wage rates prevailing in China's industrial centres. Power generation is quite advanced in some areas of China. Development of roads, railways, shipping lines, motor transport, civil aviation, etc. is well looked after. There are 67000 post offices, 150 radio broadcasting stations and a well organised TV system. The Peoples Bank of China has 30000 branches. India's roads, railways, commercial aviation, postal system etc. are probably more developed than what one finds in the Peoples Republic of China. For instance compared to China's 67000 post offices India has 117000 post offices. Chinese craftsmen are superior to Indian skilled workers but India probably has

more scientists, medical men and experts in higher technology. Both countries however have a good deal of room for development and are making progress rapidly. As things are now, the chances are that both countries will soon reach a degree of development which will bring them in line with the countries of Western Europe and America. China however has concentrated of military preparedness more than most countries and is far more advanced and ready for offensive and defensive warfare than India. This is due to the fact that the Chinese have been more aggressive in their international relations than India as has been evidenced by the Chinese occupation of Tibet and the peaceful manner in which India has tolerated the Chinese occupation of Indian territory in India's north-eastern frontier region and in the Ladhak and Kashmir area. India hopes that the Chinese will peacefully evacuate these territories and thus bring about a bloodless settlement of a very difficult international dispute.

Changing Names of Streets and Places

In about two hundred years of British overlordship India and other parts of the British empire collected a large number of place names of British creation and origin. Some were just British mispronunciation of place names in other languages which were not English. Many names have their English equivalents which have a certain similarity with the original. Ceylon for Sinhal or Ganges for Ganga; Calcutta for Kalikata or Tagore for Thakur are good examples. Other place names are totally British made and have been coined without any reference to the real names of the places. Diamond Harbour, Victoria Terrace, College Square, Willingdon Bridge, Marine Drive, Eden Garden, Lake Town etc. are such creations. There are other names which are either English translations of their original names or non English originals as the case might be. Eastern Railway for Purba Railway, West

Bengal for Paschim Banga, Calcutta University for Kalikata Viswa Vidyalaya, Medical college Hosqital for Medical college Haspatal are some such names. The place names with which we are most concerned are the memmerous street names of the large towns, the reason being our inclination to remove the established names and to replace them by others which serve some political or party purpose. There are many names of steets, squares, gardens, and other structures which attract the attention of name changers and names are changed too in a prolific manner when the urge to change names comes to life in a forceful way. We have seen Cornwallis changed to Bidhan, Harrison to Gandhi, Wellesley to Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Dharamtala to Lenin and Harrington to Ho chi Min. We understand why the names of foreign Lords have been scratched out and names of our own leaders put in their place. But we have not seen much sense in importing HoChiMin or Lenin where they had no contacts or connections of any sort. They had admirers no doubt but so had Napoleon, Julius Ceasar, Cavour or Hindenburg. And our own great men and women like Mahabali Kalidas, Padmini, Lakshmibai, Rana Sangram-sinha. Chandidas, Madhusudan Datta and Mia Tansen could have been glorified.

The idea of changing names of streets, squares, buildings and places is an easy and inexpensive method of putting up a memorial. The admirers of Jawaharlal Nehru did not have to build a square foot of Chowringhee Road, but gave Nehru's name to that magnificent high way just by a stroke of the pen. We donot know if Rafi Ahmed Kidwai had ever set foot on any part of Wellesley street of Calcutta, but his name came to be inscribed on a hundred or more shop signboards, bringing some money to sign painters but nothing else to any one else. There is great competition among politically active city fathers to change names of places and to print new names

in place of the old names. This habit if persisted in would remain in force as a political craze that will create complications as political parties are created and atolished and place names come and go with the passage of time.

Generally speaking this practice should be discouraged as far as possible. We have no objection to setting up memorials but these should be socially gainful and advantageous to the public. Changing place names does no good to anybody except to signhoard painters, letter head printers and so forth. That is no constructive way to achieve any social good. It is also a very annoying way of upsetting all those who have to write addresses. Also to all persons who have to bring in place names in their litreary of historical writings. The Great Eastern Hotel in Caicutta may be renamed Purba Deshiya Maha Panthaniwas or the Municipal Sir Stuart Hogg Market as Suren Banerjir Bazar; but any references to those places by their changed names would bring no bells in the minds of persons who have known them by their current names. We all know that Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose escaped from detention from his house in Woodburn Park. If that road is renamed Majhcr Bagan all accounts of Netaji's romntic flight from India would be covered by a veil of mystery by the mention of this new name of his place of detention. History requires to avoid all vagueness, changefulness and unnecessary ambiguities. Napoleon was defeated at the battle of Waterloo. If by renaming Waterico is changed to Champignon all history books written before that change would create confusion. General Ochtorlony had a tower built to celebrate his victorious campagin; but his monument is now known as Sahid Minar. Who the Sahids are was was not clearly stated and people think that the monument s there to celebrate the sacrifices made by all wlo fought for national freedom. Changes like this

should never be made. Streets named after great persons do not really glorify the glorious. Roads named after Rabindranath Tagore, Jagadish Chandra Bose, Prafulla Chandra Ray, Subhash Chandra Bose and other famous personalities do not in any manner help the public to better realise the true dimensions of the greatness of such persons. Such naming of roads can be compared to painting the rose petals to beautify the rose. If a place or road has any special connection with a person one may understand the reason for naming that place or street after a particular person. But Ho Chi Min never saw Harrington street, nor Lenin Dharamtala. We do not know what special connection Mahatma Gandhi had with Harrison Road or Jawaharlal Nehru with Chowringhee; but the name-dwellers thought they were doing a good job by associating Gandhiji with Sona Patty or Panditji with the biggest tramway terminus of Calcutta. It is a sound policy to leave the facts of history and social development untouched by the purposefulness of politics. In

America they name streets North, South, East, West and by numbers. East thirty fourth street remains the same no matter how many changes of Government take place. And attempts to put up memorials for Lincoln, Franklin, Roosevelt or Woodrow Wilson never end up with the changing of a name like Fifth Avenue to Kennedy Avenue. In England Trafalgar Square has remained unchanged for ages and the Bois de Boulogne has never run any risk of being changed to Avenue Foché. Naming a school, a college or University after a great person is a much better way of commemorating a departed son of a country. A country can show respect to a great world personality by naming a newly established town after such a world figure. The easy method of naming an old bye lane or an ancient street or park after a great man is no proper commemoration of a famous person. Build something new and impressive and name it after the great man or woman. That is a more suitable and proper commemoration.

PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING

L. N. MAHESHWARI

Participation Defined

Subordinates in formal enterprises are accountable to their superiors for the performance of assigned tasks. In this manner, they participate in the creation of a product or service. They also participate (share) through the receipt of wages or salaries. These types of participation are common to all organizations. But there is another type of participation which is much less frequently encountered, although its use as a managerial tool has, in recent years, grown rapidly in importance. This type involves participation in the managerial decision making process.

Decisions are made by managers in order to organize, direct, and control responsible subordinates to the end that all contributions be coordinated in the attainment of the purpose of an enterprise. Since managers are those who accomplish results through subordinates, the latter are always directly and intimately affected by managerial decisions and therefore have a considerable interest in them. Because of this interest, subordinates may have a strong desire to participate in the determination of matters affecting them. It is of importance, therefore, to consider the form which such participation might assume.

The participation with which we are concerned may take place in two different ways. First, it may involve interaction solely between a subordinate and his managers. This would be the case where a worker originates a suggestion which he transmits to his boss. Second, it may involve interaction between a group of subordinates and their manager. This would be the case where a manager calls his subordinates together to discuss a common problem or

to formulate a recommendation.

Management has been defined as "getting things done by, with, and through other people." Participative management may be defined as getting things done through people by creating a situation in which subordinates may develop mental and emotional involvement in a group situation which encourages them to contribute to group goals and share responsibility in them. Advocates of participative management stress the human element of this definition.

Participative management involves not just worker behaviour but also a situation. This point may be better illustrated by examining the type of participation being used. It has been described as a balance between pseudo-participation and excessive participation²

An example is the situation in which a manager solicits suggestions when he has already made a decision. The act reflects the application of participative methods without an understanding of the underlying principles. The subordinates will soon realise the manipulation and begin to mistrust management's intentions. At the other extreme is excessive participation in which, in an effort to maintain understanding and good feelings among all concerned in the decision making process, a decision is put off until all the participants are in agreement. The obvious disadvantage to this situation is that it is time consuming and may prevent concerted action. The balanced situation is one in which subordinates truly participate and are capable of producing results.

The appropriate degree of participation is dependent not only on the interpersonal rela-

tionships existing in the organization but also upon the situation, crisis or non-crisis, in which the organization is operating. Pseudo-participation tends to arise in a crisis situation. The manager may ask for suggestions only because the situation forces him to ask for help. This change from an authoritarian approach to a participative approach will more than likely cause uneasiness and produce few suggestions. The give and take relationship of real participation must arise from mutual respect existing in the day-to-day relationships of superiors and subordinates. Participation cannot be ordered. It must be developed by involving subordinates in the goal setting decision.

ALTERNATIVE THEORIES OF PARTICIPATION

One of the main problems confronting the modern manager is how to be "democratic" in his dealings with his subordinates and at the same time maintain the necessary authority and control for which he is responsible.

In the earlier part of this century, the successful manager was usually pictured as intelligent, imaginative, ambitious, dynamic, able to make rapid decisions, and capable of inspiring subordinates. Some of these ideas were challenged as the social sciences developed the concept of "group dynamics" which focused on the members of the group rather than only on the leader. Many of the research efforts of social scientists underscored the importance of employees involvement and participation in decision making. The research results began to challenge the efficiency of highly directive leadership, and increasing attention was being paid to problems of motivation and human relations.

The result of these findings and the human relations training based on them questioned the stereotypical character of an effective leader. This has resulted in the modern manager frequently finding himself in an uncomfortable

state of mind. He often is unsure of how to behave. He feels torn between existing "strong" leadership and "participative" leadership. Although the new knowledge pushes him in one direction, his experience pulls him in another direction. He often feels unsure of whether a group decision is really appropriate or whether he is using staff meetings merely as a means of avoiding his own decision-making responsibility.

Although the suggestion that managers are accepting a two-sided approach to participation may be disturbing, it should not be too surprising since the concept of participation has not always been dealt within a consistent manner. An examination of the various treatments of participation reveals two significantly different models of participative management.

One of the models—the *human relations model*—closely resembles the concept of participation which the manager appears to accept for use with their own subordinates. The second, and not fully developed theory—the *human resources model*—prescribes the sort of participative policies that managers would apparently like their superiors to follow.

HUMAN RELATIONS MODEL

The human relations model approach is not new. Spokesmen began to challenge the autocratic philosophy of management as early as the 1920. The employee was no longer pictured as merely being an appendage to a machine, seeking only economic rewards from his work. Often managers were instructed to consider him as a 'whole man' rather than merely a bundle of skills and aptitudes. They were urged to create a sense of satisfaction among their subordinates by showing interest in the employees' personal success and welfare. As Reinhard observes the "failure to treat workers as human beings came to be regarded as the cause of low morale, poor craftsmanship, unresponsiveness, and confusion."³

The key element in the human relations

approach is its basic objective of making organizational members feel a useful and important part of the overall effort. This process is reviewed as the means of accomplishing the ultimate goal of building a cooperative and compliant work force. Participation, in this model, is a lubricant which oils away resistance to formal authority. By discussing problems with his subordinates and acknowledging their individual needs and desires, the manager hopes to build a cohesive work team that is willing and anxious to tangle with organizational problems.

"In many ways the human relations model represents only a slight departure from traditional autocratic models of management. The method of achieving results is different, and employees are reviewed in more humanistic terms, but the basic roles of the manager and his subordinates remain essentially the same. The ultimate goal sought in both the traditional and human relations model is compliance with managerial authority."⁴

HUMAN RESOURCES MODEL

The human resources model represents a dramatic departure from traditional concepts of management. Though it has not yet been fully developed, it is emerging as a new and significant contribution by management thought. The magnitude of its departure from previous model is illustrated first of all in its basic assumptions concerning people's values and abilities. The focus of attention in this respect is on all organization members as reservoirs of untapped resources. These resources include not only physical skills and energy, but also creative ability and the capacity for responsible self-directed, self-controlled behaviour.

Under these assumptions about people, the manager's job cannot be reviewed merely as one of giving direction and obtaining cooperation. Instead, his primary task becomes that of creating an environment in which the total resources of his department can be utilized.

The second area in which the human resources model differs dramatically from previous models is its view of the purpose and goal of participation. In this model, the manager does not share information, discuss departmental decisions, or encourage self-direction and self-control merely to improve subordinates' satisfaction and morale. Rather, the purpose of these practices is to improve the decision-making process and the total performance is efficiency of the organization. The human resources model suggests that many decisions may actually be made more efficiently by those directly affected by them.

Similarly, this model implies that control is often most efficiently exercised by those directly involved in the work in the process, rather than by a person or a group removed from the actual point of operation. Moreover, the human resources model does not suggest that the manager should allow participation only in routine decisions. Instead, it implies that the more important the decision, the greater his obligation to encourage ideas and suggestions.

Along this same vein, this model does not suggest that the manager allow his subordinates to exercise self-direction and self-control excepting only when they are carrying out relatively unimportant assignments. In fact, it suggests that the area over which subordinates exercise self-direction and control should be continually broadened in keeping with their growing experience and ability.

The crucial point at which this model tends to differ dramatically from other models is in its explanation of the causal relationship between satisfaction and performance. In the human relations approaches improvement in subordinate satisfaction is viewed as the variable that is the ultimate cause of improved performance.

In the human resources model the causal relationship between satisfaction and perfor-

mance is viewed as being quite different. The increased subordinate satisfaction is not pictured as the primary cause of improved performance; improvements result directly from creative contributions which subordinates make to departmental decision making direction, and control. Subordinates satisfaction is viewed instead as a by-product of the process.

SUMMARY

Pseudo-Participation: A situation in which a manager tries to make subordinates think they are participating and influencing decisions when they really are not.

Excessive Participation: A situation in which participation is carried to a point where important decisions are not made.

Human Relations Model: Views participation as a lubricant which oils every resistance to authority,

Human Resources Model: Views participa-

tion as a means to improving the quality of decisions.

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THEME OF LOVE AND TRADITION SARAT CHANDRA

Prof. B. V. POTDAR

All great novelists of the world have invariably utilized some aspects of the human psyche as their themes. Sharatchandra is not an exception. He studies some aspects of the human mind on the background of the life he saw around him. The depths of the human mind, its capacity for pain and self-sacrifice and agonizing experiences, its profound goodness, the glory of its idealism and the splendour of its romantic aspirations, are studied on the back-

ground of a realistic depiction of life in Bengal. Sharatchandra is a raconteur par excellence and the moment you take up his novel, you have entered into his world, and have started looking at it through his eyes. When you stand back and look at him again, you are struck by his facile mode of expression, his realism, his irony and humour, and above all his purposiveness and social consciousness. Yet he is preeminently an artist, and the love between men and

women is one of his major themes. In his world, love is frustrated mainly owing to social tradition. Love is a life force, a natural mutual response between man and woman, but it gets suppressed and frustrated on account of various reasons. Sometimes it is the disparity of economic and social status, more often it is the taboo of caste and community, that stands as an obstacle in the way. Often the urge to love is frustrated simply because a woman is a young widow. The heroine may even be a young woman deserted by her husband, or might be a so called 'fallen' woman.

In Sharat Babu's world the emotion of love attains an abnormal intensity and becomes almost desperate, owing to the obstacles created by social tradition. Lovers like Shrikant—Rajlaxmi or Satish-Savitri prove unable to flout social tradition and achieve a union. The only way left to them is the sublimation of their feeling of love. The women are able to achieve such a sublimation, though with difficulty, because the Indian woman was trained since childhood to hold her emotions in check. But a hero like Satish finds such a sublimation very difficult; a Devdas finds it impossible, and consequently the whole of his youth and life are destroyed by the love that he cannot forget. Satish is saved just in time from such a waste. Sharat Babu's emphasis on portraiture of feminine attitudes in all their glory has led many readers to believe that his heroes are very weak. But a careful reader would refrain from assuming that all his men have a weak character.

Sharat Babu's principal theme appears to be the tension created by unfulfilled love, and also a sense of bliss imparted by the feeling of love that remains unfulfilled in the worldly sense of the term. Savitri seeks her fulfilment in attempts to protect Satish from the influence of his dissolute friends, and in the small services she can render him. It should be interesting to notice that she cannot conceal her love, it

breaks out through all the details of her conduct towards Satish. She knows well that Satish was a young man of warm blood, and eager temperament, she also realizes that she could never marry him, yet she cannot resist the temptation of hovering about him, serving him, almost flirting with him, and revealing her love through suggestive attitudes. This gives rise to an uncertain type of relationship between the two, and it becomes the target of criticism from the outside world.

This type of undefined relation is the theme not only of *Charitraheen*, it is the central theme of many a novel by Sharatchandra. This kind of delicate and complex relation expects a supreme sacrifice from both the parties, and yet is considered scandalous by the world. It ends neither in physical union nor in marriage. Treatment of this type of difficult and undefined relationship appears to have been handed by Sharatchandra as a kind of medium through which he seeks to find out the meaning of love and the meaning of life. Satish was a man of means, and sufficiently reckless to be ready to marry Savitri, but Savitri cannot bring herself to accept such an offer. Her attitude represents the natural yearning of a woman's heart that her lover should be able to command the respect of the world. In the world of Sharatchandra, young widows or 'fallen' women are often brought into contact with generous hearted men, and feelings that should remain concealed in the heart get revealed. This confrontation leads to the discovery of the quality and intensity of love. Savitri cannot conceal her feelings within her heart though marriage was impossible, and though there was the risk that an impetuous man like Satish may not always keep within the bounds of decent behaviour, in which case she might have lost respect for him. She tries unceasingly, under cover of mild flirtation, to judge the nature of his love for her. This results into a tantalizing and therefore agonizing experience for both,

but this sort of flirting allowed by Sharat Babu serves a purpose. Through such flirtation these women try to ascertain the character of the man and the quality of his love. They also try to ascertain whether the sublimation of the feeling of love would be possible for the man if it is possible for them.

Because of the uncertain nature of the situation the conversations between the men and women resort to suggestive and indirect modes of speech. This leads to misunderstandings, feelings get ruffled, quarrels arise and subside. The tensions created bring crises, and sometimes lead to temptation. It can be observed that the heroines of Sharatchandra evince a superb capacity for resistance to temptation. Do they not know that a lover could not be kept away for long from the physical manifestations of love, and that if he was perpetually deprived of such satisfaction he was likely to turn to some other woman? Perhaps they expect the beloved and revered man to possess the same capacity for restraint and sacrifice that they themselves possess. And yet it can be observed that if he fails in this struggle with himself, they think it natural, in a way; for they have different norms for men and women. That is why they tend to forgive their men for their lapses.

Satish is the type of man who cannot live without the moral and emotional support of a woman, he has a strong social consciousness though. He is neither detached like Shrikant nor timid like Rakhal from *Shesh Parichaya*. Sharatchandra invests him with an impetuosity and gusto so that he is quite capable of flouting social bonds and marrying Savitri. And yet we feel certain that Sharat Babu was averse to the idea of placing before his readers the flouting of religious and social convention as a solution to the problem. Therefore it was necessary that Satish should accept the idea of sublimation of love and release Savitri. To achieve this it was

necessary to lead him to a certain elevated plane of thought with the help and support of some other personality. The author was therefore compelled to raise Upendra to a greater height than before, and bring about the conversion of Satish and Savitri under his influence. Sarojini, a young woman who was in love with Satish, also came handy.

All through his novels Sharat Babu tries to ascertain the sources of strength in the human mind, by virtue of which a person could be able to resist temptations and lead a good life according to his own lights. Persons like Upendra are by nature immaculate, they know the difference between good and evil, and they pursue their goals in the light of this knowledge. This type in Sharatchandra develops later into its most mature form in *Vipradas*. Upendra's sympathies appear to widen also because of his difficult experiences of life. In the case of his wife Surabala the source of strength was implicit belief in her husband, in God, and the religious tradition. In the case of more ordinary persons, love of family and friends appears to take the place of values. Kiranmayi is a woman blind to any of these values. Her story is therefore narrated as a warning to those who suffer from a moral and spiritual void.

Now let us have a look at the story of Shrikant and Rajalaxmi. Shrikant is an intelligent and sensitive man given to introspection, and has the temperament of a seeker after truth. He has moreover the capacity to look with detachment at his own life, and life at large. When this type confronts an intelligent and sensitive woman with an artistic temperament it again gives rise to an undefined relationship as in the case of Satish—Savitri, but with some difference. In Shrikant as well as his author Sharatchandra, a profound sympathy for women is the result of observation, since childhood, of the frustration and waste in women's lives. The example of the devotion of

Annada to her worthless husband had left an indelible impression on the mind of Shrikant in his childhood ; and he had felt that his mind had become invincible to the charm of womanhood, because he could not conceive of a woman who could excel Annada in her devotion. And yet he finds that he could not put away from his mind the image of Rajalaxmi who happens to confront him one day in the garb of Pyari Baiji. She had in their childhood worshipped him, though he was unaware of it. He now discovers with a pang of surprise and delight that she had been able to retain in her heart her childhood love in an immaculate and uncontaminated form through all her ordeals which appeared to have polluted her life only in an external and superficial manner.

Like Savitri, Rajalaxmi too cannot find an adequate solution to the problem of her love. She strikes us as more intelligent than Savitri and more talented ; she is now obviously well placed financially, but her problem is basically the same. Satish was a man of a reckless and impetuous temperament, and so the problem of his love acquires a peculiarly poignant and urgent nature ; the author was therefore compelled to manage the incidents towards a definite end. Shrikant having an attitude of detachment, the novel goes on drifting and gives the author a better scope for delineation of the different shades and the subtler nuances of love. Shrikant recognizes Rajalaxmi's love as an invaluable gift, but like Rajalaxmi he too is averse to the idea of revolt against social and religious conventions. He is therefore quite capable of suppressing his love within his heart and releasing Rajalaxmi whenever she wants to be free. He admires the strength of her mind when she bids farewell to him in Patna. This capacity for renunciation in her symbolizes for him the greatness of her love. Thus the lovers keep on rotating around each other like two planets for a long time without meeting.

Abhaya whom Shrikant meets in Burma symbolizes the idea of necessary revolt on the part of suffering womanhood. But what do Shrikant and Rajalaxmi feel about her ? They feel admiration for her but they feel she was an exceptional case, it was not an ideal to be followed. Abhaya appeals to Shrikant repeatedly to sit in judgment upon her case, but he shrinks away from this task. He feels, like his author, that what was possible for her in Burma was not possible for him and Rajalaxmi in India. Sharat Babu appears to feel that it was rather risky to place revolt against social and religious bonds as an ideal before the generality of people. A Vivekanand or a Keshab Chandra Sen may place a rational ideal before society, but it was apt, in the case of the ordinary man, to degenerate into a superficial and slavish imitation of Western manners. Sharat Babu knew the weaknesses in the reactions of the ordinary man ; therefore his novels never glorify a superficially revolutionary attitude. Even Kamal from Shesh Prashna, who is a most confirmed rebel, is painted as a woman with moderate habits, having a wonderful and almost spiritual capacity for self-control. Sharat Babu appears to feel that social reform could be undertaken only by selfless workers who have a genuine love for their countrymen. *Palli Samaj*, *Pandit Mahashaya*, bear witness to this attitude. Vajranand, the young doctor sanyasi in *Shrikant* too symbolizes this attitude in Sharatchandra.

Therefore Shrikant, Rajalaxmi, and their author do not admire simply the rebellious courage in Abhaya. They scrutinize whether the person who bears the flag of revolt is morally worthy of such a task. Abhaya is not only intelligent and rebellious ; she has within her a profound capacity for sacrifice, a devotion to the ideal of service, and her character is marked by a liberal humanity and also a patriotic pride in her religion. She never

wavers for a moment when Shrikant presents himself to her as a patient during the plague in Burma. She welcomes him without hesitation and attends upon him with loving care. When Rajalaxmi learns about this she comments that this flame of human love and goodness burning in Abhaya was capable of burning out all her sin. The Gurudev of Rajalaxmi once commented that a person should undertake a task suitable to his might; one person remains unaffected by the germs of a disease while another is destroyed by the same germs. Therefore the consideration of the worthiness of the rebel is of utmost importance. Superstition and tradition can be blind and cruel, similarly an attitude of revolt can be equally blind and cruel. Thus the moral character of the reformer or rebel, and his selfless attitude, acquire supreme importance.

This leads us to notice another attitude in Sharatchandra. He appears to be interested in solving the problems of the common man, not of the extra-ordinary and exceptional cases. Shrikant once remarks that Rajalaxmi was not one, there were many Rajalaxmis spread out in society at large. What he means is that Rajalaxmi could not or should not try to solve her own problem by treating it as an exceptional case. Rakhal in *Sneher Parichaya* too remarks that there are many Sharadas in society while Savita would have him believe that his love for Sharada might be treated as an exceptional case. Sharat Babu could not seek out, for the benefit of the entire society, a recognized and acceptable means for the amelioration of the sufferings of these Sharadas Savitris and Rajalaxmis. The only thing he could do as an artist was to sit down and paint their suffering in all its glory.

While reading his novels we begin to feel that the solution to the problem is not of primary importance. Rajalaxmi and Shrikant may revolt like Abhaya, or may decide to suffer their agony in silence, it is all one. What strikes

the author and what engages his mind most, is the quality and intensity of love they display, their capacity for love and sacrifice. Sharat Babu is fascinated by the splendour evinced by the human soul in these encounters. Social traditions go on changing, he appears to say, but love and its problems are eternal; for even in a reformed state of society the problems would not cease to be. The suffering of Rajalaxmi appears so vast and so everlasting that it becomes a part of the eternal life of nature. In one way the numerous episodes in the novel form a background to the love story of Shrikant-Rajalaxmi. Looked at from a different angle of vision, the never ending love of the two appears to be an eternal background on which the drama of human life contained in the other episodes is played out.

It is futile to discuss whether Sharatchandra was a revolutionary in social and religious matters. He was preeminently an artist and painted the life he saw around him. He obviously felt and propagated a need for reform in social and political life. But we would be expecting too much of an artist if we expect him to give us a complete methodology of reform. Sharatchandra might not have upheld and propagated definite ways of reform or revolt expected by the bio-sociologist of the present day; it is enough that he upheld certain human values of eternal significance. His heroes may be weak or strong, they are characterized by strong humanistic values. Satish is described by the author as a man who was tempted to help others even when they did not seek his help. He was a man who forgot that he was living in Kaliyuga, and tried to live as if he was in Satyayuga. He acted what he said and said what he thought. Shrikant too was a man who often went out of his way to help others. And about Indranath the author comments that he possessed the greatest gift of God—a guileless heart; therefore he

was fearless and selfless. Sharatchandra in all his art upholds and propagates such eternal human values, for he must have felt that these human values were more essential than details of social reform. And as a background to the depiction of these human values of goodness, largeheartedness, pity and sympathy, and filial

piety, he utilized the life he saw around him. In those days life in Bengal had a medieval or post-feudal character and structure. It does not, however, turn Sharatchandra into a medievalist or feudalist, as some critics have tended to imagine.

WORKER'S MISCONDUCT

NAVIN KUMAR

The maintenance of industrial discipline is basic to the smooth functioning of an economy; it assumes an added significance in a developing country which can ill afford industrial strife. Besides, an economy, which has embarked upon a programme of planned economic growth, would need not merely absence of industrial indiscipline but also active co-operation between labour and management, if the momentum of growth is to be maintained. The task of maintaining industrial discipline might not present much difficulty in a communist country in which it is possible to eliminate indiscipline in the industrial economy through a high degree of regimentation. But in a democratic country, there is no room for such enforced discipline. Here the task, basically, is two fold; to respect the freedom of action by trade unions on the one hand, and to ensure that the exercise of this freedom does not spark off any trouble. This clearly calls

for some rethinking on the part of trade unions, which should prevail upon the workers, to eschew their aggressive, negligent and improper conduct and to work as disciplined labour force. The concept of misconduct has not been defined either in the Industrial Disputes Act or in the Industrial Employment (Standing Orders) Act. The dictionary meanings of the word 'misconduct' are :— improper behaviour; intentional wrong-doing. Any Conduct on the part of a worker, inconsistent with the faithful discharge of duties towards his employer would be a misconduct. The model standing orders in schedule I to the Industrial Employment (Standing Orders) Central Rules treat some acts and omissions by workers as misconduct. There may be various types of misconduct other than those included in the standing orders. As held by the Hon'ble Supreme Court of India in *Agarwal Vs. Badri Das* (1963-(1) LLJB 84) :—

"It would be open to employer, in the absence of standing orders, to consider reasonably what conduct can be properly treated as misconduct. It would be difficult to lay down any general rule in respect of this problem. What is misconduct will naturally depend upon the circumstances of each case".

Absence signifies the failure of a worker to report for duty in a factory. Absence without permission is one of the most common misconduct, an employee can commit. No factory can function smoothly, if workers are able to go and come as they like. The necessity for workers to be present on duty punctually is obvious. The offence is aggravated when a worker has a duty requiring continuous performance at the place of work and he leaves without permission.

Leaving the job before expiry of duty-time is frowned upon, but should not be regarded as "Capital Offence" carrying extreme penalty. Lateness is absence without leave for the period between the time a worker is required to arrive and the time actually he arrives. It is no excuse for late arrival that factory does not suffer therefrom. The Labour Investigation Committee also deplored large-scale absenteeism of workers in factories. While it is admitted that it is but plain and obvious duty of workers to attend to work punctually, it has been suggested that good and regular attendance should be entered as a mark of merit in the record sheet of a worker. This should be taken into consideration when time for promotion is being considered. Before a worker can be charged with this type of misconduct, the employer has to show that employee has a duty to do the act alleged to have been committed. Such duties may be expressed or implied; Expressed duties may be created by statutes, such as, the Factories Act, the Industrial Employment Standing Order, etc., or agreement between workers and employer. There are also some implied duties, such as

that a worker would be trustworthy and that he would not jeopardise the interest of his employer.

The refusal of a worker to perform, or to carry out the job which he is bound to do, will constitute misconduct. An employee may be guilty of non performance of work in two ways, viz., by deliberately refusing to work and by neglecting to do the work. The contract of industrial employment postulates that a worker shall exercise reasonable care and skill in the performance of his duty. A worker who neglects to carry out work with a due care and diligence is guilty of misconduct. Disobedience to orders issued by a superior in connection with his performance of duty is a misconduct. A worker, who neglects to carry out his duties, e. g., when he is required to perform them in the same manner is guilty of misfeasance. Habitual negligence constitutes serious misconduct justifying even a severe penalty of dismissal. The offence must be specific one, and the mere fact that a worker lacks confidence of his employer, is not enough to constitute a misconduct. Neglect of duty may be committed through a failure of the employee either to put in sufficient efforts, or to pay attention to his work. Lack of enthusiasm in discharging duties is not a misconduct. Deliberate refusal to obey the orders of superiors will constitute insubordination and negligence in obeying orders will be an act of disobedience. The Orissa High Court in *Somnath Saha Vs. State of Orissa* (1965 I LLJ 349) held that refusal to disclose, when so required by the employer, the names of members of superior staff who were at fault constitutedmisconduct of disobedience.

Since a worker is employed to carry out his duties, his indulgence in other activities during duty-time other than those pertaining to his work, is tantamount to neglect of his duty. Reading of newspapers or magazines, singing, gossiping, etc., in the place of work, typing

private matters, writing memorandum and representations, and carrying on union activities while on duty, conducting of one's private business in the factory premises, intentionally dilatory process adversely impinging on production or time target-all these constitute misconduct. Commitment of errors due to carelessness by employees especially in making of records is negligence and hence misconduct.

That a worker is a trade union leader does not exculpate him from carrying out duty sincerely. If a competent worker could not do more in the duty time, where excessively high goals are fixed, failure to meet these standards is not a misconduct.

Disobedience to lawful orders is a grave offence, for it goes at once to the utter annihilation of all authority. Instructions may be of two types. The first type includes specific orders addressed to and applicable to a particular worker. The second general instructions which are not addressed to a particular worker, but rather to a particular class of workers. A failure to obey orders or to not carry instructions through carelessness or forgetfulness is misconduct of a less aggravated nature than a willful disobedience of orders, since no defiance of authority is involved.

The use of abusive and vulgar language by a worker before a superior is misconduct even though the subordinate is not under his immediate charge. To show disrespect or to assault superiors is a misconduct. Respect is rendered not only to the individual but to his position. That a worker is a trade union leader, does not exempt him from showing proper respect to his superiors. The offence of disrespect to a superior requires the use of words or actions which exhibit lack of respect of a authority, communication to authority and an intent to defy the authority of a superior. Communication of disrespect may be oral or in writing or by any other actions which will convey the feeling. Disrespect must always be intentional.

while respect should always be shown to the position of a superior, a false aspersion or defamatory attack on his conduct and character is deemed to be inconsistent with a position he holds.

Like abuse, insult to a superior reflects on his position and hence misconduct. The shouting of degrading slogans, displaying such language on placards, singing abusive songs about superiors within their hearing, or calling a superior by names like 'Silly Fool', 'Burglar' and 'Bogus' Manager' are misconduct. Defiance of authority has always been deemed insolence that involves lack of respect or acknowledgment of authority of a superior and is regarded as misconduct.² The use of belligerent or aggressive tone to superior may convey an attitude of disrespect. Hurling of threats of any kind on the person or property of a superior implies rejection of his authority and therefore misconduct.

Assaulting a co-worker is apart from being a misconduct, a criminal offence. Assault implies unlawful laying of hands on another person or an attempt or offer to do a corporal hurt to another, coupled with an apparent present ability and intention to do the act. The severity of assault gets accentuated if a co-worker is an old person or a female who is not able to defend himself or herself. Any physical obstruction offered to prevent a co-worker from working or going to a factory is misconduct. Fighting in factory is misconduct. Fighting in factory premises, with a co-worker with his consent, whether expressed or implied, is misconduct.³ Use of any abusive filthy and otherwise objectionable language to other workers is misconduct, especially if they are female. A worker who, being incensed by a remark made by a fellow worker, loses his temper and strikes him is guilty of misconduct. It has been decided that deliberate mixing up of the work product of a co-employee to annoy him, snatching of materials from his hand and

flinging them to the ground and coercing him into joining his union or group are misconduct.

It is a misconduct to surround the residence or office of a superior and to block ingress and egress.⁴ Trespassing into the precincts of the bungalow of a superior and refusing to disperse when so ordered, is misconduct. The Calcutta High Court has ruled that gherao is a form of imprisonment depriving a person of his liberty which is repugnant to Article 21 of the Indian Constitution which enjoins that no person can be deprived of his liberty except according to law. Holding by workers of unauthorised meeting in a manager's premises either during or after working hours amounts to misconduct on their part.

An employer who employs a worker reasonably expects that would work to the best interest of the former, while defamatory accusation against a superior generally passes for insubordination, the offence becomes all the more serious, when defamation is directed against a manager or an employer. In such a case, the offence constitutes the wilful infliction of harm on the employer and is, therefore, disloyalty. Sabotage consists of deliberate infliction of harm on or damage to the employer's business with the intention to cause him loss and hence, misconduct. It is a breach of loyalty to disclose confidential information about the employer to unauthorised persons,⁵ specially to the employer's business competitors.

To damage employer's property without necessity or permission is a misconduct. Intentionally spoiling the employer's work-product is equally misconduct. It is not necessary that a specific intention to harm employer be present so as to amount to the offence of sabotage. Careless operating of machine is a misconduct. A worker is under obligation to take necessary precautions to protect employer's property in the same manner as man

of ordinary prudence would do in his own case. It is also a misconduct for a worker to be drunken while on duty and the argument that a worker remains capable of doing his duty properly is untenable. Even selling of liquor and gambling in the employer's premises are misconduct. It is a misconduct for a worker to be rude or use any offensive or abusive language to a customer of his employer; the gravity of offence is heightened when a customer is a female.

The concept of moral turpitude implies, depravity and wickedness of character or disposition of the person charged with moral turpitude. The Allahabad High Court has laid down the following tests for determining as to whether a particular act is a moral turpitude or not :

- (1): Whether on account of the act having been committed the perpetrator would be considered to be of depraved character or a person who has to be looked down upon by the society.
- (2): Whether the act leading to conviction was such as could shock the moral consciousness of society in general.
- (3): Whether the motive which led to the act was a base one-

Molesting and attacking a female worker in order to dishonour her in factory premises comes under purview of moral turpitude and hence constitutes misconduct warranting severe disciplinary action like a dismissal. It is no defence for a guilty worker that molestation was done in factory premises after duty time, with her consent and employer's interest was not injured in any way and the employer has no right to terminate his services. Eve-teasing in the factory premises is a misconduct.

It was held by Allahabad High Court in the case *Baleswar Singh Vs. District Magistrate & Collector, Banaras*. AIR 1959 Allahabad 71) that whether or not a particular case is a

moral turpitude would depend upon the facts and circumstances in which offence was committed.

If a worker is guilty of misconduct, he should be punished in order to maintain discipline in the factory. However, the management should be reasonable in punishing the guilty workers. If the misconduct is of serious nature the services of the guilty worker should be terminated. It is obvious that for the maintenance of discipline in the factory premises, recourse to dismissal should not be frequented. It should be the last resort. It is essential that management should be encouraged to approach issues in a cool and calculated manner. Hasty decisions taken when tempers are inflamed are dangerous. A good manager will not allow himself to be stampeded into action or to base his thinking on preconceived notions. Before taking action in such cases, it is necessary to get the facts, talk to the persons concerned and get, if the situation merits it, opinions and feelings about the issue. This is to probe into the feasibility that there may be hidden reasons that led to a particular happening. Once the facts are clear, all possible alternative actions should be considered, not only in order to see that an

immediate disaster can be avoided, but also in order to fulfil the real, long-term objective, that is, to build sound labour relations and encourage the settling of problem by the sensible, interchange of thoughts but not by what amounts to emotional disorder of the mind.⁶ It is no wisdom to settle the problems now in such a manner that they explode into worse crises in future. To avoid such situations the management, at all levels, must distinguish in their own minds the difference between magnanimity and weakness. The former often pays good dividends in terms of better relations the latter never does.

1. Indian Iron and Steel Co. Vs. Their workmen AIR 1958, S.C. 130.
2. Bharat Bank Ltd ; Vs. Its Workmen 1949 LLj 226.
3. Narayan Amara Vs. Raj Kumar Mills Ltd ; 1960 TILLJ. 654.
4. Mackenzie and Co. Vs. Its workmen AIR, 1959 S.C 1719.
5. Jewan Lal Ltd ; Vs. Workmen 1955 I.C.R. 626
6. Harry Welton, the Unnecessary Conflict (1962), page. 70.



THE GOVERNOR AND THE PROROGATION OF THE ASSEMBLY

N. S. GEHLOT

According to the Article 174(2)(a) the power to prorogue the Assembly of the State is vested in the Governor alone. The Governor's action for prorogation cannot be called into question on the ground of malafide. In other words, this function is non-justiciable.¹

The prorogation of the Assembly by the Governor is an important function. It brings to an end a session of the Assembly. There is a little bit of difference between the terms adjournment, prorogation and the dissolution of the Assembly.² The prorogation terminates the session of the Assembly and it operates until a fixed date, while an adjournment is an interruption in the course of one and the same session. It may take place many times within session. It postpones the further consideration of business for a specific time i.e. hours days or weeks. Dissolution, on the hand, means the end of the life of the lower House of the Assembly and calls for a fresh election. It may take either after the expiry of a five year term of it may take place even before the normal period of the Assembly. The power of prorogation and dissolution is exercised by the Governor while an adjournment is done by Speaker of the Assembly. They exercise this right according to the conventions of the democracy.³

Thus, the Governor exercises the power to prorogue the Legislative Assembly of the State from time to time. It is a parliamentary convention that the Governor exercises this function on Ministerial advice. But the issue to be considered is: Should the Governor always act on the advice of the Council of Ministers in respect of prorogation of the Assembly?

Since the commencement of the constitution it has become a convention that the Governor of the State normally prorogues the State Assembly on the advice of Chief Minister. But a constitutional crisis developed in July 1967, in Madhya Pradesh when the Governor K.C. Reddy prorogued the Legislative Assembly of the State on the advice of the Chief Minister, D.P. Mishra, especially at a time of the mass defections from the Congress Legislative Party. In a press conference on July 20, 1967 the Governor said that "he had prorogued the session of the Vidhan Sabha for the present in view of the last political developments in the State particularly during the last few days and in the interest of the proper functioning of democracy."⁴

It was alleged by the opposition group that the Governor prorogued the Assembly in order to pressurize the dissidents to come back in the party and to weaken the opposition camp.⁵ It was further said that the Governor acted on the instructions of the Central Government, but the then Union Minister, Mr. Y. B. Chavan refuted the charge in the Lok Sabha. He said that the Governor of the State acted constitutionally on the advice of the Chief Minister. The Governor as a constitutional head was bound to follow the advice of the Chief Minister.⁵ Similarly a new constitutional deadlock also cropped up in Punjab in March, 1968 when Sardar Joginder Singh Mann, the Speaker of the Punjab Assembly, adjourned the Assembly for two months at a time of Budget Session in order to avoid a motion of no-confidence moved against him by the members of the ruling party.⁶ Further the Governor prorogued the Assembly on March 11,

1967 on the advice of the Chief Minister inspite of knowing the fact that, no confidence motion was pending before the Assembly. In the same manner the Governor B. Gopala Reddy of Uttar Pradesh prorogued the Assembly on the advice of the Chief Minister Charan Singh on January 9, 1968 while the strength of the S.V.O. had been reduced into minority due to the withdrawal of S. S. P. and C. P. I. on account of the crisis for leadership in the State.⁷ It is significant that the Vidhan Sabha was due to meet on January, 15, 1968. Dr. D. C. Pavate, the Governor of Punjab also prorogued the Legislative Assembly on April 10, 1970 while the resolution for the removal of the Speaker was there. The Governor said that he was satisfied that the notice for the removal of the Speaker was received after the prorogation of the Assembly. He was entitled to ignore it.⁸ The Governor of Tamil Nadu, K. K. Shah also prorogued the Legislative Assembly on the advice of the State Chief Minister although the notice for the removal of the Speaker was pending for further consideration. The Chief Minister said that the prorogation was made to clear the way for the reconvening of the Assembly and to keep off the constitutional deadlock created by the Speaker.⁹

The illustrative examples vividly show that the Governors of the States have been proroguing the Legislative Assemblies on the advice of the Councils of Ministers. The relevant question arises, should the Governor accept the advice of Cabinet in respect of the prorogation of the Assembly in a situation when the motion of no-confidence against the Ministry is pending in the House? In this connection no fair and healthy convention has been developed in the country so far.

In the Constituent Assembly when Dr. Ambedkar moved an amendment for deletion of the clause 3 of the Draft Article 153, H.V. Kamath raised the question why a diffe-

rent line for prorogation was being adopted? He wanted to know whether the Governor would prorogue the Assembly on the ministerial Advice.¹⁰ As such no reply to his question was made, but the fact was that the framers had an intention that the Governor would order for prorogation on the advice of the Council of his Ministers.

According to the parliamentary practice, the Governor exercises the power of prorogation on the advice of the ministerial body, not in a capacity as a constitutional head but also as an important part of the Legislative body. Under the democratic system, the Governor should exercise the power of prorogation on the advice of his Council of Ministers; but the Governor is not supposed to permit a prorogation of the Assembly in an eventuality when a no confidence motion against the Speaker or the Ministry itself is pending in the House for its consideration. The action regarding the prorogation of the Assemblies of the Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and Tamil Nadu by their respective Governors cannot be justified constitutionally proper and democratic. K. Santhanam said that the advice of the Chief Minister of M. P. was quite unconstitutional.¹¹ J. B. Kripalani also condemned the role of the Governor in M. P.¹²

Under the parliamentary system, the decision on the no-confidence motion against the Government is always decided on the floor of the House. It was perhaps the first unprecedented example in the constitutional history of Britain that Charles II of Britain prorogued the Cavalier Parliament on December, 30, 1678 in order to save his Minister Danby from being impeached.¹³

The article 174(2) of the constitution indicates that there is no restriction on the power of the Governor for the prorogation of the State Assembly. A similar opinion was also expressed by the Supreme Court in 1968 which held that "article 174(2) of the

constitution, which enabled the Governor to prorogue the Legislature, did not indicate any restriction on this power.¹⁴ It is true in the sense that the action taken by Governor cannot be called in question in any Court of the land under article 163 of the Constitution. Hence his action is non-justiciable. Even then it is important from the constitutional and democratic point of view that this power should be exercised by the Governor on the basis of certain justiciable grounds when the legislative Assembly is in session. Pitambar Das, the former M. P. is of the view that the Chief Minister's advice for prorogation is not "binding" for the Governor. The Governor should allow the prorogation of the Assembly only after forming his own judgement. He may take the advice of the Speaker and the Chairman of the both Houses of the State.¹⁵ ordinarily the Chief Minister has the right to ask for a prorogation of the Assembly for convenience in transacting the business of the State affairs, but he has no right to ask for a prorogation of the Assembly for his convenience when the Assembly is in session and is facing a major crisis or a no confidence motion against a Minister or a Speaker is pending in the House, and the Assembly is going to express its opinion on the burning issue. In no case, the Assembly should be prevented from giving its judgement.

Summing up, a healthy and democratic convention should be developed for the prorogation the State Assembly. In normal circumstances the Governor should exercise this power on the advice of his Council of Ministers. But in a situation when a notice of a motion of no confidence against the Ministry is pending in the Legislative Assembly, the Governor should, instead of proroguing the Assembly, "ask the Chief Minister to face the Assembly and allow the motion to be debated and voted upon."¹⁶

The Governor should also not prorogue the House when the units of the United group forming the Government, withdraw their support from the Government, or the Government has been reduced minority due to the split in the Party. For the prorogation of the Assembly in this situation would mean helping the ministry in avoiding the sense of responsibility of the council of Ministers towards the State Assembly. Chief Minister may try to use the prorogation as a political weapon for bypassing the wishes of the Assembly. In a parliamentary system the opposition camp has the right to challenge the Government's decisions. The Governor, therefore, should exercise this power cautiously and wisely particularly in a situation when the Assembly is going to give its verdict on a major issue. This sort of action of the Governor would preserve both the dignity of the office of the Governor as well as the values of our democratic system.

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1. Basu, D., Commentary on the Constitution of India (Calcutta; S. C. Sarkar and Sons (P) Ltd., 1967, Fifth Edn., Vol. (3) P.291.
 2. Ibid, Vol.2, P. 518
 3. This distinction has been marked beautifully by D. D. Basu, Op.Cit., Vol.2, PP. 518-19. Also See: Wade, E. C. S. and Phillips, G. Godfrey, Op, Cit., PP. 92-93.
 4. The Times of India (New Delhi Edn,) July 22 1967.
 4. Swarjaya, Madras, Vol. 12, No. 6, Aug. 5, 1967, P. 5.
 5. The Times of India, July 22, 1967.
 6. Kashyap, Subhash C., The Politics, of Defections (Delhi, National Publishing House, 1969) PP .262 65

7. The Hindustan Times, (New Delhi Edn) August 12, 1967 p.2
January 11, 1967. Also See: Kashyap, Subhash C., Op. Cit, PP. 164-67.
8. Ibid, April 12, 1970.
9. The Hindustan Times NoV., 16, 1972.
10. C. A. D. Vol.8, P. 556.
11. Quoted from Siwach, J. R., The Indian Presidency (Delhi, Haryana Prakashan, (1971) P. 89
12. Swarjya, Madras, Vol. 12, No. 7,
13. Lok Sabha Debates, December 4, 1967, Vol. 10, C.4516.
14. State of Punjab V/s Stayapal Dang and others; Dr. Bal Dev Prakash and AIR, October, 1969, SC. 903
15. See: Organizer, a weekly issue, Delhi. Vol. 12 No. 20, December 28, 1998, P.5.
16. This has been recommended by the Committee of the Governors Op. cit. p.54.

COOPERATION BETWEEN BULGARIA AND THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

J. YANEV (COUNCELLOR)

One basic trend in the policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on the international arena is the constant development of political, economic and cultural relations with the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. This is an aspiration shared by the Bulgarian people as well. The irresistible impetus of the Bulgarian people toward freedom and independence and the hardships they had gone through during the long years of foreign domination have cultivated in them profound sentiments of internationalism, of sympathy, and of active solidarity with all peoples far and near who uphold and defend their sacred rights, peoples who are fighting for peace and for the opportu-

nity to build their prosperous future. During the years of free life for Bulgaria after the Second World War, when the country embarked on the road toward the construction of socialism, this national characteristic was given a new impulse and new scope of expression.

The foundations on which the People's Republic of Bulgaria is today developing her relations with that are frequently known as the countries of the third world are equality, the mutual respect of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the countries, respect for the interests of the countries involved, and

the principles of mutual benefit in expanding this cooperation.

Thanks to the intense development of the Bulgarian economy during the last three decades, Bulgaria rapidly became a developed industrial and agrarian country. This development has made it possible for her to engage in trade and economic cooperation in their most modern and progressive forms, to render aid and assistance to a large number of developing countries particularly in the field of building, and to exchange experience in industry and farming under most advantageous conditions for them. Reference should also be made here of the stability of the Bulgarian economy, ensuing from the principle which has desired has already created the reputation of Bulgaria as a desired and respected partner on the international arena.

One important prerequisite for the favourable development of the relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the developing countries is the community of the positions and views on a very broad scope of important and pressing problems of our times and of international life. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is pursuing a consistent and unswerving policy of resistance to colonialism and neocolonialism against racism and apartheid in all their forms, a policy of just and peaceful settlement of all international disputes and conflicts. Together with the other countries of the socialist community, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is supporting in deed the movement for national liberation in the world, and she will continue making her real contribution toward barring all attempts at infringing on the interests of the countries which have cast off the yoke of colonialism and have embarked on the road to independent development.

Bulgaria has been particularly active in this field in the United Nations' Organization and in the other international forms and institutions. Bulgaria has been the initiator or co-author of

tens of resolutions and other documents against colonialism and racism, documents for rendering aid and assistance to the developing countries through the economic, social and cultural organs and organizations of the UNO. The country also supports a number of initiatives aimed at the establishment of a just economic order in defence of the interests of the developing countries and for protecting their natural resources. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is also attaching enormous significance to the struggle for peace and disarmament, for putting an end to the costly arms race for using the funds thus made available in liquidating undernourishment and the social hardships existing in certain destitute regions of the world, and for rendering support in the economic development of many countries in need of aid. At the same time, Bulgaria shares the profound conviction that the peaceful coexistence and the further intensification of the processes of decreasing international tensions create excellent prerequisites for new achievement in all fields of life of the developing countries. This conviction is based on the assessment that it is precisely in a serene international atmosphere that the peoples of the developing countries shall be able to devote themselves to undisturbed creative labour and that they shall be able to solve the problems that appear by resorting to the channels of peace and understanding. That is why Bulgaria has fully approved and has supported the declarations issued by many forums convened by the group of non-aligned and developing countries, which are aimed at rallying the anti imperialist forces and at strengthening the peaceful coexistence of nations.

This attitude of the People's Republic of Bulgaria toward the developing countries has already won her numerous friends in all continents and countries with which she is now developing fruitful and mutually advantageous

contacts. Bulgarian specialists of various professions are working in many of these countries, machines and installations manufactured in Bulgaria are operating in them, and there are impressive examples of the building skills of the Bulgarians rising in them such as dams, bridges, silos, plants, hospitals, and cultural institutions.

Bulgaria is maintaining particularly dynamic and good relations with Algeria, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Iraq, Syria, Iran, Tunisia, Mozambique, Angola, Tanzania, Mauritania, Mexico and other countries.

For many years now Bulgaria has been devoting particular attention to her relations with the Republic of India, which is one of the important and most influential large states among the developing countries, a state playing a definite role in the movement of the non-aligned states. The Bulgarian people cherish particular respect and sympathies for the great people of India, as has frequently been emphasized by the foremost leader of the party and state in the People's Republic of Bulgaria Todor Zhivkov. Bulgarian public circles have always had high esteem for the constructive role played by India on the international arena, for its outstanding prestige resulting from the policy pursued of non alignment and from the course of friendship and cooperation with all countries including the Soviet Union the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and the other socialist states.

As in the case of her relations with all other countries, so also in her dealings with the developing countries the People's Republic of Bulgaria attaches great significance to personal meetings and contacts on the most responsible governmental and state level, this being one of the most efficient forms of strengthening the existing cooperation, of clarifying the positions held, and of attaining understanding on the problems of bilateral cooperation and on all matters of common

interest within the context of the all round international development.

The international calendar of the Bulgarian foreign policy is extremely intense and dynamic in this respect, with the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria taking personal part in its vigorous realization. In the course of the last several months of the year the leaders of party and state in Bulgaria had a number of fruitful meetings, in the country and abroad, with most responsible representatives of tens of developing countries. Particularly important results were obtained at the meetings and talks held by Todor Zhivkov with the state and government leaders of Angola, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Libya, Iran and Mexico. The participants in these talks examined the most important political problems of the day and reached concrete agreements in the field of economic cooperation. The meetings held on the level of government leaders with Ethiopia, Zambia, Tanzania and Iraq were very fruitful also. There is a long list of meetings held at various other levels of foreign ministers, of heads of economic departments and ministries, of leaders in charge of various institutions, and of parliamentarians.

The contribution made by these numerous contacts to the development of bilateral relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the developing countries is one of many forms, and extending in many directions. It embraces hundreds of agreements, conventions and protocols for cooperation and for the exchange of experience in the fields of trade, science technology and culture on stable and long term foundations. That which is common and characteristic for all these bilateral ties is the fact that they are invariably based on the desire to put to the fore the interests of peace and security in the world, the rallying together

of the countries in the name of understanding and human progress.

From the rostrum of the Eleventh Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party the party which is the guiding force in the People's Republic of Bulgaria the First Secretary of the Party's Central Committee and President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov defining the line to be followed by the party and by the country in the future in the relations with the developing countries, made the following statement :

, The People's Republic of Bulgaria with increasingly intensify her political, economic

and cultural ties with the developing countries."

These words provoked marked approval in the Congress hall and were subsequently recorded as part of the resolutions adopted by the Congress. They outline the trend of a lasting attitude on the part of Bulgaria which has nothing to do with any calculations and considerations of conjuncture. Together with the further ascending and all round development of the country this line will be further promoted and enriched, and it will become still more apparent and expressive together with the country's growing capacities for still more efficient cooperation.

RAMMOHUN LECTURES

(I)

Principal S. K. De. (Sudha Kanta De) delivered first of his lectures on Raja Rammohun Roy under the auspices of the Calcutta University at Darbhanga Hall on the 15th May 1972 at 3P. M. Sri P. K. Bose, pro-Vice Chancellor (Academic) presided.

On speaking about the great love Rammohun bore for learning and travel, he showed how the Raja came in contact with the people of the different countries and with various faiths of the land. According to Principal De, Patna gave him the sharp-edged Greek Dialectic Method through Arabic, and Benaras the Veda and Vedanta through

Sanskrit. His great fund of energy and inquisitiveness made him acquainted with all the problems of the vast Indian sub-continent and led him to think out their solutions.

Principal De opined that Rammohun's monotheism was the result of his vast learning and wide travel. He was convinced that Rammohun acquired his monotheistic ideas from one source only viz. the Vedanta. No other religious tenet attracted him. For he disbelieved in incarnation or in any mediation between God and man. He found no solace in current Hindu or Moslem or any other religious creed. He had no doubt that all religions in their pristine purity were one, and counselled worship of one true God and unity.

of all mankind in brotherhood. As he thought that monotheism as preached by the Upanishads should be the Universal religion, he spared no pains in the shape of labour and money to translate some of the Upanishad in different languages at his own cost and distribute them to all. As was usual with him, Rammohun arrived at and accepted Vedantic monotheism only after he had examined its rational basis thoroughly. Blind faith alone did not lead him to this path.

RAMMOHUN LECTURES (II)

In his Second lecture on Rammohun, Roy's Religious creed on the 16th May 1972 at Darbhanga Hall of the Calcutta University at 3. P.M, Sri Pranab Ranjan Ghosh presided. Principal S. K. De laid stress on the fearless preaching of truth as soon as he had found it and pointed out copious examples in support. Shri De said that in this respect he may be compared to the Greek philosopher Socrates. According to him Rammohun did not support the doctrine that all religious observations were true and led to the attainment of the same ultimate object. No, he never compromised with idolatry. He was an out and out monotheist and nothing but a monotheist. He rejected all other names and forms of God except Brahman the one without second, Creator and Preserver of the Universe. Upanishadik Brahmvada was the core of his creed and he borrowed it from no other religious Sastra. In it incarnation or any form of mediator between God and man was not only unnecessary but mischievous. Rammohun's Atmiya Sabha (1815) ushered in a new era, Renaissance, in India. Principal De noted that though Rammohun was the first Indian to translate in different languages and distribute free the Upanishads, he did not blindly follow the interpretation of Acharya Sankar. For he

was not a supporter of Mayavada, the world affairs were not illusion to him. He brought back the congregational way of religious practices. He did not borrow it from the Christians. The root meaning of Upanishad pointed to congregation.

(III)

On the third day of his above lectures on the Evolution of Rammohun's Religious and Ethical Ideas, on the 17th May 1972 at Darbhanga Hall of the Calcutta University at 3 P. M. Sri Dilip Kumar Biswas presided. Principal S. K. De examined the influence of other religions on Rammohun and concluded that his was not an eclectic religion but one in pristine purity. The question arises : what then prompted him to publish the 'Precepts of Jesus' which raised such a storm of controversy and invited attack of Christian missionaries on him. He had already protested against the vilification of Hindu and Moslem religions by the Padris and yet composed his Ethics out of the four Gospels of the New Testament. He did much for the Unitarian Christians, though he could not accept the doctrine of Trinity. The reason may be found in the second part of the title of the Book : and Guide to Peace and Happiness extracted from the Books of the New Testament ascribed to four Evangelists. In reply to the harsh criticisms hurled against his head for his great sin of not accepting the Bible in toto, he had to engage himself in a duel consecutively thrice. He had to read the old and New Testaments in original Hebrew and Greek to prove that the Hindus were not greater sinners than the Christians in upholding polytheism. He was thus the first Indian to point out the necessity of comparative study of the religions, a subject of great importance to the future generation. In this way, he established the excellences of the religious tenet propounded by the Upanishads, and did not hesitate at the same time to accept the law of

morality in society as preached by Jesus as of great value and universal application.

RAMMOHUN LECTURES (IV)

In his fourth lecture on Rammohun's patriotism and world brotherhood on the 18th May 1972 at 3 P. M. at Darbhanga Hall of the Calcutta University, Sri S. M. Banerje presided. Principal S. K. De, the speaker showed what intense love Rammohun bore towards his village to his dying day. Rammohun had perhaps a mind to live in the beautifully built garden house of Raghunathpur (Mcoghly). He was a villager to his 40th or 42nd year, of which he lived in the village of Radhanagar where he was born for 16 years and had thereafter detached relation first with Radhanagar then with Langulpara and then had chosen Raghunathpur. For 15 years from 1812, Calcutta the real capital of the vast subcontinent of India, was the centre of all his activities. Calcutta was the epitome of India and in the village Rammohun proved himself every inch a true Indian. He spent hectic days

in Calcutta. In fact, Rammohun's activities in foreign countries have been preserved in detail by foreigners, and his Calcutta life may also more or less be brought to view. But the first 40 or 42 years of his life are mostly unknown or little known for no records have been kept. Like the village, Calcutta or India also could not contain him. He was in London, the metropolis of the world, and was respected as none else had been. In sooth he was the first Indian who raised the status of this country in the eyes of all the nations and India from that time found an honourable place in the comity of nations. His belief in one true God and in the necessary corollary love for mankind made him in no time a citizen of the world, a universal man (Braj Seal).

Principal De in conclusion proposed that steps be taken by the Government of India to place a statue of his full stature as it was when he was starting for England in S. S. Albion on November 1830. The place may be some where near the King Georges' Dock or Princep Ghat.

DINESH CHANDRA SEN. THE GREAT LITTERATEUR OF BENGAL BIBHUTI BHUSAN BOSE

Many prominent personalities in various spheres were born in Bengal in the nineteenth century and amongst those galaxy of men and women we may mention the name of Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, as a great litterateur

and research scholar, who served the motherland through the medium of Bengali literature, folk-literature, mythological stories, poems and novels. It was he who showed the way to research work in the sphere of Bengali

language and literature. By virtue of his talent and strenuous labour he made a deep mark and impression in the sphere of Bengali language and literature. Time has come when we should dispassionately discuss about the contribution of Dinesh Chandra in the sphere of Bengali literature and national awakening in Bengal.

It is not possible to write in details about the life and activities of Dinesh Chandra in a short article. A Bengali book on the life and works of Dinesh Chandra published by Bangiya Sahitya Parishad and an autobiography (Gharer Katha O Yoga Sahitya) are the only sources on the life and activities of Dinesh Chandra Sen. A few points are discussed hereunder :—

Dinesh Chandra was born on the 3rd November, 1866 and died on the 20th November, 1939 (Jagadhatri Puja day) at the age of seventy-three. His father Iswar Chandra was the headmaster of a village school at Dhamrai (Dacca) and his mother's name was Ruplata. At the age of twelve he was made to marry Binodini Devi who was seven at that time. In 1885 he passed F. A. from Dacca Government College and in 1889 he passed B. A. with second-class Honours in English when he was a teacher of Habiganj School, Sylhet, Assam. His father and mother expired on 30th August, 1886 and 16th February, 1887 respectively. After graduation he was appointed Headmaster of Sambhunath Institution, Comilla and settled there with wife and daughter. Later on he joined Victoria School at Comilla. He was awarded Vidyasagar medal for winning in a essay competition organised by Peace Association on the Bengali language and literature. In 1896 the Bengali book on the history of Bengali language and literature was published from Comilla by the financial help of the King of Tipperah and thereby he attracted the attention of intellectuals of Bengal including Haraprasad Sastri, Hirendra Nath Datta, Rabindra Nath and Sir Ashutosh. In 1901 the second edition of history of Bengali language and literature

was published in Bengali with the preface by Poet Rabindra Nath.

In 1905 he became the examiner of Bengali literature in Calcutta University after the demise of Rajani Kanta Gupta, and from 1900 he was a permanent inhabitant of Calcutta. In 1909 Sir Ashutosh invited him to deliver lectures on any topic on the Bengali language and literature. In 1911 he delivered speeches on the history of Bengali language and literature in English. These lectures were afterwards published as 'History of Bengali language and literature.' In the western scholars including Romain Rolland, Sylvan Levi and Greerson highly praised his research work in the sphere of Bengali literature. From 1913 to 1932 he was the holder of Bengali literature in Calcutta University (1913-Reader, 1920-First Ramtanu Lahiri Professor). In 1921 and 1931 he was awarded Honorary D. Litt and Jagattarini Gold Medal by the Calcutta University. In 1929 he was elected as president of a Conference on Bengali literature held at Howrah. In 1936 (December) he was elected as President of Prabasi Banga Sammelan as well as the literary section of that Conference which was held at Ranchi. At that time his wife Sm. Binodini Devi died. Dinesh Chandra died on the 20th November, 1939 at Behala, 24 Parganas. Thus, ended a glorious and eventful life of a great litterateur of Bengal, who served the motherland through the medium of Bengali literature.

This is, in short, the life of Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen. We should remember that for two reasons he should be remembered by future generations of Bengal. Firstly in the early part of his life he collected moth-eaten manuscripts written by unknown poets of Bengal and afterwards published a book on the history of Bengali language and literature in Bengali (1896). He was a poet at the initial stage; but his pursuit of knowledge urged him to become a collector of rare manuscripts and

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he became a research scholar. He sometimes walked ten miles in villages in search of manuscripts and used to return home without getting any manuscripts. Such was the laborious work in research work in those days. Secondly, to the people of Bengal he brought treasures of Sanskrit and old Bengali literature through his immortal books e. g. Ramayani Katha, Behula, Sati, Phullara, Bharata. Poems of Eastern Bengal were collected by him and published in book form mainly through prolonged and strenuous labour.

Dinesh Chandra was closely acquainted with many great personalities of Nineteenth Century Bengal. Names may be mentioned of Sir Ashutosh, Rabindra Nath and Sister Nivedita. Sister Nivedita used to stay near the house of Dinesh Chandra in Baghbazar, Calcutta. Dinesh Chandra after finishing his English book 'History of Bengali language and literature' handed over the manuscript to Sister Nivedita in 1909 who kept it for nearly one year. She and Dinesh Chandra laboured hard for the publication of the book. Dinesh Chandra gratefully remembered the strenuous labour and unselfishness of that noble lady. Wrote Dinesh Chandra 'Sister Nivedita showed us the ideal of work without hopes of gain which was enunciated in the Holy Gita. The ideal of disinterested work and selfless devotion to ideals was found in the activities of Sister Nivedita. Sister Nivedita also praised him and said, Dineshbabu, you are really a poet. Although your writings are in prose, the language is of a poet. Your literary power is really wonderful.' In other places she said, 'you can claim as a real patriot as you have laboured hard and shown your sympathy for the country without any outward show. For this reason I admire you.' Lastly Dinesh Chandra remarked 'when I heard the news of her death, the entire locality of Bosepara Lane became void to me' (Ref:—Bengali autobiography 'Gharer Katha O Yuga Sahitya').

We find the names of thirty-nine Bengal books, eleven English books and fifteen edited books of Dinesh Chandra. Moreover, he wrote prefaces to many books. Amongst the books the following may be mentioned:—

1. Vaishnava Literature in Mediaeval Bengal.
2. Chaitanya and his Age.
3. The Folk Literature of Bengal.
4. Eastern Bengal Ballads of Mymensingh (foreward by Lord Ronaldsay, Governor of Bengal).
5. History of Bengali Language and Literature.
6. Behula (India's Pilgrim's Progress translated by Col. Petavel and K. C. Sen and foreward by Sir Ashutosh).
7. Banga Bhasha O Sahitya. (Bengali)
8. Pauraniki. (Bengali)
9. Brihat Banga (2 volumes). (Bengali)
10. Kashidasi Mahabharat—Edited by Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen
11. Kritibashi Ramayana, "
12. Vaishnava Lyrics "

Dinesh Chandra's style of prose in Bengali language was exquisitely beautiful as it has been proved in his books e. g. Ramayani Katha Behula, Sati. He wrote books for children also. In the history of Bengali Language and Literature he wanted to prove that Magadhli and Benga alphabets were in existence three hundred years before the advent of Jesus Christ. The origin of Race, Caste, Customs and Manners of Greater Bengal' Assam, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa—were written in the voluminous book 'Brihat Banga' published in two parts. His memory was so sharp that he could write big articles with correct dates and information without the help of books. About Sarat Chandra and Tarasankar he predicted about their future fame long before their gaining popularity. About the writers of Kallol (a Bengali magazine) he praised them at the very inception. He was the editor of Bangabani.

Although he rose to the pinnacle of glory in his later life, he did not forget the poor. He was the very embodiment of kindness and mercy and helped the poor in his private life.

We have discussed, in brief, the contribution of Dinesh Chandra Sen to Bengali literature and to national awakening at one of the critical moments of national history. Although he did not take any active part in the national movement for liberation of the country, he tried to serve the motherland through writing. His writings were of various types—poems, mythological stories, stories from Sanskrit literatures including the Ramayana and the Mahabharat, domestic problems viz. joint family system, the ideals of a householder (ref;—his book Grihashri i. e. beauty of a house), education—he touched all in his writings extending for

nearly fifty years i. e. 1890 to 1939. There may be some imperfections in his research work. But we should dispassionately remember that research work in those days was extremely laborious and expensive. He was the pioneer in the sphere of research work in Bengali language and literature. None knew before him the fact that Devnagri script was discovered after the Bengali script. Now it is admitted by all research scholars. In the preface to the history of Bengali language and literature published in 1901 poet Rabindra Nath highly praised Dinesh Chandra for his laborious work in writing the history of Bengali language and literature. May his ideal of disinterested pursuit of knowledge and unselfish labour stimulate us to work for the service of the motherland in all spheres of life—this is our fervent prayer.



WILFRED OWEN'S INFLUENCE ON THREE GENERATIONS OF POETS

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(Continued from previous issue)

In other words, the vision of the paradise is thus expressed in terms of flame and love blended and fused into 'the crowned knot' of 'one simple flame' of the divine love.

When Dante turned his eyes to the third circle he saw Beatrice seated there—'her brow/
breath reflecting of eternal beams.¹²¹ It may be
observed that in the final cantos of the *Paradiso*
the images of the paradisaical light or flame and
of the rose recur and recur.

Similarly, the rose symbol appears in the following extracts from the *Paradise* :

How wide the leaves,
Extended to their utmost, of this rose,
Whose lowest step embosoms such a space
Of ample radiance.....

.....To the yellow of the rose
Perennial, which, in bright expansiveness,
Lays forth its gradual blooming, redolent
Of pae-ses to the never-wintering sun,¹²²
In fashion, as a snow white rose, lay then
Before my view the saintly multitude,.....

The other host,.....

Hover'd around; and, like a troop of bees,
Amic the vernal sweets alighting now,
Now, clustering, where their fragrant labour
glows,

Flew downward to the mighty flower, or
rose

From the redundant petals, streaming back
Unto the steadfast dwelling of their joy.

Faces had they of flame, and wings of gold ;
The rest was whiter than the driven snow,
And, as they flitted down into the flower,
From range to range, fanning their plummy
 loins.

Whisper'd the peace and ardour, which they
won

From that soft winnowing-123

All, as I name them, down from leaf to leaf,
Are, in gradation, throned on the rose:
And from the seventh step, successively,
Adown the breathing tresses of the flower,
Still doth the file of Hebrew dames

proceed.124

Mrs Oliphant's observations on these last cantos of Dante's *Paradiso* will illuminate the associations further :

“The court of the blessed is like a great white rose with innumerable leaves, in innumerable ranks, one line of spotless spirits breaking upon another.....Fluttering about the petals

of the eternal rose, from line of the white—
robed

hierarchy, as bees flit among the flowers, are the others'

the court of angels.....St. Bernard talks
on gently while the
poet sustains this last shock, directing his
eyes towards the

queen of heaven herself, Mary, who, is the
centre of the eternal 135.

rose, the throned and beautiful Regent of
the Royal Assembly.¹³⁵

As in the last cantos of Dante's *Paradiso*, so in the conclusion of *Little Gidding* all kinds of fire—infernal, purgatorial, and paradisaical—are reconciled and fused into an indivisible unity by Eliot and finally transformed by him into

'the crowned-knot of fire' of the divine love symbolised by the rose. Hence 'the fire and rose are one'. Flames become roses when the flames are of a purgatorial nature, that is to say, when the sufferings become a spiritual necessity for the purification of the soul.

It has been made sufficiently clear that Eliot has fully exploited Dante's meanings of the fire symbol in his major poems viz. *The Waste Land* and *Four Quartets*. And as is usual with Eliot's technique of association, the meaning of the symbol has been extended and enriched by Eliot, as we shall see, by a variety of other associations as well.

The rose symbol is used by Dante in his *Paradiso* purely in the religious sense to convey the idea of the divine love. But it is also used by the poets in general as a symbol of the human love, the emblem of the spiritual flame. Mr Maxwell points out that the rose—earthly beauty and attraction of men to it—is not destroyed but refined, so that it as unified with

.....the crowned knot of fire
And the fire and the rose are one.

Prof Kristian Smidt's observations on the rose symbol are worth quoting here: "Eliot's rose garden is nothing like the rambling area that surrounds an English cottage, but 'The single Rose! Is now the Garden.' Thus Dante's supreme vision of the blessed was of one vast rose, whose petals they formed...In fact there is hardly a symbol more loaded with meaning than that of the rose. In it there is the transition, from eroticism to piety, from the *Roman de la Rose* to the *Paradiso*." If one cares to meditate on the symbol, its connotations and associations could be multiplied almost indefinitely.¹²⁷ Elsewhere the same critic says: And the Virgin, to whom prayers are addressed, is 'the rose' of many poems (e. g. *The Hollow Men*, IV, *Ash-Wednesday*, II, and all the *Quartets*. Of

course, the rose symbolises other things besides the Virgin Mary."¹²⁸

It would appear then that both the divine love and the human love are implied in Eliot's use of the rose symbol in the last line of *Little Gidding*. Be it noted here that Eliot's problems were not merely metaphysical or spiritual. The Great War being the main spiring of the problems its bearing upon them cannot be ignored. Eliot's religious temper might have had something to do with the problems, but the deeper issues of the War which constantly preyed on his consciousness determined the nature of his grappling with them. His personal approach, however religious or private it might be, to the solution of his problems, therefore involved, in a sense, the solution to the problems of his contemporaries who faced the same catastrophic situation. When, therefore, in the concluding lines of *Little Gidding* Eliot suggests as a solution to the problems

All manner of thing shall be well

.....

And the fire and the rose are one

the solution has both a personal and a universal aspects. In other words, the human aspect of the solution may also be implied in the last line of the *Quartets*. That is to say, the rose not only refers to the divine love but to the human love as well, although the predominant spiritual nature of Eliot's speculations has considerably obscured this latter aspect. That Eliot had the social aspect of the solution in mind will be evidently clear from some of his observations embodied in his essay, *Catholicism and the International Order* (1944). In that essay he refers to the First World War and the high proportion of futile suffering it caused. He does not deny that 'spiritual goods' may come of suffering, but holds that the kind of suffering experienced by men during the War was 'one of futility' because it abated their

human dignity and 'deadened their sense of responsibility. He admits that 'society is very deeply affected morally and spiritually by material conditions', but asserts that if we are to remove the causes, we must be perfectly conscious of what we are doing; in short, we must purify our motives which direct our industrial and financial machinery for the improvement of our material conditions.'¹²⁹ When, therefore, the world was once more thrown into an inexplicable disorder 'by the Second World War, Eliot's solution was, as embodied in his *Four Quartets*, that the individuals should turn to eternity and God, however much they might be committed to social tasks, as Stephen Spender has put it in the following words:

"His (Eliot's) lesson to a generation unable to put the instruments of power to constructive uses, was to show that, however much the individual might be committed to social tasks, he belonged to an eternal order of events where he was not product and victim of his time."¹³⁰

There is no doubt that in his solution to the problems confronting him and his generation Eliot lays the emphasis on the spiritual values of life; but he does not overlook the social and the human aspect of the problem.

The limitation of Eliot's solution is that it is intensely personal and that the social aspect of it which is occasionally implicit in his poetry is seen from a personal angle of vision. Thus being the outcome of a private vision, his solution becomes less acceptable to the common readers who find it difficult to follow the complex patterns of his thought and symbols with their multiple associations. The readers' difficulty is further accentuated by Eliot's ranging erudition and obscure and learned allusions which stand as insurmountable obstacles to a transparent transmission of his ideas.

The universality of the themes of Eliot's *Four Quartets* can never be doubted, nor can

there be any doubt as to the wide and profound learning Eliot has brought to bear upon them. Eliot has every right as a man to approach his problem in his way and, even as a poet, to treat the same in his unique way in the poetry he writes. But his personal approach to his spiritual problem stated and expressed poetically in his unique style does not necessarily entitle his poetry to a university of appeal which his *Four Quartets* certainly lacks. Prof. Smith has rightly pointed out that 'if Eliot's poetic vision falters it does so because of its peculiar privacy which admits no wide sympathies.'¹³¹ Such a charge of obscurities of thought or of a lack of universality of appeal can hardly be brought against Owen's poetry. In another essential Eliot's *Four Quartets* are, as Owen's poems are never, found wanting, namely, wide human sympathy or what Prof. Smith calls 'compassion for the human lot'. 'Apart from the poetry of W. B. Yeats, that of Eliot,' says Prof. Smith, 'may include the greatest written in the contemporary age: yet his poetry has perhaps failed in essential generosity and good humor, in steady compassion for the human lot.'¹³² But this 'steady compassion for the human lot' is the very soul, as we know, of Owen's poetry and to steadily distil this 'compassion' into his poetry was the purpose with which he set, as he tells us in his famous *Preface*, to write his war poems:

My subject is War, and the pity of War.
The Poetry is in the pity.

The perpetual suffering of the damned in Hell in Dante's *Divine Comedy* is one thing and the purgatorial suffering in the poem is another. The former is eternal suffering without redemption whereas the latter is temporary and essential for a passage to the paradise. The distinction between the two kinds of sufferings has been clearly brought out by Eliot himself in his essay on Dante¹³³ and expressed by

him in different places of his poetry especially in his *The Waste Land* and *Four Quartets*. Wilfred Owen was not unaware of this distinction between sufferings which brutalise a man and those which humanise him. The sufferings of the war, at least of the great War, with which he like, millions of others of his generation, was concerned, had mostly brutalising effects making men worse rather than better as pictured so graphically by Owen in his *Insensibility*. The miserable conditions, moral no less than the economic, of the demobbed soldiers in the post-war period, confirmed the truth of the prophetic soldier's views. Only in rare instances, of which Owen himself may be cited as an outstanding one along with other war poets who strongly denounced the war, sufferings of the war might prove to be of a purgatorial nature producing humanising effects on the sufferers of whom it may be truly said as has been already said by Owen in his *Fragment: The Abyss of War*:

So men who fade in the dust of warfare
 Fairer, and sorrow blooms their soul.

There can be no doubt that the second couple of lines quoted above is highly suggestive of Dante's purgatorial sufferings of which Eliot has made much in his *Four Quartets*, and serves, in fact, as a counterpart to the penultimate line in Eliot's last *Quartet*, 'And the fire and the rose are one', which has a direct reference, as we have seen, to the last cantos of Dante's *Paradiso*. And the suggestion becomes stronger still when four lines down we find a reference to the kind of suffering which is unmistakably infernal:

But what of them buried profound,
 Buried where we can no more find,
 Who ()
 Lie dark for ever under abysmal war?

The poem *The Abyss of War* finely conveys Owen's fine awareness of the vital distinction of Dante's concept between purgatorial and

infernal sufferings, a distinction which has been fully exploited by Eliot in his poetry, particularly, in his *Four Quartets*. The poem also provides a fine example of how finely Owen assimilated Dante's poetry and transmuted the same into his own without making, like Eliot, learned allusions to the work of the Florentine poet.

Eliot's study of Dante's poetry was as profound as its influence on his poetry was great. Owen's study of Dante's poetry was not, certainly, so great, but the influence of Dante's poetry on Owen's own was not inconsiderable. There are many places in Owen's poetry which bear ample testimony to that influence and may provide an interesting study of that influence. A further, though indirect, evidence of this influence, it is interesting to observe, is found in a library of 325 volume which Owen owned and left at his death. The library contains a volume of Dante's work and Dante's name heads the list of writers, as given by C. Day Lewis, whose work are found in it. Mr. C. Day Lewis's observations on Owen's library and his reading may be quoted here:

"It has been said that Owen was no great reader. Certainly, in his letter to his mother he does not often mention books—on his own writing. But, when he died, he left a library of 325 volumes, which was not bad for a young man with very little money to spare. These included editions of many poets—Dante, Chaucer, Goethe, Southey, Gray, Collins, Cowper, Shelley, Keats, Coleridge, Burns, Browning, and Tennyson, for instance; a number of French classics and text-books; nearly all Shakespeare's plays; a fair sprinkling of novels, from Jane Austen to Hardy; and miscellaneous volumes attesting to his interests outside literature. Owen's reading was at random perhaps (as a poet's often is), and undirected; but he got through a good deal of it."134

It may be presumed that in spite of the random and undirected nature of his reading, Owen 'got through a good deal' of Dante's poetry. Without elaborating the theme of Dante's influence on Owen, it will be enough for our purpose here to suggest that the Hell which Owen has so pictorially described in many of his trench landscapes is, to say the least, Dantesque. The Dantesque manner of Owen's poetic art is most clearly seen, as has been noted by some critics, in the vision of the Somme battlefield which Owen has conveyed in his *The Show*. It will be in the fitness of things, if we add the name of Dante to the list of poets whose poetry exerted significant influence on Owen's own.

A comparative analysis of Eliot's 'And the fire and rose are one' and Owen's 'and sorrow blooms their soul' (mark the conjunctive 'and' is common to both lines) will show how the influence of Dante has been assimilated and transformed into poetry by the two poets. We have seen that the words 'fire' and 'rose' in Eliot's line directly refer, in the context of his *Four Quartets*, respectively to the purgatorial fire 'the rose' (symbolising the paradise) in Dante's *Divine Comedy*. In this line, as throughout his poetry including, of course, the *Four Quartets*, wherever Dante's influence is discerned, Eliot is found to be fully conscious of Dante's work and the specific lines thereof which he transforms into the stuff of his own poetry. Quite different is Owen's creative process in this matter. An analysis of his line 'and sorrow blooms their soul' will clearly indicate the manner which Dante's influence has been assimilated and transformed into his own poetry. The word 'sorrow' represents, as is clear from the context of the poem, the purgatorial suffering appearing in Eliot's line as 'the fire', and 'bloom' obviously stands for 'the rose' as in Dante's *Paradiso* or in Eliot's line. The use of the substantive 'bloom' as a verb in Owen's line has a further suggestion of the gradual

process the suffering soul undergoes for its perfection. Owen would not have used the word 'rose' even if he could as it would sound romantic in his poetry which expressly rejected romanticism. It is for this particular reason that the rose has a romantic flavour about it that Owen, who used the word in an earlier version of his *Dulce et Decorum est*, rejected it in his later version of it published in Bluden's edition of his poems.¹³⁵

Owen's sufferings on the Western Front were too bitter for him to think of them to be of a purgatorial nature, unless, of course, we regard his poetry itself, a thing of beauty, as the outcome of those sufferings, the red rose—not, certainly, the white rose of Dante's paradise—that sucked at his bleeding heart and was wrung out of it by the Great War.

The Fire Symbol in Owen's and Eliot's Poetry

In his essay on Dante, Eliot is all praise for Dante's 'masterly use of the imagery of light' in the last canto of his *Paradiso*:

"Nowhere in poetry has experience so remote from ordinary experience been experienced so concretely, by a masterly use of that imagery of light which is the form of certain types of mystical experience."¹³⁶

The richness of Dante's use of the imagery of light has encouraged Eliot to make similar use of the image in his poetry. And his *Four Quartets*, particularly his last Quartet, gave him an opportunity to use the light or the fire image in a variety of senses including the one in which Dante used it in the last canto of his *Paradiso*. It has been already noted that as in the last cantos of Dante's *Divine Comedy* so in the conclusion of Eliot's *Little Gidding* all kinds of fire—infernal, purgatorial and paradisaal—are reconciled and fused into an indivisible unity and transformed into 'the crowned-knot of fire' of the divine love symbolised by the rose. Eliot has concluded his *Four Quartets* by the Dantesque line—"And the fire and the rose are one." Flames are transformed into roses when

they are of a purgatorial nature that is, when sufferings become a spiritual necessity for the purification of the soul. Eliot has fully exploited Dante's meanings of the fire symbol and by his usual technique of associations the missing of the symbol have been further enriched.

Now, it should be noted that in Eliot's poetry the word 'light' appears in different forms—light, fire and flame. He uses the word in these different forms as suit his convenience and attaches to it a significance as fits in with his context. The imagery of light is used by Eliot with exquisite effects. Leaving aside Eliot's symbolic use of 'light' which deserves a separate treatment of its own, we may concentrate our discussion on his fire or flame symbol. The fire symbol in Eliot's poetry has a variety of meanings ranging from the fire of lust to the fire of divine love. The history of the progress from the one to the other is the history of his soul's conflict tormented by different kinds of fire till ultimately it emerges into the fire of the divine love. In this sense Eliot's poetry from *The Waste Land* to the *Four Quartets* may be regarded as his spiritual autobiography. In terms of fire, therefore, Eliot's journey from the Waste Land to Nicholas Ferrar's country chapel at Little Gidding is a long and chequered one and may be represented as a journey from the imagined hell-fire of the First World War through the 'tongues flame' or 'incandescent terror', the airman's fire of destruction of his own experience as an air-raid warden at the time of the Blitz during the Second World War to the fire of the divine love as in the final passage in the last of his *Quartets*, *Little Gidding* in which all the fires of his earlier poetry including *The Waste Land* are reconciled and, to use Dante's words, 'ingathered, bound by love in one mass...as though together fused' into 'one simple flame' of the divine love.¹³⁷

In spite of the variety of meanings given by Eliot to the fire symbol, two distinct stands of

thought can be discerned in it. The one is the fire of the divine love which owes its origin obviously to the *Paradiso* of Dante's *Divine Comedy*. The other 'fire' has its origin in the gun-fire or the shell-fire of the First World War and in the 'incandescent terror' or 'the flickering tongue'—the fire of destruction of the German bombers—during the Second World War and there is no doubt that on the latter Eliot has brought to bear the hell-fire of Dante's *Inferno* so as to enrich the meanings of the fire symbol.

Owen also, in his poetry makes use of the fire symbol. But in the context of the War, it is only with one kind of fire that Owen is acquainted and that is the machine gun fire or the shell-fire in the battlefield. And for this reason he interprets his world in terms of the fire he knew so well and so bitterly. The fire in Eliot's sense of the divine love originating from Dante's paradisaic fire was unknown to Owen for the simple reason that certain types of mystical experience which find expression as Eliot holds, in the form of light or fire and of which he had an occasional glimpse culminating at the end of his *Four Quartets* in the final vision of the crowned kingship of divine love, were not vouchsafed to Owen.

"Whose world is but the trembling of a flame,

And heaven but as the highway for a shell."

There is no doubt that Owen's use of the fire symbol lacks the variety and richness of Eliot's use of it. But the limitation in Owen's case is not the limitation either of his poetic sensibility or his poetic form. The limitation was imposed by the nature of the experience itself of the world of shell-fire or gun-fire in which he lived, moved, and ultimately fell. His first experience shortly after his being posted in a trench in the fighting line on the Somme battlefield was of an artillery fire described in one of his first letters from the Line to his mother :

- Thera. Rider & Co., London. 1964.
3. A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms.—By Chinese Monk Fa-Hien. Translated by James Legge. Dover Publications Inc. N.Y.C. 1965.
4. The Wonder That Was India.—By A.L. Basham, Fontana Books, London. 1967.
5. Lumbini Project Booklet—Published by the U.N. Development Programme. 1970.
6. The Bulletin of the Indian Archaeological Society, Vol. VI, 1972-73.
7. Tilaurakot—the Ancient City of Kapilavastu—Dept. of Archaeology, H.M. Govt. of Nepal, 1976.
8. Maha-parrinibbana Sutta from Buddhist Suttas.—Translated by Prof. R. C. Davis, Dover Publications Inc., New York City. 1957.

“MILK FOR THE CAT”

A STUDY IN PSYCHOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

KSHAMANIDHI MISHRA

The greatness of Harold Monro as a poet is indisputable. He proves himself popular and effective as a poet composing verses on domestic animals. His *Milk for the Cat* is a poem about a little black cat that highly concerns herself for a cup of milk.

Monro's *Milk for the Cat* is a psychological poem par excellence. It is unique in the sense that it reflects the feelings and reactions of a cat before and after milk is given to her. This poem so powerfully depicts the behaviour of a cat that Monro can safely take his stand as a Psychological poet. The description of behaviour is lively and powerful so as to show the imaginative life of Monro. The poet has so minutely observed the psychology of a cat that he seems to have merged in the character of the cat. It appears as if the poet has accepted the theory of “Negative Capability” of Keats and has become one with the cat to give a clear picture of her reactions.

In order to have a clear understanding of this poem of behaviour, one must be aware of the behavioristic theory of learning. According to this theory, learning is habit formation resulting from “conditioning” or the associating of a stronger stimulus with a weaker stimulus so that the response is transferred from the stronger stimulus to the weaker one when the stronger stimulus is removed. This is called a “conditioned” response. Pavlov, the Russian psychologist, discovered the conditioned response in a dog while performing a series of physiological experiments. He noticed in the dog saliva flowing not only when food was in the mouth but also when the dog saw food before him or saw his food dish, or saw the man who usually fed him, or even heard the footsteps of that man in the adjoining room. The flow of saliva when food is actually in the mouth is a natural reflex, but when aroused by such stimuli as the sight of a dish,

THE RESTORATION OF THE BUDDHA'S BIRTH PLACE

b, BUDDHADASA P. KIRTHISINGHE

Inspired by the late U Thant, Secretary General of the United Nations, the Government of Nepal has set out a majestic design to restore the gardens in which the Buddha was born in the 6th Century B. C. The plan has been designed by the U.N. Development Fund with the cooperation of a well-known Japanese firm of landscape architects-known as Kenzo Tange and Urtec of Tokyo. Thereby the first stage of this vast development project has been initiated.

Lumbini is a sacred place for Buddhists the world over. It was here that the Sakya prince, Siddhartha Gautama, the Buddha, was born in 623 B. C. The place lies 19 kilometres west of Bhairahawa in the Rupandehi district of the Lumbini Zone in the Kingdom of Nepal. Legend have it that in those days Lumbini was a lovely garden full of green, shady and mellow *sai* groves. This garden and its tranquil environs were under the common ownership of the Sakyas and the Kolias. On the way to her maternal home in Devdaha, Queen Mayadevi gave birth to Prince Siddhartha Gautama on the fullmoon day of the sixth month of the lunar calendar, i. e. Waisakha Purinima 623 B.C.

The two kingdoms of the Sakyas and Kolias were ruled by two cousins and were situated approximately in present-day Nepal and parts of Uttar Pradesh in Northern India. The Buddha's father, Prince Sudhodana, was the ruler of the Sakyan kingdom, while the Queen of the Kolia kingdom was Sudhodana's sister.

Kapilavastu was the capital of the Sakya kingdom. It was there that the Buddha was

raised in his youth and where he was married to Yasodhara, his cousin, a Kolian princess.

The site of Prince Siddhartha's birthplace in the Lumbini Gardens was discovered and identified in 1896 by a renowned British archaeologist, General Alexander Cunningham, who found an Asokan stone pillar on the site which stands to this day.

Asoka Maurya-the great Indian Buddhist emperor-visited this sacred place in 249 B.C. In commemoration of the visit he erected a stone monolith. The inscription on the pillar at once testified, not only the position of the Lumbini Garden, but also the birthplace of the Buddha. The inscription reads as follows:

"When King Devanampriya Priyadarsin had been anointed 20 years he came himself and worshipped this spot, because Buddha Shakyamuni was born here.

"He both caused to be made a stone bearing a horse and caused a stone pillar to be set up in order to show that the Blessed One was born here. He made the village of Lumbini free of taxes and paying only an eighth share of the produce."

This further inscription engraved in five lines on the pillar consists of Asokan (brahmi) characters and states: "Hida Budha Jate Sakyamuni"- "Here was born the Buddha, the Sage of the Sakyas." This glorious and mighty pillar may still be seen in the same condition in which the Chinese pilgrim, Huiyen Tsiang, found it in the 7th century A.D.

The Buddha-to-be at birth stood upright, took seven steps and spoke thus: "This is my

last birth and henceforth there will be no more births for me."

The boy was named Siddhartha at a great ceremony on the fifth day after his birth. His family (gotra) name was Gautama. The wise men of his time prophesied of him that he would become a universal emperor or a universal teacher.

His mother, Queen Mahamaya, passed away on the seventh day after his birth and he was brought up by his foster mother and aunt, Princess Projapati Gotami. The child grew up in refinement amidst luxury and received the high education that a prince should have.

When of age he married his cousin, Princess Yasodhara. King Sudhodana bestowed on his son the luxuries of life and he lacked nothing of earthly joys and was not aware of sorrow.

As he grew older the prince began to get glimpses of the woes of life. As he rode to the various parts of his kingdom he saw four examples of human misery, sickness, old age, death. Lastly he saw a yellow clad recluse who was calm and serene. These woeful signs greatly moved him and the monk vastly impressed him, as he showed the way of renunciation.

At the age of 29 he renounced his wife, child and a crown that promised him power and glory and as the Venerable Piyadas put it, "he set out in quest of supreme security from human bondage, Nibbana." This is known as the Great Renunciation. All these events took place at his father's capital at Kapilavastu.

Then for six years he led the life of a recluse under various teachers (gurus)-Alara Kalama, Ramputta and went through rigorous penances of asceticism such as self mortification. Finally he gave them up and followed the Middle path (Maddiyma Pratipada) and finally at Urvella by the River Neranyana at Gaya, now known as Buddha Gaya, he attained Supreme Enlightenment at the age of 35 years

and after 49 years of public service passed away at Kusinara in modern Bihar in India

It is known that Kapilavastu was devastated in the Buddha's lifetime in the 6th century B.C. It is said that when Prince Vidudabha besieged his father's capital, He (Buddha) waited under a withered tree silently. "When Prince Vidudabha saw him and asked him why he was sitting under such a withered tree when there were great and beautiful green trees around, the Buddha answered that the shade of relatives was superior to that of non-relatives. This is said to have made Prince Vidudabha desist from attacking the city, but eventually he devastated it, together with his father's kingdom. Thus the old site of Kapilavastu is buried deep in Himalayan mud. In modern times many probable sites have been excavated but they have now been narrowed down to two: Tilaurakot in Nepal and Piprahwa in Northern Uttar Pradesh, India.

According to the Chinese monk Fa-Hien, who travelled from China to India by the overland route and returned to China by sea from Ceylon in the 4th century A.D., when he visited Kapilavastu there was neither king nor people. All was mud and desolation. On the spot were only some monks and a score or two families of common people.

Another Chinese pilgrim, Hsien Tsang, travelled to Buddhist holy places in India from China in the 7th century A.D. He also confirms the findings of Fa-Hien. "The region was already abandoned. Kapilavastu was in such a state of ruin it was impossible to determine its original extent. It is said that the Buddha visited Kapilavastu three times and on one occasion converted his father, Yasodhara, and his son Rahula, as well as many other members of his father's court, to his views. Rahula became a monk.

The monk Fa-Hien writes in his "Travels in India and Ceylon" (4th century A.D.):

large-circulation newspapers published by industrial and other enterprises is continuing to grow. Today there are some 100 newspapers of this kind, including weekly editions.

The Soviet Union brings out 4,860 magazines, Journals and similar publications in a total annual edition of 3,470 million. *Labotnitsa* (circulation 13 Million), *Zdorovyn* (circulation 11,700 thousand) and *Kresyanka* (circulation 6,500 thousand) are the most popular of these magazines. The party and political journals, including *Kommunist*, *Partnaya Zhizn*, *Agitator*, *Politicheskoye Samoobrazovaniye*, the Magazines *Ogonyk*, *Soviet Union*, *Selskaya Molodezh* and *Chelovek i Zakon*, and the popular science magazines *Nauka Zhizn*, *Tekhnika Molodezhi* and *Vokrug Sveta* have multi-million circulation. Children's magazines including *Muzilka* (5,800 thousand copies), and *Veselye Kartinki* (over 5,300 thousand copies) have largest circulation in the world.

There are 575 scientific and technical journals and some 90 national and republican publications dealing with medicine and health service.

The Tass news agency and the Novosti Press Agency have their offices virtually in all union and autonomous republics, territories and regions, and in the majority of foreign countries, Tass provides information for some 4,000 editorial offices of the Soviet newspapers, TV and Radio. It also supplies news for 300 foreign news agencies, newspapers and magazines.

The Novosti Press Agency has business Agency has business contacts with national agencies, dealing with home and foreign affairs, publishing firms; and radio broadcasting companies in 110 countries and with over 4,000 means of mass media.

Editorial staffs promote ever closer contacts with those who are most active in contributing articles and with the readers. There are over 6000, thousand non-staff correspondents at industrial enterprises, and on collective farms. Every year *Pravda*, *Izvestia* and *Trud* receive upwards of 500,000 letters from their readers.

During the nation-wide debate on the draft of the new Soviet Constitution a great number of letters were sent to the newspapers. The national dailies alone received 61,300 letters containing suggestions and comments on the draft Constitution. As many as 6,500 such letters were published.

The means of mass media and propaganda employ now 100,000 journalists. the USSR journalists' union, which has some 64,000 members, is the biggest professional association in this country. The membership card No. 1 of the journalists' union has been issued in the name of V. I. Lenin, the founder and organizer of the Bolshevik press,

Out of the 2,025 journalists who hold scientific degrees there are 26 Academicians and Corresponding Members of various Academies. More than 30,000 journalists have been awarded government decorations. The titles of Hero of the Soviet Union and Hero of Socialist Labour have been bestowed upon 31 journalists. Nineteen journalists are the Lenin and State prize winners.

The USSR journalists' union organises annual competitions for the best materials on the topical questions and public affairs. Some 200 journalists have won the Union's prizes. In 1978, there were instituted two prizes which will be awarded this year to foreign journalists for the best articles about the Soviet Union.

Spend our resentment, cannon, yea,
disburse
Our gold in *shapes of flame*, our breaths in
storm.

The 'fire' 'My fire might show steam-phantoms
simmer/From Time's old cauldron' is used no
doubt in the literal sense of hearth-fire, but it
is also used as a symbol to convey a vision of
the pre-historic time. The word 'fiery' in 'My
fiery heart shrinks, aching. It is death,' is used
both in the literal and the figurative senses.

The following lines from *S.I.W.* will pre-
cisely bring out the nature of 'fire which domina-
tes Owen's world :

It was the reasoned crisis of his soul
Against more days of inescapable thrall,
Against infrangibly wired and blind trench
wall
Curtained with *fire*' roofed in with *creeping*
fire,
Slow grazing fire, that would not burn him
whole
But kept him for-death's promises and scoff
And life's half-promising, and both their
rilling. (*S.I.W.* : III. The Poem)

The above extract from *S.I.W.*, which ironi-
cally Owen calls "The Poem, is a most fitting
commentary on the world of fire in which
Owen lived and which he rendered into the
most exquisite poetry in tongues of flame
before he was carried off by death which came
to him in the shape of the machinegun-fire.

121. *Dante* (Cary's translation), *Paradiso* XXXi, 11. 65-66.
122. I bid.; *Paradiso* XXX, 11. 114-125.
123. Ibid., *Paradiso* XXXi, 11. 1-17.
124. Ibid., *Paradiso* XXXii, 11. 10-14.
125. Mrs Oliphant : *Dante, William*: Black-
wood and Sons, Edinburgh & London,
1877 ; Reprint 1881, pp. 189-191.
126. D.E.S. Maxwell : op. cit., p. 178.
127. Kristian Smidt : op. cit., pp. 112-13.
128. Ibid., p. 207. See also footnote 2
129. T. S. Eliot's *Selected Prose* (Penguin
Books), 1953, p. 209.
130. Stephen Spender : *World Within World*,
1951, p. 288.
131. Grover Smith : op. cit., p. 291.
132. Ibid., p. 298.
133. Eliot's *Selected Essays*, "Essay on
Dante".
134. C. Day Lewis : *The Collected Poems of*
Owen, Chatto and Windus, London, 1963,
Introduction, pp. 13-14.
135. See Edmunds, op. cit., p. 121 for the
earlier version of the poem.
136. T. S. Eliot : *Selected Essays*, Faber and
Faber, London, 1951, "Dante", p. 267.
137. Ref. *Dante's Paradiso*, canto XXXiii,
11. 80-85 (Cary's translation). Eliot
translates the relevant lines in his essay
on *Dante* in *Selected Essays*, Faber 851,
p. 267.
138. Edmund Blunden : op. cit.,
"Memoir", p. 14.

or the sound of foot steps, it was obviously an acquired response called the conditioned response. In *Milk for the Cat* the conditioned response of a cat is photographically represented.

For the poet's family five o'clock is the time for tea. The time for tea for the poet's family is the time for milk for the cat. "When the tea is brought at five o'clock and all the neat curtains are drawn with care", the little black cat immediately makes her presence in the dining hall with a purring sound. The milk is the natural stimulus with which the tea and curtains are associated so that the response is transferred from milk to the tea and drawing of the curtains. Due to these 'conditioned' stimuli the cat becomes optimistic about a cup of milk even if she has not seen the milk. Her purring sound shows her pleasure in anticipation for a cup of milk.

Though the cat is fully obsessed with the desire for a cup of milk, at first she wants to show her innocence through pretention. She pretends as if she has got no ulterior motive in her coming, she has come in merely 'to blink by the grate'. But her inward intention is clearly discernible from her subsequent behaviour. When she finds children of the house eating and laughing and the ladies stroking their silk, she grows "small and thin" with a strong desire for, a cup of milk. Here also the response of the cat is conditioned by the external stimuli like the eating and laughing of the children and the stroking of the silk of the ladies which accelerate the cat's hope to get a drink of milk. Here the poet imagines that the cat has been 'transformed to a creeping lust for milk.'

The 'conditioned' response of the cat can be easily marked from the description of the second stanza where Monro shows the punctuality of the cat. To the poet the cat is ever punctual even if the tea late or the milk turns sour. The psychological reactions of the cat

are revealed through her contrasting behaviour when she searches for the white saucer full of milk. Presently the bright shining eyes of the cat assume a 'soft large milky haze' and her independent casual look turns into a 'stiff hard gaze'. The successive motor responses like the stamping of the claws, the lifting of the ears and the twisting of the tail, show the psychological restlessness of the cat arising out of waiting in anticipation for a cup of milk. Suddenly the 'lithe body' of the cat becomes "one breathing trembling purr." A contrast can be marked between the 'purring' sound of the first stanza and the fourth stanza, the first indicating pleasure and the second showing restlessness.

The poet makes use of a powerful simile to show the successive psychological reactions of the cat. The saucer with milk is compared to the full moon which descends from the clouds of the table above. As the 'white saucer' descends, the cat first of all 'sighs' with a sense of fulfilment and then 'dreams' and 'thrills' and 'glows' 'transfigured with love'.

We have noticed so far the reactions of the cat before milk is given to her. But the last three stanzas show her reactions after she is given a saucer of milk. When the saucer is kept on the floor, the little cat 'nestles over the shining rim' and buries her chin in the ocean of milk. At that time her tail hangs loose in ease and each paw is doubled under her bending knees. While drinking milk from the saucer, the pleasure of the cat reaches its climax. She feels that there is no world beyond the saucer which is a world of an 'infinite shapeless white'. She consumes the last drop of milk and then sinks back into the night. At last, being free from all worries and anxieties, the cat puts her body on the great arm-chair and sleeps there for three or four hours.

To portray the psychology of an animal is the work of a psychologist but not of an artist. While portraying the psychology of an individu-

al an artist falls into great embarrassment not knowing exactly where to arrive. Unless the artist possesses the insight to dive into the very being of his creation, he will simply fail to create an impression in the minds of his readers. Monro as a successful modern artist is aware of his own limitations and takes a new field to show his originality as a poet. While portray-

ing the behaviour of a cat the poet is so accurate in his observation and so original in his description that he can find for him an important place in the galaxy of twentieth century writers. He seems to be a pivotal point in creating a novel field for poetry and establishes his name and fame as a psychological poet of the modern age.

FACTS AND FIGURES OF SOVIET PRESS

The Soviet Union has the largest reading public in the world. There is an average of more than four publications per each Soviet family today. Some 85,000 book and brochure titles are brought out in this country every year. In 1977 alone their total edition ran into 1,800 Million copies, i. e., seven copies per capita. more than 350,000 libraries of all kinds have 4,500 million items of the printed matter.

In the Soviet period the works by Marx and Engels have been printed in the USSR in a total edition of some 115,000 thousand, in 49 languages spoken in this country and 34 foreign languages.

The works by Lenin (his complete works included) have been published in 106 languages, in 43 foreign languages, in a total edition of over 520,000 thousand.

The number of newspapers and periodicals as well as their circulation are steadily growing.

Now Soviet Union publishes some 8,000 newspapers in 57 Soviet languages in a total circulation of 170,000 thousand. Many newspapers are published in the languages that had not been written down before the Great October Socialist Revolution. The circulation of such national newspapers as Pravda and Komsomolskaya Pravda tops the 10 million mark each and that of Izvestia, Selskaya Zhizn, Trud and Pionerskaya Pravda exceeds 8,000 thousand.

In 1962 a single circulation of Soviet newspapers amounted to one-third of the total newspaper circulation in the world. In 1978, their circulation will more than double. The number of publications has increased dramatically.

Newspapers Vozdushny Transport, Bam, Ladoga and the Literaturnaya Uchoba Journal and several other publications came of the press for the first time in 1978. The number of

"Fifty miles to the East from the City (Kāpīlavastu) lies Lumbini Park and when I visited it, there were few inhabitants and one had to be on guard against wild elephants and lions and one should not travel incautiously." Thus when Huien Tsang came to Lumbini Park, it must have been an area of wild forests inhabited by tigers, snakes and herds of elephant.

The Government of Nepal with the co-operation of the United Nations development program has launched a Rs. 650 million fund and a U.N. advisory panel has recommended a revised plan in great detail with a cost estimate of US 12 million to rebuild the Lumbini Park area to accommodate both pilgrims and tourists. This plan calls for 3 sections: (a) sacred gardens, (b) monastic enclave and (c) a new Lumbini village. The Green Areas around the whole site would have the function to surround both the sacred Garden and Monastic Enclave and separate them from the outside world.

The Monastic Enclave—Walking south from the Pilgrim Village in the direction of the Sacred Garden, the visitor would first encounter the Monastic Enclave. As proposed, this Enclave will include a site museum containing the antiquities recovered during the excavations, together with other material depicting the life of Buddha. It would also have a small library and an information centre, and a group of shrines, monasteries and places of worship to be constructed by individual states and institutions.

The Sacred Garden—The main feature of the design of the Sacred Garden would be to create an atmosphere of tranquility, universality and clarity consistent with the idea of the birth of Buddha. All plantings and landscaping would reflect this aim.

U Thant, the late U.N. Secretary General, wrote,

"Lumbini, the birthplace of Buddha, is a sacred place for Buddhists all over the world and stands on an equal footing with the holy places sacred to other world religions. When I visited Lumbini in April 1967, I was struck by its isolation and its comparative inaccessibility to ordinary pilgrims and tourists. In spite of this, however, thousands of pilgrims visit Lumbini every year out of reverence to the high spiritual and moral values that Buddha preached as a basis for achieving both inner tranquility and tolerance and compassion to one's fellow men.

Prince Siddhartha was born here at Lumbini in 623 B.C. He attained enlightenment at the age of thirty-five and became Buddha (the enlightened one). Buddha was a human being endowed with deep wisdom, boundless compassion and devotion to the service of humanity. At no time in history has the message of Buddha been more relevant than it is today.

Since early 1968, various phases of development work have been carried out both by the Government of Nepal and by United Nations Organizations and the project has now reached a stage where financing from voluntary contributions will be needed before it can become a pilgrimage center with adequate facilities for pilgrims and tourists. In this connexion I would like also to express my personal appreciation to the Government of Nepal for the initiatives they have already taken. May I also express my sincere hope that both interested Governments and individuals and private groups will make generous contribution in cash or in kind to help in the implementation of what I consider to be a most worthy project?"

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Current Affairs

The First 30 Years

THIRTY YEARS. Less than half an average life-span and in the lives of many nations, no more than a fleeting episode. But for Israel it is all there is and enough to have produced a generation that was born in war, has had to fight for survival time and again, but has been sustained by the hope of a brighter tomorrow. Now finally that hope could be beginning to near realization. Thirty years. Time enough for a remarkable exercise in nation building.

May 14, 1948, the Tel Aviv Museum: a small man imbued with a large vision stands before his peers and reads from the scroll they have endorsed. David Ben-Gurion proclaims the birth of the independent State of Israel. Five months earlier, on November 29, 1947, the U. N. General Assembly, by 33 votes to 13 with 10 abstentions, had paved the way for this moment by voting for the partition of the area known as Palestine into two small states—one Jewish and the other Arab. For the Jews it had been a bitter-sweet decision, because the land area allocated them was so small and in particular because it did not include the focal point of Jewish prayer and longing over 2,000 years—Jerusalem.

The Beginning—

Tears, Dancing And War

Nevertheless, the Jews had danced in the streets and wept tears of joy. But the Arabs neither danced nor wept. They declared war and in pressing for this historic moment, Ben-Gurion and the Jewish leadership were under no illusions. Between November 29, 1947 and May 14, 1948, 318 Jews had been murdered in Arab attacks and ambushes—and that at a time

when the British Mandatory authorities were still nominally responsible for the maintenance of law and order.

Now the armies of Egypt, Transjordan, Syria and Lebanon, strengthened by expeditionary forces from Iraq and Saudi Arabia, were poised for all-out war, the aim of which was spelled out by Azzam Pasha, Secretary-General of the Arab League: "This will be a war of extermination and a momentous massacre which will be spoken of like the Mongolian massacres and the Crusades."

The war was indeed bloody and by the time it ended early in 1949, 6,000 Israelis were dead—on third of them civilians—out of a total population of only 650,000. However the new armistice lines did give Israel a sovereign foothold in Jerusalem and the possibility of rolling up its sleeves to build a State and a home and for those Jews wishing to come.

Refugees Find A Home

And Come They Did. In the first three years of statehood, Israel more than doubled its population by taking in almost 700,000 refugees. About half of them were fleeing from persecution in Arab lands and the other half were Nazi holocaust survivors from Europe. Altogether, since 1948, Israel has succeeded in absorbing 1.5 million newcomers—the majority of them refugees, who arrived with little but the clothes on their backs.

Welding this legion of immigrants, with their disparate cultural backgrounds, into one nation has not been easy particularly as there was little infrastructure to build on. At first many were accommodated in primitive tent camps, then in equally primitive shack-towns. They had to be taught Hebrew and many had

no skills to start with. The effect on the economy of those early years was chaotic. But by the mid-1950's Israel had begun to turn the corner, although immigration was still pouring in, protected by the Law of Return, which gives every Jew the right to live in Israel as a full and equal citizen.

Progress Despite State Of War

Throughout the thirty years, economic growth has been slowed by the fact that close to one-third of government expenditure has gone to meet defence costs. Nevertheless, progress has been remarkable. In the 20 years between 1952 and 1972 the Gross National Product grew at an annual rate of nine per cent. This was comparable to the growth rate for Japan (9.6) and considerably higher than that for West Germany (5.3) and the United States (3.3).

The country's exports have grown 40-fold since 1948, the number of university students has risen 25-fold and the annual consumption of electricity is more the 35 times what it was in 1948. The Arab population of Israel has also enjoyed the country's growth, and has one of the best standards of living of Arabs anywhere in the Middle East. These achievements were brought about under the shadow of constant war threats, punctuated by the need to fight four additional wars for survival.

Achievement And Search For Peace

The trouble with attempting to pick out some of the highlights of what has been achieved in these three decades, is that it all sounds too much like propaganda slogans: the swamps that have been drained, the deserts that now bloom, the primitive immigrant whose son builds supersonic jets, the little country caught up in the centre of the bitter Middle East conflict, which still succeeds in becoming an international centre of scientific research. Nevertheless all of this is the unembellished truth.

May 14, 1948 was the launching of Israel's ship of state into a rough, uncharted ocean. Now, thirty years later we know that the ship is basically sound and there is hope that a safe haven may finally be coming into sight.

Marriage Customs of Korea

Historical records show that free marriages were the norm in ancient Korea. Centuries before Christ a Korean tribe in the region which is now Manchuria had a custom whereby a youth would put a flower in the hair of the girl he wanted to marry, and by going home with flower in her hair, she could signal her acceptance of his proposal.

In Mahan an ancient tribal community in the central region of Korea, people lived together in the same house regardless of age or sex, indicating that free association—and free marriage—must have been the way of life. In the Koguryo Dynasty (founded in 37 B. C.), men and women amused themselves in the evening singing and dancing, yet another indicator that association between opposite sexes must have been quite liberal.

In the Koguryo era, a man whose elder brother had died would marry his bereaved sister-in-law, even if he already had a wife, presumably as a means of preserving the unity of the family and safeguarding the family property. This practice no longer exists today, but it was in practise in Japan as late as during the 1940s.

In the Koguryo era there also existed the practice of adopting a young girl around the age of 10 in order to make her a bride after she had been brought up by the family of her future husband. Such a bride was called a minmyonuri (literally a daughter-in-law without a bridal hair do). That custom persisted until around the turn of the 20th century, but was practised primarily among families with poor resources.

Endogamy: Endogamy and consanguineous marriage were quite frequent in ancient

times. In the Silla Dynasty (57 B. C.—A. D. 935), royal families married their sisters, cousins or aunts, and this practice lasted up until the Koryo Dynasty (918—1392). A ban on marriages within the same clan was put into force in the latter half of the 10th century, and they and consanguineous marriages declined because deformed babies were often born as a result.

As Confucian thought became rooted in Korea during the Yi Dynasty era, consanguineous marriage within the same clan was considered to be the most immoral bond, degrading man to the level of beasts. This moral taboo is still ingrained today. Though there have been moves in the past few years to allow marriage within the same clan if the two parties are not closely related by blood; most popular sentiment still runs against any endogamous marriage.

When discussing marriage in Korea, one says that the man "goes to his changga (the house of the bride's family)," and the woman "goes to her sijib (the groom's home)." This terminology stems from practices of the Koguryo era.

According to records, at that time the groom would visit his prospective bride's home, call out her name from a kneeling position, and ask her parents for permission to stay the night with her. If they consented, a small cottage would be built behind the main house for the couple to use. The groom would offer money and other gifts to the bride's family. When children were born and grown, the husband would take his wife and family back to his own home.

This ancient custom of course does not remain intact nowadays, but the groom still offers gifts to his bride's family and often spends at least the first night after the wedding at his bride's house. The visit is sometimes extended to three days, before or after the honeymoon, but after that the husband takes his wife to their own house.

Traditional Custom : In another traditional custom, a family with no son would sometimes resort to a terilsawi, or a son-in-law taken into the family line, the practice of adopting a groom as a husband for an heiress. However, since Korean males would deem it injurious to their pride to move into the bride's house, very few of them would accept such an arrangement unless they were extremely poor. Such an adopted husband could not have a very strong voice in his foster family in a paternal society, and would suffer considerable shame and humiliation. Thus some Korean aphorisms say, "Don't become a terilsawi so long as you can find some grain in your rice bowl," or simply, "Don't live in your wife's house."

With the introduction of Confucianism, and the subsequent establishment of paternal authority, parents held the power of decision on marriage matchmaking, and children were to follow their decisions without dissent. For some time, when marriages came at an early age, the groom was often younger than the bride he being perhaps 12 or 13 years of age, and she around 15 or 16. Yi Dynasty families, particularly when they were close friends used to match their children for marriage while they were still infants. Nowadays, that practice has disappeared and, as in the West young people choose their mates in a freer association with the opposite sex.

Two particular folk customs associated with marriage in Korea are eavesdropping on the newlyweds' first night and the mock tormenting of the groom.

Following the wedding ceremony and the wedding feast the bride awaits the groom in her room, in full traditional dress. When he appears, he must untie the bride's nuptial headwear, undo the ribbons fastening her blouse and remove one of her padded socks. However, the bride's family tries to trick him by fastening them all very tightly to tease the groom and test his ingenuity. While the groom

is struggling to untangle the garments, lest he be judged a fool, close relatives or neighborhood children peep through a hole in the papered sliding door to eavesdrop on the bustling couple, not with the intent to disturb the first night but all in good fun.

The tormenting of the groom was in vogue until quite recently, and still can be seen in the countryside. Several days after taking his wife home, the groom revisits the bride's house. The bride's family provides another banquet, inviting relatives and youths of the neighborhood to let the groom become familiar with them. It is also an opportunity for the young relatives and neighbours to test the personality of the groom.

Usually they hurl a barrage of sophisticated questions at the fellow accusing him of stealing a virgin. If his answers are not clever enough, his legs might be tied up with a rope hung from the ceiling, and soles of his feet hit with a wooden pillow. Or another tactic might be used, and rice cakes meat and wine could be ordered to help improve his responses. Before things get out of hand, the bride's mother usually brings sufficient food and wine to prevent any sort of misfortune from befalling her son-in-law.

Happy Ordeal : Often, the younger fellows carry the bride into others' house to tease the groom, or tie the newlyweds together and oblige them to sing songs in unison. Such occasions are a sort of merry ordeal for the two, but these days, the couple usually leaves for their honeymoon right after the wedding ceremony and such "torments" are on the decline.

Wedding ceremonies in Korea have become increasingly Westernized. Originally, the ceremony used to take place in the evening in candle light, which is why, even today, candles are lighted even during day time weddings.

But even with all the changes toward Western fashions, there are at least two practices that have changed little with the passing of times : sending porters with a nupti-

al gift box for the bride's family before the wedding, and the bride's formal greetings to the groom's family.

A day or two before the wedding, the groom's family sends a nuptial gift box to the home of the bride. In olden days, the porter was a servant, who of course never dared to jest with the bride's family. But these days, close friends of the groom bear the cargo, and they, out of fun, demand a transportation fee. If the offering is not satisfactory, they refuse to hand over the box. Since they are close friends of the groom, the bride's family must treat them deferentially, providing them with a hearty meal and drinks to placate their spirits.

Also these days even after a Western wedding ceremony, the bride offers a formal greeting to each member of the groom's family with a courteous and ceremonious bow. Chicken, chestnuts and dates are arranged on a table and the bride, usually assisted by a woman at each side, bows low in the traditional manner. After each bow, she rises to a sitting position and then starts again before making another bow. This is a burdensome ritual for the bride but the practice still persists—another element of longstadiag tradition amid the society's rapid "modernization".

With time customs have changed. Today boys and girls select their own partners.

(Korean News)

KOREAN SPEAKER VISITS INDIA

A Parliamentary delegation of six from the Republic of Korea led by the Speaker of the Kwon National Assembly H. E. Mr. 11. Chung paid a visit to India from March 26th to March 30th.

During the course of their visit the delegation called on the President of India, the Prime Minister of India and attended sessions of the Lok Sabha.

The Lok Sabha gave on the 27th a grand ovation to the delegation who watched the proceedings of the house from the special box.

The presence of the delegation in the box was announced by the Speaker of the Indian Parliament Mr. K.S. Hegde who extended a warm welcome on behalf of the house and his own behalf and conveyed the greetings to the President, Prime Minister and the people of Korea.

The Party paid a one day visit to Bangalore where they were hosted to a dinner by the Governor of Karnataka and on 28th paid a visit to the factory of the Hindustan Machine Tools. They also called upon the Speaker of the states assembly and the Chief Minister.

They were hosted to a dinner by the Honourable Speaker of the Indian Parliament Mr K.S. Hegde on 26th night and another dinner was hosted in their honour by the Ambassador of the Republic of Korea H.E. Mr. Bum Suk Lee on the night of 29th March.

The visit was successfully rounded off with a 75 minute talk with the Prime Minister of India Mr. Morarji Desai when Mr. Chung conveyed to Mr. Desai greetings of the Korean Prime Minister and expressed the hope that the relations between the two countries—economic and cultural—would be further strengthened.

The delegation also met the Minister for External Affairs, Mr. A. B. Vajpayee. where the area of cooperation in the sphere of foreign relations was discussed,

The delegation also met the Parliamentary Affairs Minister. Mr. Ravindra Verma. Mr. Verma explained to the Korean M.Ps the salient features of Parliamentary Democracy in India and the functioning of the Indian Parliament.

H. E. Mr. H Kwon Chung speaking on the occasion of the dinner hosted by the Ambassador of the Republic of Korea on 29th March thanked Mr. Hegde and the Indian Parliament for all the courtesy shown to the delegation during its stay in India.

Responding to the toast Mr. Hegde said that the need of the world today was the establishment of enduring peace and went on to say that these should be nourished and strengthened through exchange of such visits between Parliamentarians and people.

The delegation was warmly received wherever they went right from their arrival to the visit to Bangalore and the visit to the Hindustan Machine Tools factory, to the sessions of the Lok Sabha. The national press gave extensive coverage with photographs and news stories on the lead page.

Apart from H. E. Mr. H Kwon Chung the delegation consisted of Mr. Sam Chul Park, M. P. Mr. Sang Cho Shin Mr. Sang Sin Lee, M. P., Mr. Young Pyo Lee M. P. and six Korean Newsmen.

The Delegation was given a warm send off on 30th morning by Mr. K. S. Hegde and other Indian Parliamentarians." Korean News



THE TRIPLE TASK OF THE COLLEGE TEACHER

K. VENKATA REDDY

Gone are the days when teaching should be taken as a last resort. At least with the advent of the attractive Fifth Plan U.G.C. scales, the college teacher has every reason to stop grumbling and start working towards fulfilment of the goals set before him by the University and society at large.

The University is a significant human enterprise and the lights and shades of its life would affect the very foundations of human society. The person who is largely responsible for the fortunes of this enterprise is the college teacher. For, the success of any programme of higher education would depend on him to a very large extent.

The college teacher, then, has a three-fold task: first to communicate knowledge, secondly to be on the ever-widening frontiers of knowledge, and thirdly to concern himself in a constructive way with what happens around him. The first aspect of the task deals with the teacher's relation with students, the second with the improvement of his own subject, and the third with the responsibility he owes the society or the community in which he lives.

The college teacher should no longer remain indifferent to the students. To be effective, he needs to look upon each student of his as an individual for whom he has a responsibility. It is his primary obligation to do his best for his students by taking utmost care of and interest in the subject he teaches. Even in a big class, if the students are properly approached and the subject is presented in an effective way, students become responsive and interested in the subject. There is no point in throwing the whole blame upon the students themselves for the indiscipline in the class. We find that the

same students who give trouble to one teacher are quite all right in the class of some other teacher. How does this happen? Much depends on the teacher himself. If he is good and his teaching is interesting and useful the students are normally responsive and pose no problem. Those who do mischief for the sake of doing mischief, irrespective of the kind of teaching, are very few, and they can be tackled through other ways.

The teacher's task, however, is not complete even if he delivers his goods successfully. The various methods of instruction adopted by the teacher should also invariably aim at the development in students the powers and habits of mind necessary for independent acquisition of knowledge and to foster creative and critical thinking. The teacher would do well, too, to help the students, in course of his contact with them inside as well as outside the class room, cultivate a sense of values and constructive philosophy of life.

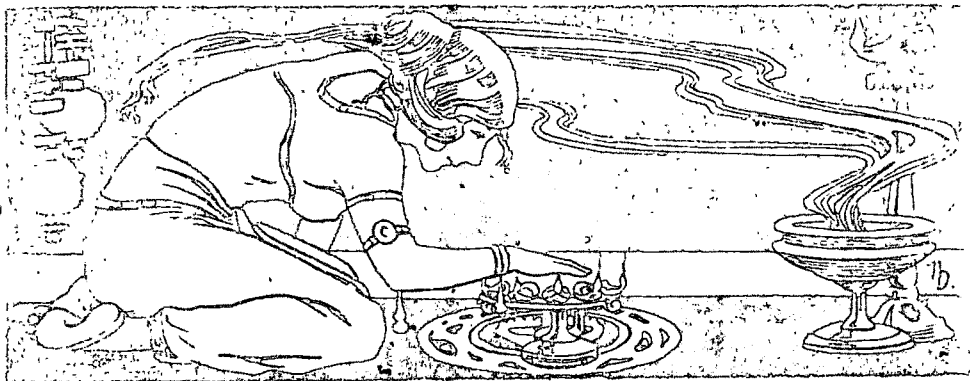
Then, with regards to the improvement of his subject, the teacher should keep himself abreast the new trends and developments in his chosen field by way of continuing reading, attending refresher courses, summer schools and seminars. He should also engage himself in research. But, there had been such a hue and cry among college teachers when the U. G. C. insisted upon M. Phil or Ph.D. for the implementation of the Fifth Plan scales that the latter had to withdraw its condition ultimately. The popular argument in this regard is that research is neither necessary nor useful for an affiliated college teacher whose chief concern is teaching. But the point is that, if properly viewed, teaching and rese-

arch are not opposed to each other nor do they exclude each other. They are two poles of the same magnet. Neither has much force without the other. Research, not necessarily leading to M. Phil. or Ph.D., is required for any good teacher. It would not only enliven the college teaching a good deal but keep the teacher alert. It rejuvenates him and, what is more, prevents him from repeating fossilized ideas.

Lastly, the teacher owes a responsibility to the society or the community in which he lives. This awareness is almost totally lacking in the present day teacher who seems to be preoccupied with his own problems. It is time the teacher came out of his comfortable golden sands and looked at the problems around. For, a college teacher, more than many others, is competent to give deep thought to contemporary social, economic, political and such other problems from both scientific and philosophic points of view, to assess the

trends underlying them and also to suggest remedies which go to the very root of their causes. It is, indeed, the prerogative of the college teachers and University professors to give such guidance to the government, and by exercising this prerogative they can serve their nation best. They could also take up, wherever possible, the cause of non-formal education which is of great and immediate significance. Through informal contacts with the masses the teacher could inculcate human and moral values and spread scientific and rational outlook among them.

Unless the teacher looks upon his job more as a mission or a vocation than as a mere means of livelihood, he can never discharge his responsibilities satisfactorily. As Bart and Russell put it "the teacher, like the artist, the philosopher, and the man of letters, can only perform his work adequately if he feels himself to be an individual directed by an inner relative impulse not dominated and fettered by an outside authority".



INFLUENCE OF BUDDHISM ON THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE OF INDIA OF THE TIME

SANTOSH KUWAR DE

In the early centuries after Christ, Buddhism spread from Kamboj on the north to Lanka (Sinhala) on the south and Mahenjodaro on the west to Kamrupa on the east. Naturally, Buddhism spread its deep root and left great influence on the social and political life of India in those days. From the pages in the massive literature of Buddhism abundant materials of its influence on society and politics are available.

Though, in practice, Buddhism seems to have accepted the existence of a society based on class division, and to have made no direct attack on it, there are many passages in Buddhist literature in which the four classes of Hindu society are declared to be fundamentally equal, and in which men are said to be worthy of respect not through birth but only through spiritual and moral qualities. Hinduism originally did not set importance to birth but to work; that is the four castes were functional with no divine sanction. "Four castes are created by me according to merit and work, says the Lord in Bhagavad Gita. But later on, through the influence of the Brahmins merit and worth disappeared and birth got predominance, and the result was the extreme manifestation of social inequality. Lord Buddha came at this juncture to declare a war against this extreme manifestation of class distinction. Buddha explicitly says birth is no criterion of worth. Buddhist views is summed up in the verse of the Discourse Section (Sutta Nipata, verse, 139)

"No brahman is such by birth.

No outcaste is such by birth.

An outcaste is such by his deeds;

A brahman is such by his deeds."

In Majjhima Nikaya 2. 147 there is a long discourse between a Brahman named Assalayana and the Lord when he was staying at Savatthi. Assalayana tried to prove that "Brahmanas are the highest class and the others are below them. They are white, the others black; only they are pure, and not the others. "Gautama silenced him by various analogies, and Assalayana "sat silent.....his shoulders hunched, his eyes cast down, thoughtful in mind, and with no answer at hand."

This shows that the attitude of Buddha is equalitarian, and this equalitarian idea was able to draw many caste Hindus (Shudras) to the fold of Buddhism. The other far-reaching influence was that in the countries where Buddhism was implanted upon societies, the caste system in Indian form was not to be found.

Buddhism did not condemn caste system of the Hindus in so many words, but it always insisted on leading a virtuous life; otherwise there would be no difference between a Brahman and a Shudra. Digha Nikaya is our guide in this respect. There we see a Brahman; a Kshatriya, a Vaishya or a Shudra who does not lead a good life in words and deeds is condemned to hell. He should not escape punishment because of his birth; on the other hand if they lead good lives, they will be rewarded.

"A Kshatriya who has led a bad life, whether in deed, word, or thought, and who has had wrong views about the world, because of his outlook and his deeds will be reborn after

parting with his body in the waste and woeful pit of purgatory. And a Brahman, a Vishya a Shudra will fare likewise. If on the other hand they lead good lives in thought, word, and deed and have right views about the world, they will be reborn in the happy world of heaven..... If they are self-restrained in body, speech and mind.....they may find Nirvana, even in this present life." (Digha Nikaya)

No exemption from punishment for non-observance of the instructions of Tathagata and the inevitable reward of Nirvana for leading a righteous life here, on earth kept the people in general in restraint in those days of faith. Buddhism was not a mere system of self-discipline for monks, with no significant message for the ordinary man except that he should, if possible leave the world and take the yellow robe. Buddhist scriptures contain many passages on instruction for lay men how to lead moral and righteous life and make themselves worthy of the example of the Buddha. These instructions had far-reaching effect even on Hindus.

The Birth Stories teach friendly relations not only between man and man but also between man and animal, and encourage the warm virtues of family-love, brotherhood and honesty in one's dealings with others. The Discourses of Admonition to Singala, SingalaVada Sutta teaches all the moral principles that are required for making good citizens. It teaches also men to be frugal and not to spend extravagantly for fairs and festival and domestic ceremonies. Drinking and gambling have been condemned, and it holds a happy picture of an ideal society based on happy human relationship where parents and children, teachers and pupils, husbands and wives, masters and servants dwell together in mutual respect and affection. It teaches how to make this world of sorrow an earthly paradise for

all. These instructions did not fall flat on the people in that golden age.

Human body was not neglected as the abode of all evils by Buddhism; rather the Buddhist order was very solicitous of the bodily health of its members. The Buddha once said, "He who cares for me would care for the sick" So great monarchs like Ashoka built up hospitals for men and animals, and Buddhist monasteries often served as dispensaries for dispensing medicine for the sick. Buddhist monks not only carried the ambrosial message of the Buddha, they carried also the medical science of the age which was the best in comparison with any other medical science of the time elsewhere, to Central and South-east Asia. Some say that one of the reasons for the spread of Buddhism in S. E. Asia and other places was the medical lore of the Buddhist monks (See Milindapanha, Trenckner edition, Pp 73-74)

Tolerance and mildness is the key note of Buddhism, still it could not mitigate the harshness of the judiciary of the time. Many crimes were punished by execution or mutilation. But the non violence of Buddhism seems to have some effect on the general people. They abstained from eating meat—it was confined only to the outcastes according to Fa-hsien. (A.D. 400)

Now, let us turn to the influence of Buddhism on politics. In politics Buddha definitely discourages the pretensions of kings to derive a semi divine status. Hindu teachers said that kings were partial incarnation of gods. According to Hindus the king though a boy should never be disobeyed, for he was a god in the form of man, made of eternal particles of the chief gods of the Hindu pantheon. It was usual to address the king as Deva or god. But in the Sutra of the Excellent Golden Light we see that the king is not a god in his own right, and therefore, is entitled to be addressed as Deva and as a "Son of the gods".

Buddhism never subscribes to the idea of the divine origin of the king, nor does it encourage an attitude of passive obedience to a king because he is a king. Buddhist scriptures state that the first king was merely the chosen leader of the people, appointed by them to dispense justice, prevent crime, protect property, and that his right to levy taxation depended not on birth or succession but on the efficient fulfilment of his duties.

The thirty-three gods assign the future of
the king,

The ruler of men is created as son of all
the gods,

To put a stop to unrighteousness, to prevent
evil deeds,

To establish all beings in well-doing, and
to show them
the way to heaven.

Whether man, or god, or fairy, or demon,
Or outcaste, he is a true king who prevents
evil deeds.

Such a king is mother and father to those
who do good

+++ +++ +++

But when a king disregards the evil done
in his kingdom,
And does not inflict just punishment on the
criminal,"

—Swarnaprabha suttama Sutra.

"The people have moral right to revolt against the tyrant; for in conspiring against the negligent king the subjects are serving the heavenly purpose. The king "should abandon his own precious life, but not the jewel of Righteousness" is the saying of the Buddha.

The Jatak Stories contain various accounts of how wicked kings were often overthrown as a result of popular rising. No sin was ascribed to the people for this.

In Buddhist monasteries monks often assembled and decided upon the major issues of the country after free discussion among

themselves. This discussion in the assembly, based on practices of the tribal republics of the Buddhist days tended towards democracy (rare among Hindu kings of the time), and it may be remembered in this connection that Gautama himself was the son of the king of Kapilabastu which was a republic. Buddhism, as it is evident from Buddhist scripts, tended to mitigate the autocracy of the Indian kings. This was the direct influence of Buddhism on the politics of India of the time.

Buddhist literature is replete with the blessings of peace. In the Sutta of the Excellent Golden Light pp 73 we find many passages where kings and potentates are called upon to forget their quarrels and live in peace and amity which is not to be found in Hindu scriptures, and so it seems to be an allusive remark on the Hindu ideals of kingship which urges on the kings to extend the boundary of their territory, attack neighbouring kings, and establish their sovereignty by force to gain homage and tribute from them.

"Protect all those royal families, cities, lands and provinces, save them, cherish them, guard them, ward off invasion from them, give them peace and prosperity. Keep them free from all fear, calamity, and evil potent. Turn back the troops of the enemies and create in all the earthly kings of India a desire to avoid fighting, attacking, quarrelling, or disputing with their neighbours.....when the eight-four thousand kings (tribal chiefs)? of the eighty-four thousand cities of India are contented with their own territories and with their own kingly state and their own hoards of treasure they will not attack one another or raise mutual strife When all the eighty-four thousand kings of the eighty-four thousand capital cities of India think of their mutual welfare and feel mutual affection and joy,.....contented in their own domains.....India will be prosperous, well-fed, pleasant and populous."—
Suvarnaprabhasottama Sutra.

The principle of Buddhism is mildness, tolerance and non-violence but not much is found against war in Buddhist scripts except in a few verses of Dhammapada, e, g :

“Victory breeds hatred

For, the defeated lie down in sorrow.

Above victory or defeat

The calm man dwells in peace.”

Emperor Ashoka condemned violence and urged on kings and emperors to gain victory by moral persuasion, though he himself used great violence in war in early life.* But it did not dissuade Buddhist kings of India and Ceylon from extending their territorial borders by ruthlessness. In fact, the Biblical idea of “whoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn him the other also” in one’s personal relations underlying the spirit of Buddhism had little effect on great Buddhist conquerors, except emperor Ashoka who is revered not so much for the extent of his empire as for the extent of his example. The successors of Ashoka like Harsha of Kanauj and Dharmapala of Bihar and Bengal though Buddhists were more militant and aggressive than his predecessors. So Buddhism had little effect on the rulers. Though Buddhism could not prevent princes and potentates from pushing their political aim of territorial ambition ; one thing at least it could do, and that was mitigating the autocracy of Indian kings. Strongly opposed to bloodshed, Buddhism spread some influence on the horrors of war throughout India, coming in Nehru’s words, “Like the fresh wind”. This was no mean achievement.*

In conclusion, we like to show the effect of the Buddhist teaching on the life of the Japanese in the 7th Century A. D.

The spread of Buddhism began to affect in the 7th century the life of the Japanese in fields outside of art and religion.

Buddhist ideas of an afterlife had brought and end in the 7th century in Japan to the elaborate stone-tomb burials in the capital district, and the Japanese began to adopt the Indian custom of cremation which still prevails in Japan.

Buddhist injunction against the taking of life, animals as well as human, (C. F. “All men tremble at punishment, all men love life ; remember that thou art like unto them, and do not kill, nor cause slaughter.”—Dhammapada) had also began to have an effect. Execution was for the most part dropped in favour of punishment ; though a high incidence of violent deaths among those banished suggests that banishment at first may have sometimes been a pious subterfuge. Japanese life as a whole, however, seems to have become decidedly less cruel and warlike. The Indian prejudice against killing animals also began to affect the eating habit of the Japanese. Strengthened by the scarcity of grazing land and farm animals in Japan, this prejudice was eventually to result in a virtual prohibition against meat eating, though the Japanese, except for the Buddhist clergy, never extended this ban to the creatures of the sea, which always have been their chief source of protein.

(See The History of East Asian civilization by Reischauer Fairbank.)

“Kalinga was conquered by his Sacred and Gracious Majesty when he had been consecrated eight years. 150,000 persons were thence carried away captive, 100,000 were slain and many times that number died..... Thus arose his Sacred Majesty’s remorse for having conquered the Kalingas because the conquest of a country previously unconquered involves the slaughter, death, and carrying away captive of the people.” Rock Edict No-XIII See Fomila Thapar—Asoka and the Decline of the Mauryas.

Indian and Foreign Periodicals

Spectators or participants? Immigrants and industrial relations in Western Europe

Georges MINET writes in the International Labour Review:—

Although the influx of migrant workers to the industrialised countries of Western Europe was originally intended to fill only a temporary need, the demand for foreign labour soon became a permanent feature of their employment markets. This has raised two questions in regard to the industrial relations system in these countries: first, what effect does the new foreign labour force have on this system and, secondly, to what extent do immigrant workers participate in and benefit from it? Governments have taken a number of steps to facilitate or regulate the integration of immigrant workers in the industrial relations process—and have been encouraged or criticised for their pains by the trade unions, which have themselves been under pressure from their members—while international bodies have mainly concerned themselves with formalising the receiving countries' duty to guarantee immigrant workers' rights, especially in social matters.² A review of

the progress made in these respects will, at the same time, show how far immigrants enjoy "effective equality of opportunity and treatment with nationals" in respect of "membership of trade unions, exercise of trade union rights and eligibility for office in trade unions and in labour-management relations bodies, including bodies representing workers in undertakings."³

The area chosen for investigation in the following pages is Western Europe, both because of its high incidence of immigration⁴ and because of its wide variety of industrial relations systems. The term "migrant" (or "immigrant") is used to cover not only workers who leave their native land temporarily but also those who migrate with the intention of settling permanently (mainly in the United Kingdom); all have similar problems, at least in the early stages, in adjusting to the new conditions even though their legal status differs from one country to another.

TRADE UNIONS

MEMBERSHIP

All over Europe laws and regulations grant immigrants the right to equality of treatment with national workers in respect of trade union membership. The related principle of full equality of rights within the union explains incidentally why trade unions often keep no record of how many foreign members they have, thus making it difficult to determine the exact proportions of immigrant membership.

The over-all figures available indicate that the percentage of immigrants who join trade unions is generally lower than that of nationals.¹ In Belgium, for example, slightly fewer than 45 per cent of foreigners were members of trade unions on 1 January 1976 compared with

1 International Labour Office.

2 See, for example, the ILO's Migration for Employment Convention (Revised), 1949 (No. 97), Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) Convention, 1975 (No. 143), and Migrant Workers Recommendation, 1975 (No. 151).

3 Recommendation No. 151, Para. 2.

4 See J. H. Lasserre-Bigorry: General survey of main present-day international migration for employment, General Conditions of Work Series No. 34 (Geneva, ILO, 1975), pp. 19 ff.

75 per cent of nationals. The corresponding figures for France appear to be about 10 and 23 per cent. On the other hand, in the Federal Republic of Germany, where, at the beginning of 1973, one in five foreign workers was organised as against one in three German workers, the proportions now seem to be quite close—between 30 and 35 per cent in each case. The proportions also appear to be fairly similar in the Netherlands, where some 35 per cent of foreigners are thought to belong to trade unions compared with slightly more than 40 per cent of nationals. As far as the United Kingdom is concerned, surveys tend to show that the proportion of trade union membership among the "minorities" is higher than among nationals.² In Sweden trade union membership among immigrants seems to be at about the same remarkably high level as it is among nationals (80-85 per cent).

Since immigrants tend to be concentrated in certain industries, a sector-by-sector examination helps to make the over-all picture clearer. In Switzerland foreigners made up approximately one-third of the membership of the Building and Woodworkers' Union at the beginning of 1975, while out of the present total membership of the Metalworkers' and Watchmakers' Union (127,000) some 30,000 are foreigners representing a score of nationalities. In the Federal Republic of Germany more than half (52.7 per cent) of the foreign workers employed in the metalworking industry in 1975 were members of the Metalworkers'

Union (IG Metall), a slightly higher proportion even than that of Germans in the industry (52.3 per cent).³

The propensity of foreign workers to join trade unions varies with the degree of unionisation among nationals. Thus industries and undertakings which traditionally are highly organised frequently have the highest rates of immigrant unionisation, and certain categories of immigrant that are usually hard to recruit tend to join in large numbers where their fellow workers are highly organised. Conversely, the fact that a majority of immigrants are employed in industries in which trade unionism is not as a rule very strong (building, textiles and food) tends to reduce their over-all rate of unionisation.

The proportion of organised foreign workers seems therefore to be linked to the general of trade union membership in the country of employment. Although occasionally close to that of nationals, it is still in many instances lower despite some improvement. Naturally this causes concern among the trade unions since it could have repercussions on the bargaining strength of the workers as a whole. Efforts have therefore been made to encourage more foreign workers to join but they have run into a number of obstacles, some of which may be laid at the door of the host community and others at that of the immigrants themselves.

Anthropogenic Influences On Climate

In recent times, researches on environment have grown into importance in planning economic and social development. One of the important parameters of these researches is climate. The climatic variability due to various interactions within the system itself is very difficult to predict, but a number of effects influencing the climate through human activities is, to an extent, predictable. In a recent study of such anthropogenic influences on climate by the World Meteorological Organisation

1 Author's estimates based on various sources (trade union documents and miscellaneous national publications).

2 See D. J. Smith: *The facts of racial disadvantage: a national survey* (London, PEP, 1976), pp. 115-118.

3 Gewerkschaftsreport des Instituts der deutschen Wirtschaft (Cologne), 1975, No. 15, table 4, p. 32.

tion, a few important results are obtained, which are of immediate concern because of their impact on human welfare and economic development.

The major change in the climate due to human activities is the warming up of the surface of the earth by different processes. One of the processes is due to the direct release of heat through the growing energy production to meet the demand by the increased world population. In 2400 A. D. it is expected that the population will increase to 20 billion and if the per capita energy production on the average be 20 kW, the average surface temperature will increase by 1°C over the present value by the end of the next century. For latitudes above 50°, the increase will be larger and even 3 to 5 times larger in the polar regions.

Apart from the direct release of heat, the energy producing mechanisms by *burning coal, petroleum* and natural gas, men

have produced enough carbon dioxide through the last century. In the report of WMO mentioned here it is assumed that half of carbon dioxide so far produced has sheltered in the atmosphere and the other half is absorbed by the oceans and forest. Just now the carbon dioxide content in the atmosphere amounts to 325 part per million by volume and considering the growing use of fossil fuels the increase will reach some 380 to 390 ppm by the end of this century. Carbon dioxide absorbs infrared radiation, which can not escape to space. As more carbon dioxide is added to the lower atmosphere the absorption of heat in the form of infrared radiation is more. The absorbed heat is reradiated towards the earth thus increasing the surface temperature. It is predicted that by the end of this century the carbon dioxide content of our lower atmosphere will increase by 25% of the present thus increasing 5 to 2°C of the mean temperature of the earth surface. An extrapolation of these figures to the middle of

the next century with proper consideration of the global energy development shows a hundred per cent increase in the carbon dioxide content and thus an increase of the surface temperature by 1.5 to 6°C.

The sinks for CO₂ are the oceans and forests. In spite of the afforestation programmes of the different countries, it is not likely that forest will increase indefinitely to be the proper sink for the enhanced CO₂ product emerging from the growing energy consumption of the world. Oceans contain CO₂ in a larger quantity than the atmosphere itself. For the oceans to be a proper sink for the CO₂ added to the atmosphere, an equilibrium is to be reached by the exchange of the oceanic layers between the lower and deeper levels. Unfortunately such an exchange process is very slow such that it takes 1000 to 1500 years. As a consequence, it is difficult to avoid further warming of the surface due to the added CO₂ content of the atmosphere.

The next contaminant produced by human activities is Freon or chlorofluoromethane used in the refrigeration process. Freon is absorbed in the ozone layer of the stratosphere. Though these molecules are broken to some extent, by the ultra violet radiation there, the most part remains intact in the troposphere for a long period from 40 to 70 years. Freon has a similar property of absorbing heat like CO₂. It is estimated that by increasing the use of Freon by 10% per year we may expect an increase of surface temperature by 1°C. It is also a concern from the biomedical point of view that Freon is responsible for decreasing ozone layer and consequently for increasing solar ultraviolet radiation.

As the world progresses in agriculture, more nitrate fertilisers will be used. The outcome will be the addition of nitrous oxide to the atmosphere affecting it in a similar manner like Freon increasing the surface temperature and

decreasing ozone concentration in the stratosphere.

Another product namely Aerosols as sulphates and hydrocarbons are produced by coal burning. Aerosols have some interesting properties. They produce cooling by scattering towards space and sometimes they absorb some solar radiation warming their surroundings. The next effect is very difficult to predict. It is also observed that aerosols over a dark surface like oceans produce more cooling than over a light surface as land, snowfield or cloud. In addition to the above effect, they act as freezing nuclei and hinder cloud formation. This phenomenon is also little understood and the effect can not yet be assessed quantitatively. But it is likely that the phenomenon is variable from region to region. An extensive research is necessary to determine the effect of aerosols produced by the increasing industrial progress of the world.

Radioactive ^{85}Kr gas, a product from nuclear reactors are of concern, since it is chemically inert and it has radioactive half life 10.7 years. So it is sheltered in the lower atmosphere without any chemical reaction. The energetic Beta particles from Kr ionise the atmosphere in addition to the natural ionising radiations such as from cosmic ray and radon. The part contributed by Kr will be 10-15 increase in the conductivity of the lower atmosphere within a time space of fifty years or so. In consequence the electric field generation in clouds will diminish thus reducing cloud formation as usual.

Of the above effects, CO₂ is of grave concern since a 1°C change in the surface temperature will mean upto 10 days change in growing season. The effect is larger in the latitude over 50 towards the polar regions ranging to a 30 days change in the growing season there. This will have an effect on the polar ice and snow.

NOTICE

THERE HAS BEEN DELAY IN CIRCULATING THE MODERN REVIEW REGULARLY FOR THE PAST FEW MONTHS. THIS HAS BEEN CAUSED BY DELAY IN OPERATION OF THE PRINTING PRESS, IN OBTAINING PERMISSION TO POST THE PAPER AT THE SPECIAL RATE UNDER THE REGISTERED NEWS PAPER ACT AND SECURING PRINTING PAPER OF PROPER QUALITY IN TIME. THE DELAY IS REGRETTED BUT ARRANGEMENTS ARE NOW BEING MADE TO BRING EVERYTHING UP TO DATE.

MANAGER

THE MODERN REVIEW

Any natural climatic change will be much less than the effects due to human activities in the short span of 100-200 years. Rise in surface temperature is the most significant effect of all. The Arctic ocean icepack has a prominent role in further warming up the surface. The fractional change in the volume of ice of the Antarctic and Greenland due to the hotter surface of earth may increase the sea level by 80 m, which will be a devastating event happening in a slow process.

The future of climatic change predicted as

above is worked out by suitable models. Improvement of such climatic modeling with proper and better coupling of the atmosphere, ocean and polar regions will give more meaningful results.

As regards the CO sources and sinks, the ocean circulation system should be studied in details. The effect to afforestation should be examined as a positive step towards the creation of a sink for CO.

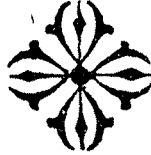
S. B. K.

(in "Science and Culture")



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NOTES

Pseudo Spiritual Preceptors

Indians are attracted by spiritual thoughts and practices by tradition and they have a conscious preference for what is good for the soul as against what is always considered to be of great importance as providing nourishment to the body or the nerves that stimulate the physical responses to environmental connections. This preference for the unknown the unknowable and the fundamentally mysterious has attracted a great number of clever, intelligent and knowledgeable persons to organise *ashrams* or centres where people can delve deep into the mystery of the ultimate realities and the preceptors who acted as teachers and guides in these centres sometimes did not qualify themselves properly to conduct studies and researches into those problems of metaphysics, psychology and philosophy which naturally came up when people tried to understand the true meaning of the *ślokas* and *matras* that one finds in the ancient *Shāstric* treatises of the Hindus. There are some scientifically minded persons who do attach any to value speculative philosophy and they keep clear of all these *gurus* who explain

the true meaning of the abstruse conceptions in which the holy books abound. But there are others and they outnumber the followers of science, who have a desire to see what cannot be sensed and understand what cannot be seen, sense what cannot be sensed and understand what cannot be understood. These people quite often have money to spend and the genuine as well as the fake spiritual preceptors find many ready followers among them. In India therefore we find persons who carry on philosophical enquiries seriously and with the purpose of expounding speculative thoughts of the ancient *rishis* side by side with persons who seek rich disciples who can endow their institutions where relatively non intellectual and non-academic types of persons are brought in from various parts of the world to practise the cults that these businesslike spiritual preceptors organise for purposes which are not always highly spiritual. There are many foreigners who come to India to find out what the East can teach the West and they often come in contact with these *gurus* some of whom are not what they claim to be. All sorts of tales are

told about the spiritual endeavours that these seekers after occult values engage in. In any case these persons do not present the facts of ancient Indian culture properly and well and their activities do not help foreigners to understand Indian philosophy any better.

The Individual and the Community

The individual is the unit with which humanity has come to people the earth. The various families, communities, nations with which humanity is composed are all constituted by smaller or greater numbers of individuals. It is in the individual that we find thought expression, feeling and action. When families or larger groups of individuals think or act conjointly and there is action by united bodies of individuals we describe such thought or action as social or national thought or action. But the individual is always there as the possessor of the mind and the active body without which there can be no thought or action in a community or nationwide manner. The individual is the source of the mental, physical or spiritual energy which when it functions collectively becomes a larger complex of thought, feeling or action. But the individual is always there as the centre of the life force from which is generated the wider complexes of mental or physical efforts. When a hundred thousand individuals think or act together and a great force of thought or action comes into existence the thought or action of the individual cannot compare with it in any manner. A single soldier marking time or raising his hand in salute, though the unit of the army, looks quite insignificant when several brigades of an army march past the solitary soldier. The collective body has a special grandeur which the single person totally lacks. Yet the individual ranks supreme when it comes to finding the inspiration that is the basic driving force of all great human action. For, it is only in the individual that great ideas

are born, great theories originate and epoch making thoughts are evolved. A Plato, a Socrates, an Aristotle or a Luther or a Vivekananda cannot come to inspire people as a collective manifestation. Robespierre and Danton, Marx and Lenin had to be individuals in whose minds great revolutionary ideas could be kindled like volcanic flames. Great conceptions whether philosophical, literary, musical, scientific or of any other sort arise only in the individual mind. A large group of persons cannot conceive the lines of Eurypides or Shakespeare or the bars that Mozart or Wagner composed. But it would take a good few persons to make an orchestra or the dramatis personae of a theatrical play. So that individuals require the help of bigger groups of persons to give proper expression to what flashes luminously in their minds as inspiration. Things being like that individuals require company to give proper shape to their thoughts, just as communities and nations cannot do without individual creative thinkers for their march along the path of progress. Even socialists or communists of the hard core variety cannot totally ignore the talented individuals who think and feel in ways which show the direction in which the community should advance. It is possible that individual genius has less of a front line position in the authoritarian set up than in other politics; but we suppose there is scope for bargaining even for them in difficult places.

Is India Progressing Culturally

There are ways and ways of measuring progress. One way is to compare past production statistics with the quanta produced currently. If one finds x million tonnes of wheat and rice then and $x+y$ million tonnes now one says with assurance that the country is advancing. If one also finds A million yds. of textiles then and $A+B$ million yds now the progress is doubly proved. There are other facts and figures too which indicate progress and those

are additions to the mileage of railways and roads. Also additions to square miles of agricultural lands improved by irrigation, number of trees planted, buildings built and hospitals set up. But there are other signs of progress which are more significant. These are facts and figures which relate to cultural progress. Number of books published annually, dramas and cinema pictures produced, paintings and sculptures exhibited, dramas staged, musical performances and dances recitals. All these both within the country and going out to other countries. In India cultural progress appears to have slowed down considerably since the last few years. When we talk about music, dance, theatrical and motion picture shows we name persons who are no longer with us. Or of those who have been great exponents of the arts but they cannot be described as modern. We have not produced any equals of the great poets, novelists, dramatists, actors, painters, sculptors, dancers, singers and other talented persons of the past. We are carrying on with a few artists who are still with us but there who claim a place in the hall of fame are not convincingly impressive as great exponents of the different arts.

Tarashankar Banerji, Bibhuti Bhusan Banerji as novelists, Devi Prasad Roy Chowdhury as sculptor, Asit Halder and Nandalal Bose as painters, Uday Sankar as dancer, Bare Gulama Ali, Amir Khan and Onkar Nath as singers. Sisir Bhaduri as actor have gone and there have been no successors to them. There are some supermen like the great poet philosopher Rabindra Nath Tagore who are irreplaceable. But there are others who are highly talented, Yet not quite irreplaceable. We are bemoaning the fact that those who can have successors are remaining without any. The reason for this is that the basic rules and principles regarding the arts are not being properly maintained by the newcomers. Voice training, steps and rhythm exercises, drawing,

perspective etc are not being practised as these should be. The new comers take liberties with the rules of training, try to be creative in a loose and free manner and end up by being totally undisciplined. More exercise and practice where the fundamentals are learnt should enable the artistes to avoid breach of the basic idioms of the arts. A good knowledge of grammar and etymology helps self expression through literary composition. New comers in the field of different arts are often inclined to take things for granted and take a plunge where they should try to progressively master the rules of the game. It is wise to learn to go fast slowly so that one does not get into any difficulties by acting in a free and independent manner. As in all things too much self-willed action makes things hard for all concerned, particularly to those who enjoy artistic expression.

Who Wants a War ?

Quite often some one puts a question like "does the USSR want a war with the USA" or "does the USA want a nuclear conflict with Soviet Russia" and the answer is usually in the negative with very rare exceptions. For there is always an assurance that an attack will always be answered by a counter attack which will be as destructive and devastating as the attack. A nuclear attack however well planned and massive will never totally destroy the war potential of the country that will be attacked. Many cities may be levelled to the ground, factories, railway yards, bridges, and dams totally wrecked and hundreds of thousands of innocent people suddenly killed; but the missiles that will be fired in retaliation will not be destroyed in total. Many will be fired in answer within a few minutes of the lightning attack and within a few hours these missiles will explode over selected targets in the attacking country. and what happened in the attacked country will be reenacted in the attacking country: The result will be as hideous

and blood curdling as the first blasts produced in the initially attacked country. That being the expected follow up of any nuclear attack no nuclear power would seek to start an atomic conflict with another similarly armed power. For, who wants dozens of cities burnt out of recognition, many industrial centres, railway junctions and populous areas scorched by fear-some conflagrations. Not to mention the numerous men, women and children who would die a horrible death. The questions therefore "whether the USSR and the USA would involve themselves in a war" has only one answer and that is "not very likely" unless some accident suddenly started a war. Having failed to find good grounds for getting the USA or the USSR to begin a nuclear war, the speculator in probabilities of large scale wars look towards China as a probable belligerent with Russia or India in the opposite corner of the ring. Would Russia attack China or China Russia? The questioner is asked back "Why and for what purpose?" There may be claims on territories occupied by China in India or other territories in the occupation of Russia; but no power thinks of starting a war for recovering some undeveloped land which is not rich in minerals, nor has any strategic importance. Moreover China having forcibly occupied Tibet does not desire to be involved in any war which may force her to vacate that big historically important theocratic state. Russia too does not like to be in conflict with a country as large as China as that would force her to deploy hundreds of divisions of soldiers on the various Russo Chinese frontiers. and generally speaking, reduce her ability to fight the USA.

Nations which used to be warlike and to be in the throes of warfare every now and then in the past, had ceased to be warlike after the last two world wars. These nations were Germany, France, Britain, Italy and Japan; not counting

the USA and Russia. Among smaller nations we should mention Belgium, Ireland and South Africa. In modern times the major nations have given up the idea of settling disputes by having recourse to war, the smaller nations have indulged in fighting as and when they have felt like it. New small nations have come to boost the fighting camp such as Israel, Egypt, Vietnam or Cambodia. One important fact which has removed the urge to fight has been the disappearance of the lust to build empires by conquest. Britain, France and certain other nations have become peace loving by giving up their imperial hold over other peoples' homelands. The great sages who had been the teachers of mankind during the past millenia had all preached love, tolerance, equality, freedom and justice; but somehow the evil genius of man came on top at many critical moments of history. Men responded to urges that were against all dictates of morality robbed, plundered, enslaved and conquered wantonly for the appeasement of their sinful desires. The teaching of the prophets of religions and of the great saints were ignored by the Chengiz Khans, Timur Lanes, Nadir Shas, Napoleons and Hitlers who believed only in might. It was only the futility of the great wars of recent times and the terrible destruction and carnage which merely symptomatized a senseless sadistic frenzy that eventually convinced people that humanity would be facing extinction if wars did not cease. Wars had not stopped but fortunately the great powers have not engaged in any wars during the last several decades. Smaller states have done some skirmishing which did not spread. All people talk of peaceful settlement of disputes and speak against bloodshed. So that it appears that wars are out of fashion and war mongering is something to look down upon. These are good signs and may sooner or later abolish wars. But there are states like Israel which are well equipped with dangerous

weapons and are so placed as forces them to fight for their very existence. Some of these small powers are technically so advanced that they can manufacture nuclear weapons. So that things are not entirely safe and free from all risks of developing conditions in which large scale warfare may again become possible. There are of course organisations like the U. N. which do very good work to prevent wars from breaking out. The teachings of Count Leo Tolstoy, Mahatma Gandhi and many other peace loving persons have also done good work in the anti war front. Those who want to outlaw war are not entirely isolated and helpless.

Employer Employee Disputes

Strikes, slow downs, work to rule which is another kind of slow down, mass leave taking, lock outs, giving charge sheets on the slightest excuse etc. etc. are everyday affairs in industrial commercial centres and the public of these places are generally speaking divided into two camps. One section of the people hold the employers responsible for all industrial troubles and another section consider that trade union leaders and recalcitrant worker are at the root of all disputes, some of which are totally unfounded on facts. Creating disputes where none exist is the profession of some trade union leaders, just as some officers engaged by entrepreneurs specialise in acting aggressively with out rhyme or reason and creating and feelings and labour disputes. Now a days employer employee disputes have begun in hospitals, banks, hotels and various other institutions which never had such troubles in the past. This is due to the activities of these trouble makers who at times are just persons belonging to political parties who have nothing to do with employment of any sort. Genuine employer employee disputes arise out of payment of unjustly low wages, forcing workers to do heavy work, too much overtime duty, dangerous work, duty in an environment

which causes physical suffering lack of amenities etc. etc. There are also instances of rough treatment, unfair dealing in the sphere of granting increments, giving promotion fixing grades and so forth, which initiate trends which eventually lead to strikes or other antiemployer movements. There are other factors too which cause development of disputes. Even some government officials are considered to be provokers of disputes at times ; they gain in prestige by setting the disputes which they themselves arrange to start. There are a fairly large number of persons employed in the various labour departments whose work it is to see that industrial peace is not disturbed. These people keep in touch with the trade union organisations as well as with the employers and their officers of the personnel departments. Not all persons in these various departments are straight forward and thoroughly above board. Some of them may at times act like agents provocateurs. Superior officers have to watch the activities of their subordinates constantly too. But people who are not admirers of high officers quite often say that even the top rankers are not always above creating Employer Employee disputes in order to act as mediators and earn a reputation as settler of industrial disputes. Unbelievable yet some would say who have utter faith in the integrity of V. I. P. s. but they should be reminded of what high ranking British officials used to do to start communal riots. Compared to those riots labour disputes are totally and perfectly nonviolent. The communal riots always had a good number of casualties whereas the strikes and lockouts are seldom dangerous and cause blood shed. Then we have also to understand that things seldom remain clean and free from vice where politics creep in. Now a days most trade unions have political affiliations and that is bringing in all sorts of vicious developments in labour matters. The workers

of many establishments have more than one trade union and that starts feuds of a violent type at times.

Heat and Electricity

If we make a study of lighting fires for domestic, industrial and other purposes; as well as of power generation, we would find that all over the world fire lighting is carried out by use of fire wood, coal, treated coal dust, dehydrated refuse matter, cowdung, husk material, bagasse, oil, natural gas, peat and various other combustible matter. Some countries make use of solar energy to produce great heat by which they arrange to generate electricity which is used for all sorts of domestic and industrial purposes. Electric power generation is done by thermal power generation plants which use coal, oil or nuclear fuel for raising steam which run the engines that make the generating machinery mobile. Hydro-electric power generating plants use the force of water to turn the turbines that produce electricity. There are schemes for using tidal energy for power generation too, but no practical use of these schemes have yet been made on an appreciable scale. In some countries power is used to turn the wheels of machinery or to run power generation plants. India has not made use of wind or tidal energy, nor of solar heat to operate machinery or to generate electricity to any noticeable extent as yet. We suppose these sources of energy will be progressively exploited to an increasing extent as the country advances in economic development. As things are now the people of India are too poor and technically unprepared to make use of complicated processes for utilising solar, wind or tidal energy on a large scale.

The Working People of India

In the last census of India, held in 1971 the total number of working persons was 1805 lakhs which worked out at 32.92 percent of the total population of India of 5482 lakhs. There were 1492 lakhs male workers and 313 lakhs

females. An officially made analysis of the total number of working people gives as the following figures :—cultivators 640 lakhs; agricultural labourers 317 lakhs; attending to livestock, forest, fisheries, plantations, orchards etc. 35 lakhs; Mining and quarrying 8 lakhs; household industry 150 lakhs; other than household industry 99 lakhs; construction 20 lakhs; Trade and commerce 95 lakhs; Transport, storage and communications 43 lakhs; other services 135 lakhs. Working class people in India are employed in places of work which are mostly small establishments and the workers are self employed in many places of work. The establishments which may be called factories or which use power and employ 10 persons or more are not numerous. The total number of workers employed in fair size establishments would not exceed 5 percent of the total working population. One official account puts the number of organised labour in establishments which give returns and publishes facts and figure relating to their workers puts the total of such organised workers at 60 lakhs. The total of all workers would be more than 1800 lakhs. The workers who are well organised and have their own trade unions are fewer still. They are also organised in trade unions which are more than one in the same factory at times and indulge in rivalries and squabbles at times. Political parties come into the picture in many cases and violent clashes take place resulting in casualties. Constructive trade unionism has not developed to any great extent in India and politics plays an unduly active part in the trade unions.

How People Live in India.

Most Indians dwell in mud huts in villages in most parts of the country. The villages, by and large have mud tracks for roads have no sanitary arrangements, no organisation for ready provision of medical assistance, have no schools for the boys and girls, nor any markets

shops or easily available means of communication with other villages, nearly towns, railway stations etc. etc. About 100000 villages out of a total of 550000 villages have no proper supply of drinking water. The houses, which are strawthatched mud huts with no windows or ventilators usually have only one room with attached sheds for domestic animals. About 9 or 10 persons live in these huts which means that half that number keep their clothes, bedding and utensils in the huts but usually sleep outside the huts. If the number of huts could be doubled, even then all persons would not be properly housed. There are all sorts of organisations for building houses for the people of India but as most of the people are miserably poor these arrangements can not come to much use as far as the masses are concerned India needs to double the number of houses and to provide pure drinking water; good roads, sanitary arrangements etc. to all inhabitants of the country, but the utter poverty of the people stand in the way of development and progress. Even in the cities people crowd into single room tenements and pay a cash premium to secure tenancy in such slummy dwelling houses. The day population of Calcutta is 30 percent more than the people who live in the city. The daily passengers who come daily into the city and go back to the nearly villages in the evening have to travel many miles everyday as they cannot manage to live in the city. There are few hundred thousand pavement dwellers too who work but have nowhere to stay as they cannot pay the high rent that is usually demanded.

Posts, Telegraphs and associated Services

The growth of post and telegraph service in India provides material for an interesting study. Post offices became available to the public in 1837 and by 1854 India had about 700 post offices. In about one hundred years,

in 1950-51 India had established 5284 urban and 30810 rural post offices. The next ten years saw the increase of urban post offices to 7326 while village had 69513 postal establishments. The 1970-71 figures were urban 10224 and rural 98835. 1974-75 saw 11505 urban and 105713 rural postal centres. The latest available information makes the numbers for 1975-76 12057 urban and 106424 rural post offices. The 1977 figures are not complete but in the first three months of the year the total number of post offices had increased from 118481 to 120999. By this time nearly all villages had arrangements for delivery of mail.

India organised officially managed telegraphic service as early as 1851 when a telegraph line was put up between Calcutta and Diamond Harbour. In 1976 there were nearly 20000 telegraph offices in India. It is planned to open 7000 more telegraph office within a short period. The Hindustan-teleprinters Ltd. In 1977 this company manufactured 6632 units of teleprinters. The oldest telephone exchange was set up in 1881 in Calcutta. This was within a few years of the invention of the telephone. At the time of independence there were 321 exchanges with 86000 telephones. In 1976 we had 5240 telephone exchanges and more than 19 lakh telephones. The India telephone Industries Ltd. Bangalore has several factories in different parts of India where telephonic instruments of various kinds are manufactured. This company manufactures telephones for use in India and also does a good business of exporting instruments to other countries. India has made great progress in telecommunication, wireless communication, use of satellites, radio broadcasting etc. etc. during recent years and is far in advance of many countries in these fields commercially as well as in the scientific sphere.

Roads and Railways of India

Indian Roads and Railways have been highly developed and quite extensive since a long time. When the British came to this country there were already many well laid out roads connecting the important populous areas, the great cities, the places of pilgrimage, the popular markets and fairs etc. etc. which the kings and queens of India of Pre British days had got built for economic, religious and military reasons. The British added many more roads and the railways doubtlessly were entirely their contribution till the year 1947 when India became independent. Among the great road ways one may mention the Grand Trunk Road built by order of the emperor Sher Shah who was a great planner. The Ahalya Bai Road which linked up places ilke Jessore, in Bengal, Nabadwip also in Bengal and passed through many places in modern 24 Paraganas, Howrah and Hooghly Districts, Midnapore, Bankura and eventually went through Orissa to Jagannathdham or Puri which has been a pilgrime centre for many centuries. Sher Sha's Grand Trunk Road went through many important places of North India covering the Ganges valley and ended up in Peshawar. In 1974-75 India had a net work of roads which was 12.15 lakh km. in length. The road length was about 4 lakh km. only in 1950-51. Out of the 1974-75 roads about 4.93 lakh km. was surfaced and 7.22 unsurfaced. The states which have the longest roads in total are West Bengal, Utter Pradesh, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu.

The total number of motor vehicles on roads in 1976 was 26.35 lakhs. This was thirteen times more than the motor vehicles

on the roads in 1947. The largest number of motor vehicles on the roads of any state is in Maharashtra ; followed by Uttar Pradesh, Karnatak, Gujarat and West Bengal.

The railway system of India is one of the largest in the world and the largest in Asia. In 1975-76 the Indian railways had a route length of 60221 km. on which more than 10000 trains ran everyday using 11095 locomotives, 38818 coaches and 395250 wagons. There were 7056 stations, 14.5 lakh regular employees and the whole organisation had required 5345 crores in investments. The railway revenue was nearly 2000 crores annually, Since independence the passenger and goods vehicles have doubled. The railway trucks have been improved a great deal and some trains now run in many parts at a speed exceeding 120 km P. A. Tracks improved for fast train service now would be about 16000 km, Railway locomotives and coaches are now built in several centres. The Chittaranjan locomotive factory has produced many steam, electric and diesel locomotives since it began manufacture of locomotives in 1950. The expansion of the Indian railways can be best understood by examining certain statistics like the following : In 1950-51 the passenger traffic was 12.8 crores. This increased to 295 crores in 1975-76. The II class passengers paid 456.81 rupees in 1975-76 which compares well with the 84.47 crores which they paid in 1950-51. The goods carried in 1975-76 was 22.33 crores tons as compared to 9.3 crore tons in 1950-51. The II class fare is the lowest in Asia. The Indian railways look after the comforts of the passengers very well when weighed against the fares charged.

THE APPOINTMENT OF CHIEF JUSTICE IN INDIA

N. S. GEHLOT

According to Article 124 every Judge of the Supreme Court is appointed by the President of India after consultation with such of the Judges of the Supreme Court and the High Courts of the States as the President may deem necessary for the purpose. But in the appointment of a Judge, other than the Chief Justice, consultation of the Chief Justice by the President is obligatory. The words 'may deem' & 'consultation' of the Clause 2 of Article 124 indicate that the President is not bound to follow the recommendations of the Judges. However, the President's discretion to appoint the Chief Justice or other Judges is not unfettered. This power of the President is purely formal, for he acts on the advice of the Union Cabinet under Article 74 (i) of the Constitution. Practically the Prime Minister and the Law Ministry play a key role in this matter.

Now the burning issue is whether the political appointments can be made by the ruling Government at the Centre? That aspect of this question was deliberately discussed by the framers of the Indian Constitution when the issue of the appointment of the Judges came up in the Constituent Assembly. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, one of the leading framers of the Constitution, was strongly in favour of certain safeguards against the political appointments in the Indian Judiciary. He did not want that the Judges should be appointed in the manner as it happens in Britain where the Crown has the sole right to make the appointments of the judiciary. But in practice the British Executive enjoys unlimited privilege in this sphere. Nor did Dr. Ambedkar

want to apply the method of the United States where the Judges of the Federal Court are appointed by the President with the concurrence of the Senate. In fact Dr. Ambedkar noted the practical difficulties in both the systems. He, therefore, preferred the middle course. He maintained :

"The draft article, therefore, steers a middle course. It does not make the President the Supreme and the absolute authority in the matter of making appointments. It does not also import the influence of the Legislature. The Provision in the Article is that there should be consultation of persons who are ex-hypothesi well qualified to give proper advice in matters of the sort".(1)

Dr. K. M. Munshi, another leading architect of the Constitution, was also against bestowal of unfettered discretion to the President of the Indian union with regard to the appointment of the Judges. Similarly other founding fathers also realized that it would not be expedient to leave the appointment of the Judges of the judiciary purely in the hands of the Executive Branch of the Government.

Since the Constitution of India came into operation the appointment of the judges of the Supreme Court have been made by the President in consultation with the judges of the Supreme Court and the High Courts of the States. So far as the question of the appointment of the Chief Justice of India is concerned, one important practice has been established in our polity. According to it the seniormost judge of the Supreme Court is appointed as the Chief Justice of India as and when a vacancy occurs in that office.(2) In other words, he is

not appointed in the strict sense of the term but he is invariably promoted on the basis of seniority. This tradition in the opinion of H. M. Seervai, is based on the view that on the whole the interests of the judicial administration are better served by eliminating the exercise of the discretionary power in the appointing authorities than by the search for the best man.⁽³⁾ It gives the impression that the Union Government adhered to the running practice of the country whenever the appointments in the judiciary were made.

However, the former President V. V. Giri did not observe the mentioned convention on April 25, 1973 when justice Ajit Nath Ray was appointed as the Chief Justice of India, superseding three other judges, namely Mr. Justice J. M. Shelat, Mr. Justice K. S. Hedge and Mr. Justice A. N. Grover. The Government breached the settled convention and disregarded the principle of seniority which has been practising in our country since last twenty five years. This action compelled the superseded judges to tender their resignations to the President of India. The resignation letters were duly accepted by the President of India without serious consideration. This was the first major crisis in the history of the Indian Judiciary when the whole judicial circle became hostile to the action of the Government.

The noted jurists, advocates and lawyers of the country bitterly criticized the line of action of the Government. The Supreme Court Bar Association in a resolution strongly condemned the Government stating that the action was "a purely political one and has no relation whatever to merits of the appointment, more so when one considers the timing and the manner of the appointment".⁵ It was thought by many to be a blatant and outrageous attempt at undermining the independence and impartiality of the judiciary and lower the prestige and dignity of the Supreme Court. Truly speaking,

that event was, in the words of M. C. Chagla, the darkest day in the Indian History because the Government did not care for the independent character of our judiciary. And it had shaken the faith of the persons concerned.

The Union Government justified its action in superseding the seniority of the three judges of the Supreme Court by advancing various reasons and grounds in and outside of Parliament. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi on May Day rally at Kanpur said that "in the appointing the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the Government is entitled to look into his philosophy and outlook to decide that we must have a forward looking and not a backward looking".⁶ She emphasised to end status quo in the judicial system and to appoint such a person as Chief Justice—who has a 'social outlook.'

Mr. Mohan Kumarmangalam, who is said to have played a key role in the supersession of the three judges, held in the Parliament.

"It would be foolish on our (Govt's) part to ignore the basic outlook of the Judges. We have a duty to take into account the philosophy and outlook of a judge in deciding whether he should or should not lead the Supreme Court.....It is for us to decide whether a person, whose philosophy and outlook are expressed is more competent than others. This is our prerogative and the Constitution has entrusted this prerogative to us."⁷

He further pointed out that the principle of seniority was criticized and disregarded by the Law Commission of India in its report submitted in 1958. The practice, therefore, he asserted, has no relevance in our political system.

The strongest defensive ground taken by the Government was that of Article 124 which does not stipulate any condition in a written

form of consulting the other judges of the judiciary in the appointment of the Chief Justice of India.⁸ It was pointed out that Article 124(2) also does not mention that the Chief Justice shall be appointed by the President after 'consultation' of the outgoing Chief Justice.⁹ If such 'consultation' was felt necessary, the words 'other than Chief Justice of India' of the proviso 2 of Article 124 might not have been found inserted in the Constitution. In brief, action of the Government in the appointment of Justice A. N. Ray as the new Chief Justice of India was justified on the following three grounds.

- (1) The constitutional lacuna of Article 124 and the prerogative of the Government to look into the political philosophy and outlook of a Judge.
- (2) Administrative competence and ability ; and
- (3) The criticism of the principle of seniority by the Report of the Law Commission of India, 1958.

Within the strict legal interpretation of Article 124(2) as the President has no obligation to abide by the consultation of the Judges of the Supreme Court or the High Courts of the State in the matter of the appointment of the Chief Justice of India. Nor can the discretion of the President be challenged in the Court of Law in this matter. Further, he cannot be made responsible to regulate the convention that the only senior most judge of the Supreme Court be appointed as the Chief Justice of India as and when a vacancy occurs in the justice Department.

Yet one must not forget that the constitutional practices and conventions of a country play a meaningful role in the functioning of a democracy. In the words of Sir Ivor Jennings : "Conventions clothe the dry bones of law with flesh and make the legal constitution work and keep it abreast social changing needs and poli-

tical ideas.¹⁰ They are to be followed by the Government only because these regulate some of the laws of the British System and command the respect of the people. The Government in no case can dare to ignore or violate them because it is bound by a moral duty to observe them in the parliamentary set up."

The democratic conventions and practice of any country are as binding as the letters of the constitution. It is the practice in India which makes the President the constitutional head and dependent on the advice of the Ministry. If the President does not follow this practice and disregards the advice the whole constitutional device will be meaningless. To disregard the conventions would meant to undermine the effect to the other conventions which are followed in our country. To take an illustration, the keystone of our Cabinet arch is that the President acts on the advice of the Ministry. If the Government attempts to overlook the conventions the President may also reject the advice of the Cabinet and may have to become a dictator of the country with support of some of the constitutional provisions.¹²

In no case the Government can claim to have a prerogative in the matter of the appointment of the judges. If the Government is allowed to exercise the prerogative on this matter according to its suitability, it would very often make appointments on political grounds disregarding the constitutional well and legal principles of jurisprudence. One can very well guess under such a situation what shall be the nature of justice ? Moreover, if so allowed, the possibility of the judges acting according to the will of the ruling Government at the Centre can not be ruled out. Political parties coming in and going out of power to appease the party in power.

No wise person would like to support the Government's contention that it has the duty

to take into account 'the philosophy and outlook of a Judge' in the appointment of the Chief Justice of India ; because there is no mention of a deal of 'social philosophy' in our Constitution. Secondly, the Judges are oath bound to provide a fair justice to the people according to the law and spirit of the Constitution. The oath does not stipulate a condition for the judge to abide by the 'social philosophy'. If the Government is allowed to exercise the right to look into the philosophy of the Judges who is there to watch the honesty of the Government and that it does not patronize 'the philosophy in the Judicial System'.¹³ The most far reaching consequence of the acceptance of this principle would inevitably be the subservience of our judicial system to the ruling party at different times. The concept of the Constitutionism would vary from party to party from time to time and the Supreme Court would be turned into a weathercock to suit the ideologies of these parties.¹³ For instance, if this happens, a judge appointed by the DMK Government will settle the case according to the philosophy of the DMK Party and a Judge of another State will differ from his judgement which would make a mockery of the principles of Jurisprudence and integrated shape of the judiciary.

Another disastrous consequence of the committed judiciary as Mr. Mohan Kumarmangalum wanted to establish would be that our Courts would act as Departments under the control of the party in office like that of Communist Countries where the judiciary follows the philosophy of the Communist Party while dispensing the justice to the people.

The stand supported by the Government that the 14th Report of the Law Commission of India recommended to disregard the practice of seniority in 1958 does not seem to be sound because the Governments own role in the appointment of the Chief Justice in the past

years was intensively in favour of or maintaining the practice of seniority of the Judges. It had not breached the convention after 1958 deliberately in the manner as it breached and disregarded it in appointing Mr. Justice A. N. Ray as the Chief justice of India. But the question is : why did it not implement the recommendations of the Report of the Law Commission at that time and why did it act contrary to the practice in April, 1973 ?

A critical examination of the constitutional episode behind the appointment of Chief Justice of India makes it clear that the decision of the Government was politically motivated. Everyone knows very well that the Government took the above decision just after the judgment of the Fundamental Rights of the people in which the superseded judges were a party to the factional functioning of the Supreme Court and delivered an adverse judgment to the constitutional Amendments of the Government.¹⁴ One's memory should not be short-lived. One should recall the past event when the present Government wanted to breach the tradition of seniority when the justice J. C. Shah was to be appointed as Chief Justice in December, 1971 especially after the historic judgments of the Supreme Court in the Bank Nationalisation Case and the derecognition of the President's Order terminating the Privy Purse and privileges of the former Rulers. There was a wide expectation in the country that the Government would appoint an eminent jurist of its choice after the retirement of the then Chief Justice, Mr. Hidayatullah.¹⁵ However, the Supreme Court Bar Association did not allow the Government to adopt in its own course and forced the Government observe the prevalent practice. The result was that Mr. Justice J. C. Shah was promoted as the Chief Justice of India.¹⁶ It so happened only under the threat of en-mass resignations of all the judges,

lawyers jurists and advocates of the country.

An impartial study of the 14th Report of the Law Commission also shows that it never intensively aimed at criticizing the tradition of seniority as a bad practice in our polity. The Report in Para six reads that 'regional and communal and the interference of the executive have procured appointments of the Supreme Court and the best talent has not been mobilized'. Criticizing the above lacuna in the Judiciary it suggested: "For the performance of the duties of the Chief Justice of India there is needed, not only a judge of ability and experience, but also competent administrator capable of handling and complex matters that may arise from time to time. *"A shrewd judge independent and with a towering personality who would on the occasion arising be a watch-dog of the independence of the Judiciary"*.¹⁷

Again the Report with regard to the present convention held: -*"In our view, therefore, the filling of a vacancy in the office of the Chief Justice of India should be approached with paramount regard to the considerations we have mentioned above. It may be that the senior most puisne judge fulfills these requirements. If so, there could be no object to his being appointed to fill the office. But very often that will not be. It is, therefore, necessary to set a healthy convention that appointment of the office of the Chief Justice rests on special circumstances and does not as a matter of course, go the senior-most puisne judge"*.

The report simply suggests that the Union Government may overlook the practice while appointing a judge as Chief Justice in case the senior most judge does not have the ability, experience and competence in jurisprudence. But in case of the supersession of the three Judges, there is no express justification with the Government to show that they were not ful-

filling the desired qualifications and merits put forward by the Law Commission.

The Law Commission, on the other hand, suggested the procedure of 'consultation' to be set up by a proper amendment. It also suggested that 'concurrence of the Chief Justice of India be required instead of consultation with him'. But one wonders to know that the recommendation of the Law Commission was allowed to bypass and ground of the criticism was duly put into practice by the Government.

Conclusion :

The judiciary in a democratic country plays the most vital role especially in interpreting and implementing the laws of that country and also in adjudicating controversies between the citizens and the authority. It further supervises the constitutional and administrative process and acts as a balance wheel in the country. In a federation the judiciary has some additional functions to perform. It settles controversies between the States and the Union, it scrutinises the laws and sees whether these laws are properly executed within the frame work of the constitution. It further acts as a protector of the legal and natural rights of the citizens of the country.

The Supreme Court in India is the highest judiciary of the land. It bears all the aforesaid duties and characteristics. It interprets laws of the constitution and safeguards the Fundamental Rights of the citizens guaranteed in the IIIrd Schedule of the constitution. It plays as arbiter between the Centre and the State in settling the disputes which arise between them from time to time. It also tenders valuable advice to the President of India under Article 143 of the Constitution when he is in the need of it on complex issues. Besides this we have established a unified and integrated judicial system, unlike the dual systems practised in the U. S. A.

The makers of the constitution undoubtedly adopted the middle course for the appointments

of the Judges of the Indian Judiciary only for preserving its independent nature. They did not favour that the President should be given the right of appointing the Judges without any kind of reservation or limitation. Hence keeping in view of the intention of our makers, it is imperative that the impartiality, integrity and independent status of the Supreme Court should be strictly be maintained and protected, and for this, the appointment of the Chief Justice should take place according to the established convention of seniority, for the adherence of the convention eliminates the influence of the Executive in the functioning of the judicial process.

That the concept of 'political philosophy, according to the contention of the Government, should be regularized, is a dangerous idea for the integrated and unified character of our Judiciary. If this philosophy is taken for granted the judges shall not be able to discharge their duties impartially and honestly towards our federal law and the independent character of it will be in disarray. The Judges will start delivering judgments according to its policy for appeasing the Government so as to enhance their chances of being promoted. The most fatal consequence of it would be that the Court shall be the mini-departments of the party in powers as it happens in the communist world and the people will loose confidence in it.

It is, therefore, widely realized that the prevalent practice of appointing the seniormost judge of the Supreme Court as the Chief Justice of India should strictly be adhered to by the Government at the Centre. The most reasonable course for this is that the constitutional requirement of consulting the judges of the Supreme Court and of the High Courts should fairly be followed by the President and his Council in this regard because 'consultation' functions as a check on the executive body, which was an inherent intention of our makers. It is widely suggested that the President of India

should also take pains to consult the retiring Chief Justice of India while appointing a new Chief Justice. There seems no harm if the relative order of the President specifies the names of the judges whom he may have consulted in the appointment of the Chief Justice.

It is suggested that the existing constitutional ambiguity in Article 124 should be ended by amending it and it should be laid down therein that the power of the Prime Minister shall not include the appointment of Chief Judge and other judges of the Indian judiciary.¹⁹ But the suggestion seems to be unfit and narrow because the constitution follows a parliamentary system for our governance. The only alternative left is that both the President and the Prime Minister should politically and morally honour the prevalent convention operating for our judiciary.

The constitution nowhere lays down that the function of the Judges is to act in accordance with the policies and programmes of the Government. They are required to interpret the laws of the land according to the basic spirit and philosophy of the constitution giving due consideration to the changing needs of the society. The statement of the Union Minister of Law and Justice, Mr. H. R. Gokhale, with regard to the role of the Judiciary that 'the Supreme Court has to believe in the basic philosophy of the constitution of India and that there should be *Co-operation between the Supreme Court and Parliament* thus appears to be contradictory in itself. Ofcourse, the judiciary's function should be to give shape to 'the basic philosophy of the constitution' but one wonders how and what kind of co-operation would be established with the Parliament? This sort of co-operation is noted only in the countries ruled by the communist party.

In brief, no Government at the helm of affairs should attempt to set up unhealthy precedents which produce a far reaching

consequence for our democratic set up i. e. political instability. The moral duty of the Government is to follow the recognized conventions of the country in the interest of federalism. The changes should take place only with honour, and not with dishonour, but only when there is an emergent need. The sadest event was that the Government attempted to violate or breach the practice without setting up a new one. Neither did it command the respect of the people nor did it adopt the parliamentary methods in its course. If the present Government at the Centre does not show respect for the customs and traditions of the country, why should the other parties express honour for them, if they assume office in the future ?

REFERENCES

1. Constituent Assembly Debates, Vol. VIII, P. 258.
2. Munshi Papers, Indian Constitutional Documents (Bombay ; Bharatya Vidhya Bhavan, 1967, Vol. II), P. 254.
3. (A) I call it 'practice' and not convention as Seervai holds, because from 1957 to 1973, 12 judges were promoted as the Chief Justice of India on the seniority line. The first was Mr. Justice P. Shastri and 12th was Mr. Sikri.
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THEORY OF INTEGRAL HUMANISM IN Pt. DEEN DAYAL UPADHYAY'S POLITICAL THOUGHT

Dr. V. S. GUPTA

Pt. Deen Dayal Upadhyay—A brief introduction—

Pt. Deen Dayal Upadhyay was a theorist of Jan Sangh—a component of Janata Party. He was born on 25th December, 1916 in a Hindu Brahmin family. He was a prodigy and always stood first in every examination he appeared at. Impressed with the genius and industrious nature of Pt. Deen Dayal, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherji founding father of Jan Sangh once said that had he two more Deen Dayals he would have changed the scene of India. As a mark of acknowledgement of his organising capacity he was nominated in 1952 as General Secretary of the Bhartiya Jan Sangh. After that he became a force to be reckoned with on 11th February 1968 he was murdered by somebody and his body was found at Mughal Sarai Railway Station. Pt. Deen Dayal was the president of the Bhartiya Jan Sangh at that time,

Ethical Basis of Pt. Upadhyay's Political Thinking—

Every state comes into existence to achieve certain aims and ideals. As Treasurer is appointed for the safety of the treasure, State is given birth to further the objectives of a society. Thus, state, according to the views of Pt. Deen Dayal Upadhyay is a means to achieve an ideal of a society. Ideal varies from society to society. To know what is the ideal of a particular nation one will have to search its spirit and ethos. Ethos very much depends on nation's culture. If we want to know the spirit and ethos of India we can not know it through political or economic policies pursued

by her, we can know it only through its culture. Indianism is manifested only by Indian culture and not by Indian politics or Indian economy. A nation's culture and ideal are so closely interdependent that the ideal of one nation can never be the ideal of another. When one nation adopts the ideal of another nation it goes on trying to be compatible with it but it never succeeds. This situation is very unfortunate. Energies of a nation fritter away without any substantial achievement. But unfortunately this is what is happening in the present day world. Theories propounded and evolved in one nation are being practised by other nations. Perhaps this is the reason why nations do not feel happy, satisfied and contented! Foreign thought and foreign theories can suit only to a part of a nation's ethos. This does not solve the problem. Every nation requires a theory thought upon, propounded and evolved out of one's own soil. Only such a theory can be helpful in an integrated progress of national development.

Foreign thought will not do any good to India. We have our own peculiar situations, our own ecology. A thought which may suit our conditions is required to originate out of our own soil. It should not be borrowed from other countries.

He explained this in his own words like this, 'Though the functions of all organs of the human body are the same all over the world but the medicine which is effective in England may not be so in India or elsewhere. Diseases have a connection with climate, habits and ethnic characteristics etc. Outwardly diseases

'seems to be same but it may not be cured with the same treatment everywhere. Those who say that a medicine is effective in all similar cases can at best be quacks and not real Physicians. In the same way a theory can never be suitable to all the countries.'¹

But we can not close our eyes from the knowledge gained by thinkers of other countries. We have to assimilate their ideas and then evolve a theory suitable to our own conditions.

The Indian Ethos—

The chief characteristic of the Indian culture is that it views life and universe in an integral form. It does not have a fragmented approach towards them. According to Pt. Deen Dayal, considering life in fragments can be correct from the point of view of a specialist but it is not correct from practical view-point. 'Though Indians also believe that there is diversity and variety in life but they have always attempted to discover inherent unity in it.'²

Unity amidst diversity and manifestation of unity through different forms is the central consideration of the Indian culture. If we are able to keep this fact in our mind, there will not be any conflict between different forces within our nation. If conflict is there, it is not the result of culture, it is the result of some disease with which society may be suffering.³

If in nature there is conflict there is co-operation also.

His Thought of Integral Humanism

All political theories have one objective to achieve the maximum happiness of men. To achieve this objective different theories have tried to evolve different paths for it. While propounding theories thinkers have put more emphasis on one aspect of the human nature. Actually human nature should be viewed in a comprehensive perspective. If one aspect of human nature is given importance the other aspect is relegated to a secondary position. This leads to conflicts in society because a time

comes when a large section of society representing 'relegated aspect' raises its head and fights for its rights. Dis-satisfaction of any aspect of human nature leads to disharmony. Principle of 'majority' too is hollow. Ailment in any organ of the human-body results in ill-health. To keep ourselves healthy, we have to be careful about the health of all parts of the body. Neglect of any will mean decaying health.

In his own words he explains—'No theory is perfect. In practice actually Ideal of one is injurious to the ideal of another. Nationalism poses danger to world peace. Democracy becomes a means of exploitation. After capitalism came socialism but in its own turn it proved to be a sacrificial-altar for democracy and individual liberty. Therefore, there is still a problem before the west, how there can be co-ordination and assimilation of all theories.'⁴

In western political thought individual and society have been viewed as opposed to one another. When a theory gives an upper hand to the individual the society becomes subservient. While in another theory the society becomes predominant and the individual becomes secondary. But in Indian thought such a schism has not been drawn between society and the individual. Society and individual are complementary parts of an integral whole, how can they be opposite to one another?

There is common thinking that in Indian Thought importance has been given to soul only. Actually this is not correct. Indian philosophers have devoted, much of their thinking to body, mind, and intellect also. As philosophers of other countries' while pondering over human welfare, did not give any importance to human soul, with the passage of time, spiritualism became the hall mark of Indian culture and Indian thinking. A theory which stands for the development of one out of the four elements cited above, can never be

helpful to the all round development of a nation. Balanced and equal development of all the four elements is essential.

Maximum harmony, peace and happiness can be achieved only with the integral approach. That is the reason why having assigned importance to soul we have not neglected the body and its requirements. In Upanishad it has been clearly laid down "A weak person can not perceive the soul". In the same way there is another saying. Body is the first means to achieve religion. Difference between us and others is that they have considered body as an end in itself while we have considered it simply as a means. We admit the need of the fulfilment of bodily wants but we have not given undue importance to these wants. If wants of body have to be satisfied, wants of soul, mind and intellect have also to be satisfied. Integral development of a man is possible only through the satisfaction of wants of all the four elements. Undue importance or neglect of wants of any one of the elements will mean lopsided development.

According to Pt. Upadhyay—"Four duties are essential to be performed for such a development. These four duties have been named as four valours-Dharma, Artha, Kaam and Moksha. We have given an integrated consideration to these four valours also. Though according to us, Moksha is the foremost valour but by practising it alone one can not get benediction. Neglect of any of the four valours will mean failure in achieving 'Moksha'.⁵

Comparison with Gandhian Thought—

It is found that Pt. Upadhyay's thinking runs parallel to Gandhian thinking in more ways than one. Here parallel may be drawn specially with Gandhiji's conception of Ram Rajya. Integral-Humanism of Pt. Deen Dayal really leads towards establishment of Mahatma Gandhi's Ram Rajya. Ram Rajya means a nation free from all kinds of conflicts and strifes which are actually the result of

lopsided human development. An ideal society will be that in which "there will be abolition of tensions, conflicts and egoistic interests. This ideal society will be characterised by harmony, co-operation and mutual confidence".⁶ When the state will follow the path of integral humanism, there shall not be individual perversities and automatically peace and justice will prevail.

As true Indians both Mahatma Gandhi and Pt. Deen Dayal Upadhyay believed in not giving too much importance to bodily wants. If material wants are given undue importance dis-satisfaction is bound to be there in the society. Dis-satisfaction ultimately results in conflicts and strifes. In the views of Mahatma Gandhi "One who had a load of commodities could not receive spiritual illumination".⁷

Gandhiji has said in his own words—"I am not a socialist, and I do not want to dispossess those who have got possessions; but I do say that personally those of us who want to see light out of darkness have to follow this rule (Asteya).....so far as my own life has to be regulated I dare not possess anything which I do not want."

Though Mahatma Gandhi has not said anywhere in so many clear words but he also believes that a nation can make progress only by marching on the road for its own ethos. That is the reason why Gandhism and India have become synonyms.

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SOME REFLECTION ON THE FORTY SECOND AMENDMENT

V. T. PATIL

The Constitution is a formal but fundamental blueprint of the structure and powers of the state that also clearly specifies the rights of its citizens. It is a political document which establishes the body of rules, norms, maxims, traditions and practices. These explicit legal norms reflect the cumulative influence of the historic past as well as a peep into the projected future hopes of the people. The Indian Constitution is an example of an attempt to embody the fundamental institutions of the land within the framework of a legal order according to which the powers of the state and the rights of the people are adjusted and regulated.

Bryce defines a Constitution as the complex totality of laws embodying the principles and rules whereby the community is organised, governed and held together. On the other hand, Dr. Wheare defines it as that body of rules which regulates the ends for which and the organs through which governmental power is exercised'. These two definitions boldly bring out the idea that a Constitution deals with the primary concerns of government and its citizens. The Constitution guarantees certain rights and privileges to the citizens and the community agrees to conform with these rules and regulations prescribed in such a sacrosanct document.

The founding fathers of our Constitution were keenly aware that a constitution had to be flexible and capable of changing to meet dynamic situations. They realised the pitfalls of an easily unamendable constitution, and therefore provided for an amending mechanism in the Constitution itself. The Indian Constitution

is remarkable for its elasticity and adaptability. A flexible Constitution like ours is best suited to the progressive goals of the state, reflecting the new and constantly changing needs of the society. The flexible Indian Constitution can be stretched or bent to meet emergencies without altering its fundamental framework or its basic thrust. Our Constitution is the product of historical evolution and it also represents of the mature experience of the nation and its people and it is also the natural outgrowth of the extant and accepted principles of civil and political liberty. The Indian Constitution is a harmonious blend of the intense urge for economic growth with the need for continuity in principles and basic institutions.

Experience over the past twenty-five years has shown that amendments to the Constitution are absolutely essential for general welfare and for an orderly evolution of a democratic society in which the bane of hunger, poverty and disease are eliminated without let or hindrance. It is in this wider and meaningful context that the Constitution (42nd amendment) passed by the Parliament in 1976 seeks to make the Fundamental Rights subserve the Directive Principles of State Policy. Further, it specifies the fundamental duties of the citizens uphold the supremacy of Parliament, redefines the powers and responsibilities of the judiciary in interpreting the Constitution and it also makes explicit that the President shall be bound to act on the advice of the union cabinet in all circumstances. The fifty-nine clause amendment amends thirty-seven of the existing articles, substitutes four and inserts thirteen

new ones, and it also makes provisions for dealing with anti-national activities by individuals and association and organisations.

The new amendments continue the cherished ideals of socialism, secularism and the integrity of the nation with a new charter of fundamental duties and obligations. More than fifty countries have incorporated duties in their constitutions. The Indian charter on duties is a pioneering attempt to include a duty as to develop scientific temper, humanism, spirit of inquiry and reform. This duty finds a cause because Indian society has been bedevilled by the ills of superstition and dogma, parochialism, provincialism, religious fanaticism and obscurantism. The inscribing of the concept of integrity in the preamble of the Constitution was of vital importance to do away separatist and fissiparous tendencies. On the other hand, the concept of secularism was incorporated with a view to ensure equitable distribution of production to avoid any inequity and distortion.

Another salient provision of the amendment is that constitutional amendments once made in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution and with the requisite majority should not be capable of being scrutinised by any court. Nowhere in the world constitutional amendments were capable of being scrutinised or declared invalid by courts except in India. This amendment prevents the Constitution from becoming a 'plaything of judicial tribunals'. The amendment also seeks to fortify and strengthens the presumption of constitutionality of legislation enacted by Parliament and state legislatures. This is sought to be done, firstly, by restricting the jurisdiction of the High Courts in determining the invalidity of central laws which could be questioned only by the Supreme Court and secondly, by providing that no central or state law could be declared to be invalid unless no less than two-thirds of the prescribed minimum number of Supreme

Court or High Court judges as the case may be, concur with the verdict.

The amendment does not affect the right to move for a writ. But some reforms are needed in the area of writ jurisdiction. For many years the fight to move for writ has been invoked for undesirable purposes. Economic offenders, smugglers, blackmarketers etc., get interim injunctions, staying recovery of taxes, wages etc., resulting in a severe loss to the society at large. The writ remedies are being misused by anti-national and anti-social elements with attendant consequences.

Further, the Constitutional amendment modifies the Fundamental Rights with a view to empower Parliament to enact laws to prohibit anti-national activities or impose a ban on anti-national organisations. This provision has created a considerable amount of public misgivings. But it must be pointed out that it is only an enabling provision in so far as itself this provision did not have any organisation or party. The Constitution itself does not prescribe any penalties. It enables Parliament to prescribe action in these cases where anti-national activities are actually proved. Only those activities which go against the integrity and unity of the country or disrupt its democratic structure come within the ambit of the definition of anti-national activity. There is therefore no question of the Government using coercive powers in any arbitrary manner.

The amendment also empowers the President to amend any portion of the Constitution to remove difficulties that hinder the implementation of the provisions of the Constitution. This provision should not be looked upon as conferring absolute power on the President to amend any portion of the Constitution at his discretion. It should be noted that this power of the President is limited for two years and it is also justiciable.

The Constitutional changes are intended to bring about economic stability and discipline,

regulate our becoming population, to improve to our relations with our neighbours, to progressively alleviate the socio-economic disparities with a view to usher in a radical social transformation in the Indian society through legal and peaceful means. This constitutes a vigorous and laudable attempt at a peaceful revolution which is yet to reach its culmination. A new pattern of society which mirrors the hopes and aspirations of the vast millions of Indians is the ultimate goal of these crucial changes in the Constitution.

It has to be understood that these constitutional changes are not directed against any particular segment of the society or a class of interests, but they are intended to deal with grave national issues and maladies which need stern and dynamic measures pursued with vigour and dedication. We are living in a difficult and challenging era and the compulsion of events and forces is irresistible. Speedy and drastic action is the sinequa non in such a situation.

We must also understand and appreciate the constructive role of the national leadership and its relentless efforts to achieve an egalitarian society with social and economic justice and see

things in their national and international perspective rather than how they affect us individually and professionally. The national leadership is single-minded in its determination and devotion to serve the country and its people. In such a task the Government will have to take the people into confidence and explain its policies, plans and programmes and the patriotic instinct in the people will make them effective partners in fruitful and genuine co-operation. The people and its leaders are both participants in the common endeavour to create a new society permeated by new values and ideals.

Proposals for constitutional amendment must satisfy two important conditions. In the first place, supreme law of the land should be amended only for strong and compelling reasons. In Justice Holmes felicitous phrase it must reflect 'the felt necessities of the times'. In the second place, the proposal must be intrinsically sound. From these two important considerations, the new constitutional changes are not only imperative but reasonable and sound enough to create the conditions for a just society.



SOME OBSERVATIONS ON DEMOCRACY

RAVINDRA NATH MISRA

Much has been written on democracy. Perhaps few subjects in Political Science have commanded the attention of such a great number of thinkers as democracy has done. Yet, it is not easy to have a very clear idea of democracy, because democracy does not connote the same ideas to all, and has been variously interpreted. It is still open to a multitude of interpretations, none final.

The term 'democracy' was coined nearly twenty five hundred years ago. It first appeared in Herodotus's History in connection with the notion of *isonomia*—equality before the law. From there on, even though it was eclipsed for a very long interval, it has remained part of the political vocabulary.¹ The concept of democracy has since been one of growth and development through centuries. Hence it has not meant exactly one and the same thing to different people or to the same people at different times. In this context, Herman Finer aptly points out :—

"Democracy has come to mean so many different things, some very hostile to each other that it needs careful analysis if misunderstanding and idle controversies are to be avoided, and if the possible and quite legitimate difference of connotation and its very varied institutional arrangements are to be revealed"²

One basic reason for the lack of clarity in the conception of democracy is the fact that it is not an organised system of thought when compared with Nazism or Communism. The democrat has no 'Meinkampf' or 'Dascapital' as an authoritative exposition of doctrine.

Viewed in terms of history, many currents of thought have contributed to the broad

movement of democracy. Among these, humanism, liberalism, individualism, scientific outlook, and doctrine of equality are the most significant. The contribution of each of these elements has been transformed with changing circumstances so that at times emphasis upon one or another has brought them into conflict. It is this fact which explains the different interpretations of democracy that are prevalent.

Democracy in its modern form is mostly the product of the profound social transformation that followed the decay of the feudal society. It is the product of the middle class struggle against medievalism and feudalism. During the struggle over the centuries which began with the Renaissance, this class evolved certain values, ideals, institutions and attitudes. It is these which go together to form liberal democracy.

'Democracy' is familiar and easy to understand but very difficult to define and explain clearly. The modern world has for the most part accepted Abraham Lincoln's definition. 'The government of the people, by the people and for the people'. Nevertheless this is not a complete definition. For democracy is something more than a system of Government.

It has a larger meaning that this definition can convey ; Democracy is a multi-dimensional concept and a compound of several elements viz. political ideals, economic and social forces, ethical principles, a form of government and a way of life.

Democracy is now used in an extended sense to cover other things, besides form of government. We come across phrases like economic democracy or social democracy. It

is so because if democracy is deemed to be a revolt against privilege, its corollary is that not only power but other coveted things of life should be distributed with greater equality. So we can now say that democracy in its latest concept is not only a form of government but also a form of society and a form of economic and moral order. It has permeated into political, economic, social and possibly every sphere of life. It is rather a way of living and an attitude of mind.

We can begin by considering democracy as a way of life. It includes both a specific social and political structure, and a specific type of behaviour and personality whose distinctive mark is a rational attitude towards authority and towards his fellow beings. In other words, the characteristic feature of a democratic person is to do freely what ought to be done in the general interest of his society and of mankind.

Another important trait of a democratic way of life is the feeling of change of personal and communal life. Owing to this the individuals regard their society as an open organisation ready to keep pace with the process of general change and with the changes taking place in individual minds. They not only hold the belief that their society is in a state of perpetual change but also that this change is the direct consequence of their own action. This belief tends to develop a specific attitude towards authority the essence of which consists in the concept of inner and individualized authority. The special order is representative in character but the authority is conferred and never entirely transferred. So whenever a community of people is ready to transfer power and authority to a leader or party, it is an indication of the lack of democratic frame of mind of the members of the community and consequently it results in the elimination of the democratic way of life.

Democracy as an attitude of mind is essentially the negation of fanaticism and unbalanced enthusiasm. Bertrand Russell describes the genuine democratic liberal as saying not "This is true" but "I am inclined to think that under present circumstances this opinion is probably the best".³ This democratic attitude of mind tends to be undogmatic, always subject to modification by new evidence. A person with such an attitude of mind bears no grudge against the person who disagrees with him, but hopes that the truth will triumph. He does not regard his opponent as an enemy, a moral derelict to be liquidated or otherwise silenced.

According to C. C. Maxey democracy is a search for a way of life in which the voluntary free intelligence and activity of men can be harmonized and coordinated with the least possible coercion and it is the belief that such a way of life is the best way for all mankind, the way most in keeping with the nature of man and the nature of the universe.⁴ The democratic conception of man is based on the hypothesis that there is some area in man's conscience that cannot be subdued from the outside but must be won from within by free assent.

While accepting that democracy implies a certain mode of life, a mental attitude, it must be emphasized that it is basically a method of organising society politically, that its essential elements are mainly political. The term democracy which is drawn from the Greek words *demos* (people) and *kratas* (Government) means government of the people. Now does it mean a government run by all the people or by a few people only? In ancient Athens, where the total number of citizens was quite small, every man could be his own M. P. and play a direct part in the governance of the city state. Hence it was direct democracy. Such a direct democracy is not possible in a modern state having large territory and population.

When direct popular participation in the affairs of the government became impossible, the practice of electing periodically some representatives who would work as trustee of the people came to be developed. This gave birth to the idea of representation. Thus democratic Government has come to mean 'Government by persons freely chosen by and responsible to the governed'. However, phrases like 'Representative Government' and 'Responsible Government' should be carefully distinguished. Responsibility is the chief aim and representativeness simply a convenient means to achieve this end. The purpose of representation is attainment of responsibility. Still there may be governments which despite the fact that they are characterised by representative assemblies are not responsible in their working. For instance, the fascist government of Italy and the Nazi Govt. of Germany had elections, but they were not responsible Govts. A Govt. on the other hand, may be responsible without being representative. For example, the ancient democracies operating through direct participation did not have any system of representation. A representative Govt. will not be democratic in fact unless it is seen as a system of trusteeship, which means clear responsibility and strict accounting. The key question in a true democracy turns on accountability rather than on mere representation. Thus by a representative democratic govt. is meant a govt. deriving its power and authority from the people whose power and authority are exercised through representatives freely chosen and responsible to them.

It is impossible to understand democratic government until we understand the democratic assumption. Etymologically democracy means 'the power of the people'. This power is not only limited to the choice of govt. officials, but extends to include other civil rights; the right to speak, to write, to strike or to organise political parties and trade unions for pressurising

the machinery of the Government. Where people cannot influence the government and compel it to change its policies in any direction they wish and there the minority has no chance to become tomorrow's majority, the expression 'Peoples' power' is devoid of any real meaning. Similarly, the word 'People' must be interpreted to mean all the people without any restriction of race, class, religion or opinion. Thus by taking the words in their full and complete meaning, we derive from the definition 'Power of the people' that the first and foremost basic assumption of democracy is that the people must be the source of all political power and that government is their instrument. In a democracy governing power originally vests in the people rather than in one person or in a small group of people as is characteristic respectively of autocracy and aristocracy. In other words, a political system is democratic to the extent the decision makers are under effective popular control and the mechanism for selecting them is that of free elections. Public opinion is the life breath of a democratic government and the freedom of choice is the very essence of the democratic process. The Government has to be responsive to public opinion and it may have to change its course for the benefit of the people in the light of genuine and responsible public criticism. "Democracy viewed as non-autocracy, denotes a political system characterised by the absence of personal power, and more particularly a system that hinges on the principle that no one can proclaim himself ruler, that no one can hold power irrevocably in his own name.⁵

One of the basic democratic values is the sharing of political power. Since this has been done historically through extending the franchise and may still be extended in areas where the franchise is limited, we may say that franchise is one criterion of democracy. In order to say 'where the shoe pinches' and to command attention from public official, it is

essential to vote. Voting is one of the crucial instruments through which citizens are ensured that peoples' representatives will be responsive to them. Any group of citizens prevented from voting is vulnerable to arbitrary treatment at the hands of the government. So a government is less democratic to the extent the suffrage is less-than universal. The franchise should be co-extensive with all adults regardless of such difference as those of sex, race, religion or wealth all of which are regarded as politically irrelevant in a democracy. A system which denies people the right to vote because they are rich is as much un-democratic as the one which denies them vote because they are poor.

But the mere idea that government rests on the consent of the people obtained through votes is not the sole distinguishing feature of the democratic government. All governments, authoritarian as well as democratic, can claim to rest ultimately on the consent of the people. What differentiates the democratic the authoritarian government is that the consent of the governed under democracy is free and positive. A democratic government rests on active, continuous and free consent of the people given in a regular and orderly fashion. Effectiveness of the freedom to vote is the essence of democracy without which elections are sham and popular control of policy makers impossible. Voting should be free and uncoerced. This requires, first of all the system of the secret ballot. But mere secrecy of voting is not sufficient to make effective choice possible. This is only a start. Choice at the poll further depends upon whether there is a meaningful choice among candidates; and this in turn depends on whether the candidates have freedom to offer themselves for election.

The existence of democracy in a State will be judged not merely by the right or power of the people to elect their representatives to the assemblies and the parliament at the interval of

a few years and by having the Bill of Rights or provision for fundamental rights in the constitution, but by the fact as to what extent the people enjoy civil liberties. A number of political freedoms are essential, if democracy is to continue as a government by free discussion. Although, it is true that no exhaustive list of these political freedoms has ever been agreed upon, yet there is almost general agreement on the minimum freedoms considered essential to legitimate politicking. These are the traditional freedoms of (a) speech and of the press which are essential in communicating ideas and information, (b) assembly and meeting, and (c) organization and joint action.

The freedom of expression is rightly called the first freedom for political purposes, because at the base of all liberty is the liberty to know. The democratic voting pre-supposes a rational man who can judge rationally only if he has access to sources of uncensored information and knowledge and can share in public debates. Development of democracy is not possible, if we are not prepared to hear the other side. We shut the doors of reason when we refuse to listen to our opponents or, having listened, make fun of them. If intolerance becomes a habit we run the risk of missing the truth. The virtue of tolerance is the keynote of the democratic ideal.

It is possible to vote without being politically free as is said to be the case in the Soviet Union. But for a democracy both the vote and the political freedoms are sine qua non and to the extent these are denied, the political system is less genuinely democratic. The fact is that the peoples' power and freedoms go together and that peoples' democracy cannot exist in the absence of the latter.

A popular criterion of democracy is that the policies of the government are for the benefit of the people. If this criterion is accepted, it abolishes the distinction between benevolent

despotism and democracy. It is so because in the absence of political freedoms and effective choice, which are distinguishing features of democracy, we have simply the words of the dictator that his policies are in fact for the benefit of the people.

It will be wrong to differentiate between different political systems simply on the basis of their ostensible objectives. For example, many of the objectives of the Soviet Union are strikingly similar to those of western democracies—mass education, industrialization, a high standard of living, promotion of public welfare, elimination of disease, etc. Thus when the broad objectives of the government are the same in various political systems, the distinction lies in the methods that are employed to achieve the objectives. So the basic difference between the democratic and non-democratic systems of government lies in the following :—

We have to see whether at the various stages of the governmental process political power is shared by many independent power holders or whether it is concentrated in the hands of a single person or a few persons. The shared and dispersed exercise of political power characterises the democratic system. Simply the number of power holders is not so important. What matters much is the socio-psychological relationship between the rulers and the ruled. The psychological approach to the power phenomena lies in whether people fear the government or the government fears the people. A legitimate democratic government is one which fears public opinion without engineering or squeezing it to a desired form.

The democratic system of government in the modern world is generally of a representative character. In such a system the representative bodies chosen by the electors are collectively the political policy makers. But representatives are divided, reflecting, however, roughly the divisions among the voters. So there must be a principle for decision-making

among the representatives themselves. The democratic principle is that when there is a conflict, the decision is by the majority. Majority rule is no more than a practical device in a system in which no one is very sure that he is right. Since all men are imperfect and all men maybe wrong, the best thing is to experiment to proceed tentatively and give the minority the right to continue to prove that the majority is wrong. In other words, the minority must have a chance to express freely their opinion and must have full opportunity of becoming the majority. Democracy is thus not merely the rule of majority. It is also the rule over the minority, a minority not of any particular class, caste or creed, but of those excluded from the majority on the basis of interests and opinions. Such a minority is always free to seek to change the policy agreed upon by continuing the discussion and trying to become the majority. The majority in a democracy is not always the same, but a fluctuating and changing one.

This majority principle is undoubtedly an accepted principle of liberal democracy, but it should not be confused with the tyranny of the majority. The majority can be as oppressive as a tyrant and can be anti-democratic. Thus an oppressive, impatient, and over bearing majority is in fact a tyrannous mob, as the essence of tyranny is unrestrained will whether it is the will of one or the will of the many. So the essence of true democracy lies in the institutions which protect to day's minorities from oppression and which all allow for the peaceful dismissal of the present majority. This means that the present majority, while it is still in power has the duty to make sure that the opposition could overthrow it. It, therefore, follows that when the people can obtain radical change without violence and in the process substitute new rulers for the old without violence democracy exists.

The majority principle degenerates into

majority tyranny, when it does not recognise the other basic principles of democracy, particularly the principle of individual freedom which has come to be known in history as liberalism. It should be the imperative duty of the majority to see to it that the minorities receive a proper hearing and are not otherwise exposed to insults. Thus there must be a balancing of majority power and minority rights. It is one of the most difficult issues facing any democratic country and failure to find such a balance explains the failure of several democratic governments in the world.

Although the principle of majority rule is an accredited principle of the democratic government, it is not free from criticism. To many thinkers even democracy appears to be a minority system in which the few lead and many are led. Thus arises the disturbing paradox of a majority principle operating through minority rule. It is Vilfredo Pareto's assertion that with or without universal suffrage, it is always an oligarchy which governs.⁶ Again, Robert Michels has examined the nature of leadership in social organizations and formulated what he calls 'the iron law of oligarchy?' The central assertion of this law is that associations conceived in freedom degenerates into oligarchical rules. Power gravitates inevitable tendency into the hands of a few in every human association. So is the case with the political party system which lies in the logic of representative government. As long as the ultimate sovereign authority resides in diffused electorate, parties are indispensable agencies for bringing public opinion into a focus and for arranging the issues for electoral choice. Without political parties to convert unorganised opinions into government policy, modern representative government could not long function successfully. The political parties are not therefore merely appendages of modern democratic government, they are in the Centre of it and play a determinative role in it. But every party

organization represents an oligarchical power grounded upon a democratic basis. Michel claims that the leaders of democratic parties always betray their cause when they are elevated to office because power is always conservative and accession to power breeds anti-democratic sentiments. 'Majority rule,' 'responsibility to people,' 'popular sovereignty' these and like phrases are merely samples of illusions that cunning rulers pour into the minds of their unwitty dupes.

The concept of popular sovereignty has also been vehemently criticised by an Italian writer, Gaetano Mosca.

He speaks of the 'falsity of the parliamentary legend'. Peoples' sovereignty or even popular checks on parliament's sovereignty are flattering words, more or less, to hold people in good humour, while in practice it is only a group of influential leaders of the majority party, not even the party as a whole, who really exercise sovereignty. The democracy, as it is practised today has no significance for the masses and the principle of sovereignty of the leaders. It seems to many that democracy as the 'Government of the people, by the people and for the people' has in actual operation been reduced to the government of the politicians, by the politicians and for the politicians.

Prof. Robert A. Dahl is also inclined to believe that majority rule is a myth rather than a reality. Explaining his view point, he illustrates that suppose the voters have to choose between two candidates A and B who disagree on three policies, namely, foreign policy, farm policy and fiscal policy. About 25 percent of voters prefer candidate A because he offers them a foreign policy of which they approve, even though they dislike his farm and fiscal policies. There are other 25 per/cent of voters who regard farm policy as crucial and prefer candidate A because he offers them a farm policy they like, even though they disapprove of his stand on foreign and fiscal policy. Simi-

lary, another group of 25 percent of voters regards fiscal policy as crucial and prefer candidate A who offers them a fiscal policy they like even though they dislike his foreign policy and farm policy. From this it can be readily seen that candidate A might win 72 percent of votes even though each of his policies is opposed by 75 percent of voters. This is an instance, not of majority rule or even of minority rule but of minorities rule.⁸

Marxist critics point out that democracy being a political system of class society, cannot but reflect the interests and wishes of the bourgeoisie or the dominant class which bases itself on private ownership of productive property; and so long as class society exists, democracy cannot be converted into an instrument of majority rule by the people. Democracy of the capitalist society is democracy for a negligible minority the minority of the rich.

Democracy, as has already been said, is essentially a political idea, but it also involves the legal relationship between the ruler and the ruled. The essence of democracy as a legal concept is to obey no master but the law. The moment we think in terms of the supremacy of law we turn to the concept of constitutional government, where people are governed not by the passing whims of a dictator or a ruling class or even a popular majority but by fundamental principles of right reason. Thus a government according to a body of established fundamental laws and customs is called constitutional government. It is lawful rule in the sense that the Government is carried on by general regulations and not by arbitrary decrees. Under this system no one should have any legal privilege, every one even the head of the State should be subject to the ordinary law of the land, should have the same right and be subject to the same punishment and no one should be in danger of arbitrary coercion by the government. The mere Rule of law, however, is no check to arbitrary rule,

as a despot or a dictator can change the law first and act next, unless the 'law' here means either immutable natural law or rigid constitutional law, or law depending entirely on public opinion. So the Rule of Law is a synonym for democracy only when law on the whole expresses the common conscience of those who are subject to it.

Another important point in regard to democracy which requires consideration is that democracy is not an economic system, though it is closely related to it. A question is often raised whether a democratic government can really remain so when the economy is controlled by the State or is free enterprise a sine qua non for political democracy. As a matter of fact; it is a mere historical accident that democratic government grew up with free-market economy. It developed along with the rise of the middle class and with the growth of the capitalist system. Probably, because of this historical relationship, it is sometimes argued that free enterprise is necessary for democracy. If the government controls the capital, it is argued, individuals will not have the independence; they need to assert their rights and so they will be unable to control the government. The other view is that democracy does not depend upon free enterprise. On the contrary, an effective democracy cannot be established until economic power is made subject to the control of government.

In the same way, some thinkers believe that a planned economy is the 'road to serfdom', while there are others who consider it to be a road to freedom. Some believe that a welfare state will undermine democratic government, while to many others such welfare activities are essential for the preservation of a democratic government.

The truth is that democracy is not wedded to any particular economic order or system. It is not bound to any particular economic theory or structure, whether capitalistic, socia-

listic or communistic. The point is that democratic government allows the people to discuss different economic arrangements, to examine them in terms of democratic ideals, and to change them, if found wanting. In other words, a free people have the right to choose among various economic systems including hybrids thereof.

The obvious conclusion that emerges out of this discussion is that democracy is not a self-validating process, nor is its mere existence a sure guarantee of its continued existence. It can survive only when it is adopted by the people as a way of life, which is primarily a system of values and processes designed to achieve the maximum development of each individual. Otherwise there is hardly any democratic institution which is not subject to perversion. All of them could be subjected to misuse and to the perversion of their inherent purpose. For instance, free elections may be used by demagogues as well as by statesmen. Freedom of speech and press may be used to promote intelligent discussion on important public issues or to instigate the baser human instincts. Thus the efficacy of democratic institutions as means of furthering freedom will ultimately depend on the way they are actually used.

The advocates of 'the iron law of obligatoriness' notably Masca and Michels who hold that leadership by its very nature is undemocratic, and democracy is merely an ingenious camouflage that an oligarchy has devised to conceal the activities, seem to have confused the part with the whole. In the words of H. D. Lasswell "to confuse the percentage of leaders with the test of democracy is to make an elementary mistake since a society may be democratic and express itself through a small leadership. The key question turns on accountability."⁹ It is submitted that if man has to live in society, one cannot think of a leaderless society, for whenever two or more men form a society and live there is no such thing as an uncon-

trolled, unrestricted, and uninfluenced behaviour. The incident of living together is the implied agreement of men to submit to the authority of social leadership. If society is to get things done, there must be leadership and direction. A strong leadership is not incompatible with democratic government so long as the leader is subject to restraint. Lipson observes that periodic elections and the charges and criticisms of a free press act as a check on oligarchy. In such a context 'popular control is not really meaningless. Where the people are free to choose between alternatives, the situation acts as a deterrent against oligarchy. Lastly' the civil liberties enshrined in the Constitution serve to mitigate the rigour of the iron law. Those who formulated this iron law of oligarchy did not pay enough attention to the mutual interaction of competing organizations. For nothing does so much to make men free as a chance to choose.¹⁰

It should be noted that if ever a democratic leader had the field to himself, it was the British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, whose position as the leader of Britain during the period of 1941-1945, no other individual could challenge. But in the election of 1945, Winston Churchill and the conservative government suffered defeat at the hands of the laborites. Obviously, the public is not mere clay that could be moulded to any shape, determined and willed by the leaders. It is this inability of the advocates of 'the iron law of oligarchy' to appreciate this fact that has probably led them to overstate their case and belittle democracy.

History tells us that where the democratic spirit has long been awake, as in Switzerland, England and the U. S. A. the movement towards dictatorship has never succeeded. On the other hand, where such democratic spirit has not been awake, such as in the Weimar Germany, there was greater willingness

to follow the leader and submit to authority. People faced with an economic and spiritual crisis become inclined to vote for political parties which pledge to change not merely the government but the whole system of government.

Democracy is not, however, an easy form of government to live under. It is a difficult art which demands eternal vigilance and live interests in the affairs of the country by the people. Otherwise democracy decays and authoritarianism takes over. The British experience indicates that the source of free life is not in the laws or institutions but in the spirit of free people. In England there is nothing in writing to prevent the British government with a workable majority in Parliament from sweeping all civil liberties into the gutter. The government does not do so, even in dangerous times, not because the act would be unconstitutional but because the people would not tolerate it.

Democracy depends on the willingness of the people to do what is necessary to keep the enterprise going. It is impossible to operate democratic government when the people are not interested in public affairs. There must be not only a passion for liberty in the people but also a desire to preserve the conditions

of liberty. History offers many examples of experiments in democracy that perished when the people neglected the obligations of citizenship. Thus, the greatest menace to democracy is an inert and apathetic people.

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SINO INDIAN TALKS

P. R. CHAKRAVERTI

It was in 1956. Those were the days of "Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai". We responded to the invitation of India-China Friendship Association and reached China on a month's visit to the different areas in the vast country by planes and long distance trains.

The reception to the foreign visitors was attended by the top most leaders of China led by the Prime-minister, Chou-En-Lai. The tour started with a band of officials and interpreters, both men and women.

It was most revealing and exhilarating. At the end, the Prime-minister invited the Indian team to his own residence.

The enrapturing smile and the youthful look of the great leader, the close associate of Mao-Tse-Tung, made it easy for us to discuss matters, mostly sociological, cultural and economic. We are a band of teachers, parliamentarians, doctors and scientists.

The Chinese leaders amusingly asked Smt Rajamma, a south-Indian lady about her impressions of China and her people. She had visited Courts, herself being an honorary magistrate in Madras. She had occasion to attend a case where the wife sued her husband for divorce. The Indian lady, wearing a nine-yard gold-embroidered hand-woven coloured sari, was the wonder of the day and the not-too-pleasant proceedings of the Court became lively.

Both the husband and the wife bowed in graceful obeisance to the Indian lady, when she stepped into the enclosure and clasped their hands together, as she spoke in a foreign language asking them not to separate.

Obviously, both of them felt visibly moved

by the charming appeal of the Lady from India and the Court offered thanks.

It was an interesting account and Rajamma related her story with the rhythmic movements of her hands. The Prime-minister knew English, yet, all the sentences had to be translated into Chinese. The smile on his face gave it a new light and he said—you see, how China responds to genuine love and India appeals to her most. It was an interesting recreation for all of us. Three hours were spent in the most happy mood.

It was an experience one can hardly forget an unfolding of a panorama of fascinating tales about a country, vast and wide, with the largest population in the world.

We appreciated the warmth and the easy confidence spelt out by the gentle way of discussing matters of everyday life of this great country, by a great leader, a valiant fighter for freedom. We avoided high politics drawn as we were so close to that country, based by bonds of history of several thousands of years.

We were reminded of the most appropriate remarks of Prof. Arnold Joynt—History never happens. It is brought about by the free decisions of men, as they decide whether to be courageous or cowardly in the face of to-morrow.

Here was a person of unique record of character, courage and conviction, who, along with Mao-Tse-Tung, Marshall Chu-Ie and others, strove hard against stupendous odds. It was a relentless fight and these stalwarts never withdrew from the combat. The pleasing personality of Chou-En-Lai and his genial talks made us forget the remorseless

fighter that worked within we knew fully well that it was the undaunted and exuberant abundances of confidence and courage, steeled by determined will, that made this gentle human being into a valiant colossus. It was the total commitment to the cause of the people that sharpened the fighting stamina and one came out with a profound feeling of admiration for such a dignified personality, so serene and sublimely dedicated.

And the year 1962 brought us face to face with a deadening historical tragedy. The border disputes reached a crescendo. Some untoward events happened in a region on the frontier and the people of India had not the least knowledge about it. The news of Chinese aggression took us by surprise. It was a rude shock—a shattering convulsion that tore off the age-old ties, which had been so strong and sound.

An unreserved advocate of India-China friendship, I felt utterly bewildered by this rupture of India-China relations. A member of the Congress Parliamentary Party executive, I met Pandit Nehru in the morning, before the committee met on urgent notice. It was only a few minutes talk.

The masterly analysis given by the great leader and the stern fighter, Jawaharlal Nehru, simply disarmed me.

Punditji showed the extent of the Chinese plans of expansion, an umbrella covering within its circumference Nepal, Bhutan, Malay, Sikkim, parts of north Bengal, Assam, Burma, Thailand, Indo-China, Eastern Turkestan, Mongolia and parts of Siberia. India, on her part, knew how her culture and religion spread to Java, Sumatra, Cambodia, Siam, Malay, never supported by army or navy.

It was a stern rebuke to my faulty learning and, in 1971, I read with interest the masterly analysis of B. N. Mullick in his book, "The Chinese Betrayal". He remarked—"There was no ambiguity in Pandit Nehru's thinking, nor was his philosophy starry eyed".

But the sudden onslaught of 1962 by China on the Himalayas made us all jittery and we had no time to compare notes with Nehru, Menon or Mullick. There was a feeling of immense excitement and anger and we reacted rather violently. It was no time for dispassionate historical analysis.

Sixteen years have elapsed and the world has witnessed historical convulsions of different dimensions in different places. Both India and China have passed through the exciting experience of social transformation, both tragic and gay. The leadership has changed. Nehru, Mao-tse, Tung, Chou-En Lai and some of their veteran colleagues are gone.

The two countries, with the largest population in the world, exceeding 1500 million have yet to fulfil their destiny, through their own exertions; the realisation of the prophetic dreams, fondly nourished by them and the teeming millions, in the midst of hard trials and fermentations.

There must be a breakthrough. The relations can no more be treated as eternally frozen. India-China are no distant lands. Both the countries are conversant with the ways of life, and the types of political functions in their respective zones. Negotiations can be carried on in the existing context, bearing in mind the compulsions of history and social growth. Talks with China can, by no means, affect India's relations with other countries.

Why should India feel deeply concerned with conjectures, nourished by fanciful thinking, that could most easily embitter the feelings of Soviet Russia and other friendly countries by their new approach to the implications of India-China relationship? India is fully conscious of her creative role in the development of world Community and there is no valid reason why she should feel shy in extending her cooperations in opening out a fresh chapter in international relations in this part of the world. The world looks on with interest and, certainly, not without

amused wonder and anxious suspense. Any pact or agreed settlement of the issues, that are likely to be brought before the negotiation table for debates, will have its repercussions else where.

India has developed her foreign policy steadily over these eventful years, since 1947, and Pundit Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri and Indira Gandhi have given a distinct character to the concept of non-alignment. It is something intensely positive and powerful. The new govt ; immediately on its assumption of power, has declared its adherence to the

same policy and there is no possibility of any departure from the same.

Politics is poised between the accepted philosophies of the countries, starting bilateral talks. Rational judgement and positive and pragmatic attempts to understand the claims put forward by one country, as against the other, go a long way in bringing a happy solution. Agreements can be reached with remarkable goodwill and with no rancour and spite, if there is sincere and serious promise to do so. Once the initial hurdle is crossed, India and China are competent to start a new epoch, keeping their honour and historic role unsullied.

THE INDAIN FLOODS

AMIYA KUMAR MUKHERIEE

The recent flood havoc in India has become a great concern to all. It has trodden down under its impact almost the whole of Northern India, particularly West Bengal, and has not only left its imprint of violent destruction but also proved our helplessness in dealing with the situation in this modern age of science and technology. We have proved ourselves as mere dolls in the face of danger and cried for help at the eleventh hour when all is over. No arrangement is made in our country in time although the danger does not come with out notice.

The flood cataclysm is not a new incident

in India. Almost every year, during monsoon, it takes place in different parts of India, kills thousands of people, destroys millions of huts and spoils foodgrains and vegetables worth crores of rupees. And every year our governments—central as well as provincial ask for public-help to give temporary relief to the flood-victims, knowing very consciously that those people will again be victimised by flood in the near future but no concrete action is taken to save the people from the hands of floods.

When floods, appear in India, thousands of acres of land fall into grip of swirling waters,

Hundreds of people are washed away, and thousands, leaving their homes, take shelter on the branches of trees and remain there without food for days together. Then appear the rescue parties. The ministers come by helicopter to inspect the flood-affected areas; military forces are called; people are appealed to donate generously to the relief funds; one day's salary is deducted from the monthly pay of each Government official; donations in the form of money, food and old clothes are collected by the local clubs etc. But it is not easy to organise relief measures and utilise them in a proper way all on a sudden. Since nothing is pre-arranged, the relief work can not generally be conducted in a disciplined and systematic way. Moreover, a big amount of relief money and food are pocketed by some interested people for their own advantage as a consequence of which poor and insufficient relief reaches the flood-victims. This unsystematic and half-hearted relief work creates further havoc and brings diseases and death to the flood-victims in the form of epidemics.

More pathetic and more disgraceful incidents are experienced when people are asked to leave their homes for some safe places and the vacant houses are looted by the hooligans who consider such havocs as grand opportunity for the fulfilment of their evil intentions. This is the reason why many people do not like to leave their houses and they consider it better to be victims of floods than to be victims of hooligans.

As the proverb goes, dangers do not come alone. Along with floods there appear the hooligans to loot the people who are victimised by flood the hoarders to block the markets, the black marketeers and dishonest businessmen to raise the market prices exorbitantly high and groups of selfish people who want to pocket the major portion of the relief money to increase their bank balances and to improve their own lot. Our govern-

ments remain as silent spectators as they have no control on the aforesaid antisocial elements, and they simply make appeals to the anti-social not to do this and that. Under the circumstances it becomes very clear that along with the natural danger, there come several social which affect not only the people of the flood-affected areas but the people of the whole of India through the artificially created dangerous scarcity of essential commodities and the market-price raising inordinately high. And since flood is a monsoon routine in India, our national life is endangered every year which upsets all our national plans and programmes. This sort of natural calamity has been taking place since a long time leading to social calamities but our governments are as unmoved as ever.

If we go through the causes of floods, we shall find that although rain is a natural phenomenon, flood is, to a great extent, artificial. It is the duty of our government to remove the sediments from the bottom of the rivers so as to keep them sufficiently deep. The government should also construct dams here and there and dig large number of canals to divert the waters into villages for the purpose of agriculture. The waters may also be utilised for the generation of electricity. But our governments are not actively interested in doing all necessary constructive work. The bottoms of the rivers are getting raised day by day on account of sedimentation and a little increase of water overflows the adjacent villages and towns. But our governments are never active in keeping the river-bottoms in proper order. They have constructed a few dams which are insufficient for this big country but due to still insufficient number of canals, water can not be made to run through our villages to fulfil the needs of our agriculture and prevent floods.

In the rainy season the Indian rivers swell up and the dams also become extremely

dangerous due to heavy pressure of the accumulated waters which if not released, may break the dams. The released water comes down with tremendous force breaking, smashing and destroying our villages.

Every year the loss amounts to hundreds of crores of rupees in comparison to which the relief work is nothing. But our governments do not take any interest to put an end to these national losses which are highly injurious to our national stability. India has to purchase food-grains etc. from other countries but under no circumstances she is found to be careful about her own natural resources, particularly the agricultural products, which should be saved, increased and preserved by all possible means. In a routine system she leads her monotonous life which is most unscientific, backward and reactionary. Appearance of flood, victimisation of people, inspection from helicopters by the ministers, grant of insufficient relief, public help, treachery, hooliganism, blackmarketing hoarding of essential commodities and the exorbitantly high market prices—all mingle together in a routine manner to disrupt our national life and stability. Added to these are traffic dislocation, breakdown of communication system, disruption of postal services, electrical failures and the isolation of different

parts of India from each other due to breakdown of links between them. We have been getting victimised on account of flood since the early days of our national history and our governments take it in the usual easy manner as if it is a customary incident. They impose heavy taxation on the people but do spend very little for public utility in the true sense. And Nature takes advantages of our government's callousness.

It is high time for the Indian governments—central as well as provincial—to realise the reality of the flood situation and take it seriously, to put an end to our national suffering which is more artificial than natural. The businessmen, hoarders, blackmarketeers and hooligans, who remain in the gentleman's clothes and shed their crocodile tears for the flood-victims and take undue advantage of the flood situation, should be brutally trodden down as because mere appeals or verbal threats can not change their traditional evil designs. The governments, should take scientific measures to tackle the rainy season and the river waters so that the waters, which creates havoc and panic in our life, may be properly canalised for our agricultural needs, production of electricity etc. and made to appear not as a curse but as a blessing.



Current Affairs

Soviet Musicians In India

"Cultural life" publishes the following :—

Moscow (APN) : A group of Soviet performers is visiting India in September under the plan for cultural exchanges between the two countries. The group includes Yevgenia Miroshnichenko, People's Actress of the USSR, Khalida Akhtyamova, a soloist of the Moscow Philharmonic Society, and pianists O. Nechiporenko, E. Selkina and flutist V. Antonov.

About the artistes

The name of the wonderful Soviet singer Yevgenia Miroshnichenko is well known throughout the world. She has been acclaimed by audiences in Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Italy, France, Canada, Japan and other countries.

When she was fifteen and studied at a vocational school, she came to Moscow as member of an amateur art group, on the stage of the Bolshoi she performed the Ukrainian folk song "gandzya" which later became a must in her repertoire. The girl was warmly received and advised to learn singing. She was admitted into the Kiev Conservatoire, and in 1957 at the International Singers Contest of the 5 xth World Festival of Youth and students in Moscow, she won the Silver Medal and second prize. That was her first great success. A year later she won a prize at the International Singers Contest in Toulouse, France.

At that time Yevgenia Miroshnichenko made her first appearance on the stage of the Shevchenko Opera and Ballet Theatre in Kiev, whose leading soloist she has been for many years. This is the Ukraine's best opera house,

where she improved her skill under notable masters of opera art. Later on she was sent to Milan for further training at the world-famous La Scala Opera House.

The programme of her guest performances in India will include works by Gluck, Donizetti, Strauss, Alyabyev, Rimsky Korsakov, Rachmaninov and Ukrainian composer Kos-anatolsky. She will sing to the accompaniment of pianist Olga Nechiporenko.

Khalida Akhtyamova is one of the most gifted pupils of the world-famous violinist and teacher David Oistrakh. She will soon give guest performance in India.

She was born in Moscow and was taught to play the violin from the age of seven. She first studied at a children's music school. She entered the Tchaikovsky Conservatoire in Moscow and later took a post-graduate course there. In 1953 Khalida Akhtyamova won first prize at the International Violinists Competition of the World Festival of Youth and students in Bucharest.

She is now soloist of the Moscow Philharmonic Society, and she often tours various Soviet cities. The talented performer has been acclaimed by violin art lovers in Socialist countries, Britain, Iceland; Turkey, Finland, France, Japan, and Southeast Asian countries.

For several years now Khalida Akhtyamova has been working on one composer programmes. These are Beethoven's sonatas, a series of sonatas by Brahms and two duets by Schubert. Her programme made up of Bach's works was an important event in Moscow's musical life. In addition to classical music, shows a lively interest in modern, particularly

Soviet music. She always includes into her concert programmes sonatas by Prokofieff, Shostakovich, Khachaturyan, Leningrad composers and works by Tatar composers

In India the Soviet violinist is going to play Vitali, Saint-saens, Tchaikovsky, Prokofieff and others. Her accompanist is E. Selkina.

Brahmo Samaj : Its hundred and fifty years

Brahmoism was born as a response to the challenge to Hinduism posed by the Christian missionaries on the one hand and the ritual ridden orthodoxy on the other. Originating as a movement for religious reform it hastened the pace of social reform and political regeneration in our country.

History of the Brahmo Samaj can be divided in three broad phases. The first phase commences when Raja Rammohan Roy established the Brahma Sabha or the Society of God. The second phase began with Keshab Chandra Sen seceding from the parent body and forming the Brahmo Samaj of India. During the last and final stage was founded the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj by young Brahmos like Sibnath Sastri, Ananda Mohan Bose, Durga Mohan Das, Bijoy Krishna Goswami and others. The occurrence of these two schisms are rather unfortunate. Without them the history of the Brahmo movement could have been otherwise.

The Brahmo Samaj was formally established by Rammohan Roy on August 20, 1828 in a rented house in Calcutta. The Brahmos also celebrate Maghotsav, as their foundation day since, on the 11th Magh, two years later, the Brahmo Samaj was shifted to its own building at Upper Chitpore Road. When Rammohan established the Sabha, he had not a moment's thought of creating a new sect. On the contrary, he conceived it as a common platform for resolving disputes among discordant religious sects. He tried to initiate a process of religious reform by preaching the essence and the best not only

of Hinduism but other religions as well. This is the concept of unity of Godhead. This universal and non-sectarian character of Rammohan's movement can be best understood from the Trust Deed of the Brahmo Samaj. According to it the new church was to be a place "for the worship and adoration of the Eternal, Unsearchable and Immutable Being who is the Author and Preserver of the universe but not under or any other name, designation or title peculiarly used for and applied to any particular Being or Beings by any man or set of men whatsoever." The Trust Deed stipulated further... "no graven image, statue or sculpture, carving, painting, picture, portrait or the likeness of anything shall be admitted within the...building...". Rammohan's religious thought was based on a profound knowledge of spiritualism and rationalism of both the East and the West. And the Brahmo Samaj was the result of this inquiry.

This concept of universal theism as conceived by its original founder took a separate turn under his successors. With the introduction of the process of initiation in 1843 the Brahmo Samaj assumed that sectarian character which Rammohan sought to avoid. Moribund condition of the Samaj and double facedness of its members of being iconoclast within and non idolatrous without forced Debendranath Tagore to regularise the nascent Samaj by a new covenant and a systematic form of church service. Along with this, there took place some doctrinal changes. So long the Vedas and the Upanishads were "infallible guides of moral and spiritual conduct" in the Samaj. The rationalistic influence of the Hindu College of the Samaj cast doubts as to the question of vedic infallibility. Inviolability of religious scriptures made way for "pure and natural theism". This was indeed the first serious attempt in quest for rationalism and individualism in our country.

Before going into further details of the history of the Brahmo Samaj it is necessary to give a brief account of the Tattvabodhini Sabha founded by Debendranath in 1839 to propagate the same monotheistic faith of the Brahmo Samaj. It was very natural that the Sabha was very closely related to the Samaj from the very inception and was in fact the 'organisational wing' of the latter. It became a forum for intellectual exercise where religious devotees, social and educational reformers, literateurs, Hindu College radicals and orientalisists made a common cause. The Tattvabodhini Sabha and its mouth piece the Tattvabodhini Patrika were the unconscious agents towards changing the attitudes of the Samaj. Instead of being a purely religious body it broadened the outlook towards an all round progress. By 1859 Debendranath saw no use of maintaining the two separate entities and the Tattvabodhini Sabha merged itself into the Samaj. The Tattvabodhini phase was an important chapter in the Brahmo movement. It had revived the Samaj from the declining state in which it had fallen after the death of its founder.

Closely associated with the Brahmo Samaj was another organisation known as the Majonnati Vidhayini Surhid Samiti for the eradication of social evils like early marriage, polygamy and promotion of progressive moves like widow remarriage, female education etc. Rammohan the Brahmo Samaj was essentially a religious body and he carried his social reform measures like the abolition of the Suttee outside the Samaj. Debendranath also tried to proceed cautiously in matters of social reform in Brahmoism, if suddenly rooted out from its original stock, became enfeebled. This cautious policy of keeping Brahmoism in line with Hinduism was gradually abandoned when Keshab Chandra Sen entered the Samaj and added a new dimension to its activities.

The Sixties of the nineteenth century formed a period of rejuvenation of the Samaj. It

was marked by the meteoric rise of Keshab Chandra Sen around whom the lesser glories revolved. There began a new urge for reforming activities. With a band of young followers Keshab Chandra established a small society called the Sangat Sabha which became "the seedplot of Neo-Brahmoism." Here the Samajists vowed to discard Brahmonical thread boycott idolatrous festivals, practise temperance promote higher education and emancipate the Bengalee womenfolk. To enable the members to lead the life of a true Brahmo Debendranath wrote a book entitled Brahmodharm Anusthan-padhati where he laid down rules and regulations for the Brahmo ceremonies like Jatakarma, Namkaran, Vivaha, Sraddha etc. Debendranath's daughter was given marriage in accordance with new rituals. The Brahmo Samaj now came to be looked upon by the masses as a true reforming body.

Under the guidance and leadership of Keshab Chandra Sen the Brahmo Samaj first openly and directly launched its crusade against the caste system. To this end the younger section employed the twin measures of discarding the Brahmanical thread and performing intercaste marriages. During the same period came out the first monthly Journal for the ladies, bearing the name of Bamabodhini. The establishment of the Brahmika Samaj or the Brahmo Ladies, prayer meeting gave a great impetus towards the Brahmo cause of feminist movement. All these activities gradually roused protest not only from orthodox Hinduism but also from the conservative section of the Samaj who found it impossible to compromise with the progressive ideas of the liberal section that "Brahmoism is not Hinduism" but "Catholic and universal" and that "renunciation of caste was as essential to Brahmoism as the renunciation of idolatry". At these two points the conservative and progressive sections actually parted

and the Brahmo Samaj of India came into existence.

The Brahmo Samaj of India under the leadership of Keshab Chandra organised extensive tours to propagate its new faith and was thus the first to inaugurate an all India movement of religious and social reforms. Reshab Sen returned from England with new ideas and founded the Indian Reform Association, the only general social reform body that existed in Bengal. Its membership was thrown open to anybody and its activities were divided into five branches of charity, female education, temperance and cheap literature. An Adult Ladies' school was opened where education was imparted in all the important secular branches of knowledge. Night schools for the education of the working classes were also established. A monthly journal called 'Mad na Garal' was published where the members pledged to practise temperance. The publication of a low priced weekly, called the Sulabh Samachar attained tremendous popularity.

Keshab Chandra next turned his attention to the question of marriage reform since he desired to set a standard form of marriage for all the Brahmos. At his instance the Government passed a new legislation in 1872 known as the Native Marriage Act or the Civil Marriage Act. Anyone declaring, "I am not a Hindu, not a Mussalman, not a Christian", could take advantages of the act. It prohibited polygamy and early marriage, permitted intercaste marriage, divorce and widow remarriage and fixed up an age limit for marriage of fourteen for girls and eighteen for men. The followers of the Adi Brahmo Samaj refused to adhere to it as it would sever their connection with the Hindu society. Though the Indian Mirror hailed the act as an effective safeguard against the absorption of Hinduism it undoubtedly separated the Brahmos from the Hindu community. Thus the Samaj gradually moved a

long way from the original track set by its founder.

The Sadharan Brahmo Samaj was founded on the four tenets of liberty, rationality, universality and spirituality. 'Sacharan' denotes that freedom of thought and expression and not regimentation should be the mainstay of the new congregation. This was really the beginning of political consciousness. What began as a religious revolt and took the form of social revolt in its second phase, acted as a catalyst of political consciousness in the long run. Political movement was delayed in our country due to the fact that the Bengalee intelligentsia who acted as vanguards, were heavily leaned towards the west. And specially the Brahmos could not have been otherwise for, they had to depend upon the British Government to carry through its reform legislations, without which they could not make any progress against the orthodox social system. The Sadharan Brahmo Samaj shed westernization and tried to mould their ideals on national lines.

The programme of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj can be grouped under the headings of social reform, educational reform, mission work and philanthropic activities. The Samajists held that social regeneration of India depended largely upon the education, elevation and emancipation of women. They fought ceaselessly to achieve those ends.

The new church made a bold attempt towards abolishing the caste system and elevating the depressed classes. Depressed Classes Mission was founded by the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj in the 1909. In 1913 the institution took the name of 'The Society for the Improvement of the Backward Classes.' "Through its schools the Society in a period of twenty three years reclaimed from absolute illiteracy about forty five thousand village boys and girls."

The next important work of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj concerned its efforts to promote

education. In 1879 was established an Anglo-Sanskrit school called the city school, which in course of a few years attained the status of a first grade college and became an important centre of learning. In 1889 'The Students' Weekly Service' was brought into existence with a view to supplementing the secular education by that of moral and spiritual to build up noble and worthy characters. Besides these institutions, Brahma Balika Shikshalaya or the Brahma Girls' School and the Brahma Boys' School were also established. Very soon the Brahma ladies made up the bulk of women graduates from Calcutta University. The literacy rate among the Brahma women was the highest of any other community in India.

With the declining ardour for social reform in Bengal the principal activity of Sadharan Brahma Samaj in the early years of the twentieth century centred round the propagation of the principles of Brahmoism. Utmost importance had been laid to the missionary activities of the Samaj, carried through the missionaries, the Sadhanasrama, to train them up and the Sevakamandali or the Lay Workers' Association. Upto 1900 the mission operations of the Samaj remained confined mainly to the provinces of Bengal and Assam. But by the second decade of the present century the Brahma missionaries were able to visit most of the provinces of our country. Even a Brahma Samaj was established in London and money came from the United States to the Samaj fund. The annual report of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj show the popularity and acceptance of the Brahma faith by the people at large.

"Calcutta Municipal Gazette.

Per Capita One Ton Grain Annually

Target for 1990 Set by USSR

The entire countryside these days is fully engrossed in grain harvesting all over the Soviet Union, and not a day passes without mass media here splashing the exciting news of splendid achievements. The radical steps that

the CPSU Central Committee Plenum took in 1965 to boost agricultural production have by now fully proved their relevance. As noted by the recent July Plenum of the CC CPSU, "country's agriculture has made major advances economically and socially", and "the Party was able to solve a broad range of agrarian problems". Encouraged by the results achieved, the country has already set its eyes on the forthcoming period of 1981-1985 when the state with a view to mechanising totally the work in cropping, intends to provide the agriculture with 1,870,000 tractors, 1,450,000 trucks and 6,000,000 grain harvesters in the period mentioned.

Giant machines are at present operating everywhere on the fields of the collective and state farms, and one could easily sense the pride and joy farmers are feeling over their and their machines' performance. Their beaming faces amply testify this.

The measures taken by the Party's Central Committee have made their impact not only on the agricultural production, but have at the same time influenced the food habits as well. For instance, the abundance of meat and dairy products have led people to change their dietary habits: since 1965, the per capita consumption of bread went down from 156 to 140 kilograms and potatoes from 142 to 122 kilograms a year, whereas consumption of dairy products has risen from 251 to 332 kilograms, and meat from 41 to 44 kilograms. The change in food habits in its turn leads to the general improvements in the health of the masses.

Soviet planners implementing the various decisions of the Central Committee Plenum (July 1978) have already started looking to 1990 when country's grain production as envisaged by the Party would amount to one ton per head of the population annually. The feasibility of such a staggering target is based on the assump-

tion that the country's agriculture would be yielding 238-243 million tons of grain during the next five-year plan (1981-1985).

While speaking of agricultural perspectives, in the USSR, it should be borne in mind that almost nowhere in the world nature has been so cruel to the fields as in this country. A fairly large part of the year witnesses heavy snowfall, then its freezing, and later melting. To overcome all these seemingly unsurmountable obstacles, the Party and the State have been resorting to a fully integrated approach, laying main emphasis on large inter-farm operations, all-round mechanisation, wide use of chemical fertilisers, and, above all, raising the living standards of the countryside to that of the towns.

The July Plenum of the CC CPSU expressed its satisfaction over the noticeable improvement in the "economic state of the collective and state farms, as well as in the material standards of the collective farmers and state farm workers". Work carried out to bring perfection in the planning of production and procurements, price formation, crediting, labour remuneration has received praise from the Plenum. But it has also emphasised that the "overall level of this vitally important sector's development does not still conform to the rapidly growing requirements of society", and has hence given a clarion call to further strengthen the "material-technical basis of agriculture, to improve the organisation of production and to enhance its effectiveness with a view of ensuring speedily a much fuller satisfaction of the needs in foodstuffs and industrial raw materials."

Any impartial observer will today vouchsafe that giant strides made by the agriculture in the

USSR have brought to Soviet homes many such benefits which could not be visualised earlier. The writer of these lines can say from personal experience that right up to autumn this year vegetable and fruit shops have been literally flooded with tomatoes cucumbers, cabbages, cauliflowers, pears, etc. This impression of mine is shared by many other foreigners who have been staying in the Soviet capital for quite a few years. I am referring to this specific feature just to indicate the impact made by those steps which have been taken from time to time to end agriculture's dependence on nature's vagaries.

Almost fifteen years have passed when the Plenum of the CC CPSU in 1965 had opened new vistas for the USSR agriculture. During these years the countryside has been undergoing steady changes, proving to the world the efficacy of planned, socialist system of farming on one side and of the total mechanisation on the other side. The twopronged approach has already yielded handsome results, and the coming years are going to unleash more and more such forces still untapped. Though still two years are to go before the current tenth five-year plan period concludes, the July Plenum of the Central Committee has already directed the planners of the agriculture to think in terms of the priorities of the next, eleventh plan. Ensuring the planned transition of agriculture to an industrial basis is one of the targets fixed by the Central Committee. And as all previous experience indicates, the aim set down by the Party will, no doubt, be fully implemented.

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ROSE MACAULAY AS A SATIRICAL NOVELIST

S. N. ARORA

The satirical novel in England may be said to have established itself as a distinct genre of the English novel. Especially in the 20th century, it has emerged as a potent weapon for ridiculing and attacking various ills of the contemporary society. Norman Douglas, L. H. Myrees, Rose Macaulay, Wyndham Lewis, Ronald Firbank, Aldous Huxley, George Orwell, Evelyn Waugh and Anthony Powell are the more prominent writers of the English satirical novel in this century. Of these, Dame Emilie (Rose) Macaulay (1881-1958) is the only female satirical novelist who can stand favourable comparison with the great male satirical novelists of her age like Huxley, Orwell and Waugh. Combining the cynicism and erudition of Huxley, the satirical detachment and wit of Waugh and the moral purpose and satirical fantasy of Orwell, she has reflected and satirised the brittle world of the 1920s in her novels. "An acute social critic"¹ in the field of the English novel, "Rose Macaulay is one of the most mordant of the satirists who since the war have used the novel as a vehicle of the social protest."²

A versatile, witty, smart and intelligent writer, Miss Macaulay has written novels from a Christian point of view and sought to imbibe in them her moral and religious beliefs. A highly topical writer like Graham Greene, she is an untraditional apologetic for Anglicanism as he is for Roman Catholicism. A self-proclaimed 'Anglo-Agnostic', she has presented in her work an apologetic for the Anglican Church against the Roman Catholic Church. But she is not an ordinary apologetic for her faith; she has conveyed her views not through apologetics but through her works of fiction.

"Evelyn Waugh, Graham Greene, Rose Macaulay and Joyce Cary have all been practising a new kind of apologetic, an apologetic not of the schools but of the stage, the screen, the novel. In the forefront they have set not dogmas, not documents, but human beings, and the argument has been carried on not in terms of reason, but in terms of life."³

As such an apologetic, Miss Macaulay has not hesitated in satirising the weaknesses of her own faith as well as those of others, especially Roman Catholicism. Religious and ecclesiastical satire is, however, only one of the several strands in her novels. As a satirist, she revelled in ridiculing bigotry, superstition and the 'extreme' clergy, and she satirised them in her novels like *The Making of a Bigot* and *The Towers of Trebizond*. She also excelled as a social satirist of the calibre of Huxley and Waugh like whom she surveyed, with a mocking eye, the social scene of the 1920s and onwards, and satirised the follies of the human race in her novels produced during this period.

Though Miss Macaulay's first novel was published in 1906, she achieved fame and success only in the 1920s after the publication of her satirical novel, *Potterism* (1920) which revealed her true genius for satire. She started her career as a satirical novelist with her early novels, *Abbots Verney* (1906), *The Furnace* (1907), *The Secret River* (1909) and *The Valley Captives* (1911), but her satire in these novels is "still embryonic, taking the form of an earnest, sometimes native, questioning of the more unreasonable aspects of contemporary society."⁴ It was only with *What Not* (1918) that she gave a new satirical flavour to her work. With *Potterism* (1920), she established

herself as a satirical novelist of considerable talent and vigour, and further augmented her worth and reputation as such through her other satirical novels of the 1920s such as *Told by an Idiot* (1923), *Orphan Island* (1924), *Crewe Train* (1926) and *Keeping Up Appearances* (1928). Her satirical vigour subsided for some time, but revived later and appeared with full force in her last novel, *The Towers of Trebizond* (1956). A majority of her novels are thus satirical in essence. The satire in them is comparable to that of any of the other satirical novelists of her time. The main objects of her satire are the Philistines, the barbarians, the ignorant, the vulgar and stupid, the Anglo-Saxon follies and the oddity of human behaviour.

All of Miss Macaulay's novels, with a few exceptions, are satirical. They contain a lot of literary, social, political and religious satire. The satire in them is usually of a gentler sort and is born out of a sense of detached amusement over the follies and pretensions of human beings. Like Waugh's and Powell's, her novels are also satirical comedies. At times, her contempt for human follies overrides her light-heartedness, but it is usually restrained by her sense of fun and comedy. Paul West appears to overstate the matter when he says: "It was contemptuousness which thinned out into dustiness the abilities of Rose Macaulay; it is what disappoints us in Waugh and what disjoins the early Huxley."⁵

A distinctive feature of Rose Macaulay's novels is the combination in them of satire and pity as found in *The World My Wilnerdess* and *The Towers of Trebizond*. As A. C. Ward remarks, "She had a rare ability to couple the acerbities of satire with compassion and a rich sense of fun, even though she could, when her uncompromising mood took over, chasten humanity as a 'mass of stupid, muddled, huddled minds', greedy, ignorant, sentimental and ruthless."⁶ Her novels are a queer blend of sympathy and irony, sophistication and

innocence, farce and satire, and vast erudition and topicality.

Miss Macaulay sets out to ridicule folly, stupidity, silliness and vulgarity wherever she discerns them. However, her attitude of detached amusement towards human beings keeps her temper cool, and restrains her from being unduly harsh towards her victims. She behaves like an elderly aunt who sometimes gives a piece of her mind to the children, but never has a touch of malice towards them. Fools, idiots and duffers move her to laughter, but hardly ever draw her into a despairing rage. She feels impatient with them, but is rarely moved to anger. "She has a strong moral sense, much scepticism, a great dislike for those who are cruel, thoughtless, stupid and selfish, and a feeling between pity and contempt for those who are innocently silly.....At the beginning of her life she thought she could lecture these faults of mankind out of existence. Now she hopes to ridicule them to death."⁷

As a satirist, Miss Macaulay has little of that Swiftian bitterness which is found in several of her contemporaries like Huxley and Lewis. She is, like Waugh, a satirical novelist of the gentler or milder sort. Her satire is more akin to that of Dickens, Jane Austen and Meredith than that of Swift, Butler or Lewis.

Miss Macaulay's novelistic output is quite large. It consists of 23 novels produced during a period of about 50 years from 1906 to 1956. Her novelistic career can be divided into three periods: the first period spans from her first novel, *Abbots Verney* up to the end of the first world war; the second period covers the interwar period; and the third period comprises years of the second world war and after. There is a preponderance of satirical novels in all these periods with an occasional non-satirical novel in each of them. The satirical novels contain social satire as in *Views and Vagabonds*, *The Lee Shore* and *Potterism*, moral satire as in *The Making of a Bigot*, political satire as in

Mystery at Geneva and *And No Man's Wit*, ecclesiastical satire as in *The Towers of Trebizond*, literary satire in *Patterism*, *Crewe Train* and *Keeping Up Appearances*, and educational satire in *They were Defeated*. The non-satirical novels comprise a fantasy, *The Secret River*, a domestic novel *Staying With Relations* and a historical novel, *They Were Defeated*.

There is little by way of satire in Miss Macaulay's four earliest novels, viz. *Abbot Verney*, *The Furnace*, *The Secret River*, and *The Valley Captives*. However, her other novels of the early period of her novelistic career contain much satire. *Views and Vagabonds* (1912) satirises the social, political theorists, and denounces the fashionable cult of Socialism and the system under which "people...seemed to take each other for granted, and treated one person very much like another."⁸ *The Making of a Bigot* (1914) ridicules the silly, the bigoted and humbug of all sorts, and is one of her earliest successful novels. Having adopted a number of faiths, the hero Eddy Oliver realises that "One has got to be deaf and blind—a bigot, seeing only one thing at once. That, it seems, is the only way to get to work in this extraordinary world."⁹ *What Not* (1918) contains satire on bureaucracy like Waugh's *School*. It also satirises the incompetence of religious preachers who dabble in religion, but "did not understand it themselves and could not help others to do so."¹⁰

It was in the middle period of her novelistic career that Miss Macaulay excelled as a satirist of contemporary follies. She wrote topical comedies in which she attacked various contemporary views, theories and systems. As Constance Babington Smith remarks, these topical comedies "caused the name of Rose Macaulay to be more widely identified with a unique blend of stringent derision, gaiety, and clear-sighted observation of the current scene."¹¹ In *Patterism* (1920), Miss Macaulay satirised the philistines and ridiculed the popular press

and commercialism in various spheres of life. Through Mr. Potter, she has exposed the malpractices of newspaper magnates who promote commercialism, vulgarity and mediocrity. She also attacks the parliamentary Labour party, "that body of incompetents in an incompetent House,"¹² and Socialism, "that disease of the underbred."¹³ *Dangerous Ages* (1921) contains satire on the life of the young at home among the aged parents. Diplomats and diplomatic intrigues are satirised in *Mystery at Geneva* (1922). *Told by an Idiot* (1923), one of the best of Miss Macaulay's satirical novels, pours ridicule on English absurdity, vulgarity, and stupidity, especially of religious enthusiasts, politicians and journalists. It abounds in religious, political and social satire tinged with occasional touches of pathos. Through Mr. Gerden's loss and change of faiths, Miss Macaulay exposes the inadequacy of all religious faiths. *Orphan Island* (1924) satirises the Victorian propriety and modern sociology. Primitive conditions and modern intellectual arrogance are mocked in turn. The satirical picture of the state governed by Miss Smith on the island is meant to represent and satirise the Victorian world and its values in the 19th century. *Crewe Train* (1926) satirises the smart society in England and denounces the practice of gossip-mongering among people. The prostitution of literary talents for money comes under fire in *Keeping Up Appearances* (1928) which also attacks the government and the newspapers. *They were Defeated* (1932) contains incidental satire on university education, the Church, religious persecution and which-hunting. Dr. Connybeare's remark to his daughter Julian, reads like a sad commentary on the world and men of letters: "The men of letters have.....more of the serpent's gall than have others, even the politicians.....Spite, envy, back-biting, using the pen for a lance to prick with, and ever an eye on the main chance—there are your poets

and writers.”¹⁴ *Going Abroad* (1934) ridicules the Oxford Groupers who belong to Dr. Frank Buchman’s Moral Re-Armament movement. Miss Macaulay teases the Groupers and includes them in the general ironic treatment, indicates their esthetic shortcomings, and brings out the unreasoned aspect of some of their taboos.”¹⁵ Money-mindedness and beauty-treatment are other subjects of satire in the novel. Mrs. Aubrey wonders “whether any beauty specialist has ever yet improved an appearance, even a little. And whether they all know they’re frauds.”¹⁶ In *I Would Be Private* (1937), Miss Macaulay mocks the prying and over-inquisitive nature of the British, and attacks the corruption of law under the British legal system and the injustice following in its wake. She also satirises the B. B. C., the newspapermen who concoct sensational news, the surrealist artists and the indiscriminating reading public “who take both bad and good to their hearts, and leave both bad and good to languish and die.”¹⁷

In Miss Macaulay’s later novels, satire is tempered with gloom and despair, and carries a tragic tone. *And No Man’s Wit* (1940) contains bitter political satire and attacks all political systems and ‘isms, e. g. Fascism, Communism, totalitarianism, etc. The political situation existing in the world is lashed through Dr. Kate Marlow thus: “It’s not very nice anywhere just now...Thousands of people being executed and gaoled in Spain, millions being slaughtered in China, refugees trying to flee across every frontier in Europe...whole nations being brought up to be slaves or else tortured in concentration camps.”¹⁸ *The World My Wilderness* (1950) is an ironic commentary on the confusion and disintegration of values in the postwar world which abounds in dishonesty, blackmarketing and theft and where scholars practise “Fraud, forgery, plagiarism, falsification, theft, concealment and even destruction

of documents, to win glory or to prove a theory.”¹⁹ *The Towers of Trebizond* (1956) satirises the life and manners of people in Turkey, a craze for ancient places and the British democracy. Miss Macaulay lashes out against the British political set-up called democracy wherein “there was no referendum, and, having voted members of Parliament into power, we had to accept their very disputable decisions.”²⁰ The satire in this novel is tinged with pathos, tenderness and compassion, and is of a much gentler type than in the novels of the middle period.

Rose Macaulay occupies a prominent place among the satirical novelists of the 20th century, and can be classed with the most outstanding ones among them, viz. Huxley, Waugh and Orwell. Writing much before any of them, she has carved out a niche for herself by dint of her own abilities and endeavour. She wrote before the ‘naturalists’ like Wells, Bennett and Galsworthy had changed the course of the English novel or before the ‘satirists’ like Huxley and Waugh had made any significant contribution in the field of the English satirical novel. Thus, she may be called a ‘forerunner’ of the English satirical novel of the 20th century.

Miss Macaulay’s disgust and disenchantment over the contemporary English society did not drive her to Swiftian ‘cynical bitterness’; it elicited a Chaucerian or Meredithian laughter. If one were to form an idea of the *mores* of upper classes during the interwar years, one would do best to read her novels. Like Claudia of her novel *Staying With Relations*, Miss Macaulay is “ironic, amused, passionless, detached...a bland mocker, a rather mincing young gentlewoman”²¹ who never misses any opportunity to ridicule pretension and folly and to attack stupidity and vulgarity. Together with Huxley, Waugh and Anthony Powell, Miss Macaulay may be said to complete the satirical

picture of the social and moral world of the early 20th century. She may, not unjustifiably, be termed as the greatest woman satirical novelist in English not only of the 20th century, but in the whole range of English literature.

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KARANATH'S THE WHISPERING EARTH* : CELEBRATION OF FAMILY TIES

P. P. SHARMA

At the present time when the obsession with the values imported wholesale and promiscuously from the glamorous West is assuming portentous proportions, K. S. Karanth's rebuke of our sad neglect of the values consecrated by long usage and tradition in this country should make us seriously ponder and reflect whither we are drifting. Since the first flush of our encounter with the science, technology and material prosperity of the West has died down, it is time we refused to be overwhelmed by their achievements and started rummaging among what look like the ruins of the past and set about determining how much of it is worth salvaging and preserving. We have all laughed at the folly of throwing away the baby with the bath but have not brought often enough a mature judgment to bear on our own conduct and have recklessly allowed some very precious elements of our national culture and civilization to be swamped under the overpowering influence of Europe and America. Karanth's brilliant novel must do this, without fail, to every reader who approaches it in the right spirit : to make him feel with utmost intensity that this ancient land has inherited from generations past profound verities which we can allow to perish only at great peril to ourselves as a nation. We can go to school to any part of the world, but return we must to where our roots are, to our native soil.

It would be ridiculous in the extreme indeed to imagine that the roots have all dried up or that the native soil has become quite barren. Neither of these things has happened. That from the roots flow perennially life—sustaining

juices and on the soil can still thrive our existence, is not so much a theme which Karanth celebrates as a benediction that he pronounces. And the faltering spirits will, no doubt, be upheld and strengthened.

But I am straying into lyricism, setting aside my real task of saying something about the text I have chosen to write about. To proceed to accomplish it directly, however, is not possible unless I have exorcised, in whatsoever perfunctory a manner, the great rage and passion that this literary masterpiece has let loose within me. If I fail to conform to the prosaic procedure of an impersonal anonymous critic, remember, I have to reckon with a wholly unusual affluus and the author is to be held largely accountable for having stirred me to my depths. He has filled me with a wild enthusiasm—almost a demonic frenzy—to clasp as firmly as I can whatever of family and of community we have still left in our rapidly changing pattern of life. Many and insidious are the forces—urbanization, technology and the consequent desire of ascent to power and influence—that are constantly making inroads into the immemorial institution of family ; we have to save it if our life is to continue to have some significance and meaning. For Karanth has demonstrated after the fashion of a creative writer who does not let us perceive his palpable design on us that a people are kept alive through their involvement with each other, through their being concerned with what happens to each other, and eventually to those in the larger community of which their family is an essential and integral part, to which it is

bound by such organic bonds as can be snapped only with the death of man in us.

The one criterion of moral excellence and essential nobility that emerges clear and indisputable in Karanth's novel is an individual's dedication to—I was almost going to say his total immersion in—his family, or, to put it more precisely, all those related to him by ties of kinship. A married daughter, as is common knowledge, ceases to be a regular member of a father's family. Similarly, a brother does not feel himself responsible for his sister once she is given away in marriage. This is, however, not the view of the family upheld here. Not only Vasudevayya, Nagaveni's father, but also his brother, her uncle, feels terribly disturbed when things go wrong with her. Saraswati, the widowed sister of Rama Ital, although she can stay with her husband's people, is perfectly at home in Rama's family, identifies herself with it and participates of her own accord in an extremely arduous life. Family, it will be objected, is not a big enough unit to provide adequate scope for the exercise and development of our feelings and emotions. We are aware that in the modern world the institution of family is under a heavy cloud. Whatever of it tenuously survives is in the form of the nuclear form. Moreover, we will be reminded, it is quite consistent with the thinking of an ancient law giver like Manu and Yagyavalkya also to regard family as much too cabined, cribbed and confined and to seek to transcend it. It is enjoined on us to sacrifice the good of our family for the sake of that of a larger community. There is, however, no defence for people shrivelling up into their little selves, severing their bonds with others for the gratification of their ego. This is positively a retrograde step and Karanth has absolutely no sympathy for it. Those who are devoted to their family can certainly go beyond it, using it as a sort of spring-board for their upward movement. Even a man like Rama Ital,

parsimonious and obnoxious in some other respects as he is, is remembered with gratitude and affection after his death because of his attachment to his family. By that very token, those who let down their family, are bound to sink into the morass of depravity and meanness.

Before I go on to dwell at some length on the ancient verities celebrated in this novel, I would like to bring up briefly a matter of some relevance here: What is it that is likely to interfere with our perception of those verities while reading this novel? My suspicion is that we generally allow our ersatz personality—that personality which is ready-made in us as a result of various factors operative in our life—situation in contrast with the one which should be created as a result of our interaction with the artifact we are studying and contemplating—to respond to a work like this and dismiss it as too naive or simplistic to be of any use in the work-a-day world. If we would only submit our sensibility to be touched and remoulded by the author, putting aside our stock responses, those verities would, so at any rate I believe, appear in their unmistakable hues and contours—resplendent and radiant.

The American novelist William Faulkner, while receiving the Nobel Prize, spoke of "courage and honour and hope and pride and compassion and pity and sacrifice" and prophesied that man will not only endure but also prevail. The spirit that breathes through these words is irresistibly borne in on us as the magic of Karanth's novel slowly steals on us. Without any further ado I will proceed to show how.

When Rama Ital brings his second wife Satyabhama into the house, his first wife Parvati behaves in a manner which is certainly not in countenance with the tenets of the women's lib movement. But it would be preposterous to expect that from her. She has grown up in a certain tradition, in a typically conservative milieu. At the age of twenty-

four, after fifteen years of married life, her thoughts are already centred on a son who can ensure her of a happy hereafter, who can offer "pindas" or oblations to her and her husband after their death. She feels hurt only when other women notice and ask inconvenient and embarrassing questions about her wearing less expensive saris than Satyabhama. Being made of flesh and blood, she cannot help debating in her mind how her husband will treat her in the altered circumstances, but from the day a child is born to Satyabhama, her misery is forgotten as her latent maternal instincts begin to find a full and free play. It is no longer in her husband's power to cause her grief once she has learnt to find self-fulfilment in looking after Laccha even more than his own mother who had brought him forth. Her feeling of solidarity with her family is not abated a bit by this calamity to her conjugal life: she continues to work as hard as ever, along with her husband's widowed sister Saraswati, on Rama's paddy fields. Once in a while her mind wanders back to the past when at a very tender age she had stepped into this house a new-wed bride but generally she is much too busy doing back-breaking household chores to find time to indulge in the reminiscences of yester years.

What does she ask in return for this daily heroism? Her only reward is that in a self-effacing spirit she is trying to live up to the ideals of womanhood amid which she was brought up. When the last hour comes, we witness a very moving scene: "There was a look on her face—as of some unfulfilled desire. Saraswati spoke to her again "Parvati, is there something you desire, some longing?"

"No.....nothing".

"Is it that you want to see Laccha?"

,"No.....do you think that he...would take my head on his lap for a moment".

Sobbing, Satyabhama ran to her husband, "Oh, please, please come at once. Sister is

dying, and she is asking, may she rest her head on your feet?"

It is not surprising that the neighbours pronounced her in a chorus: "a noble and a pure woman".

Saraswati is made of different metal. She can easily live with her dead husband's people but, being childless, she chooses to come back to her father's house and stay with her brother. She, however, cannot submit to any humiliation. On her brother's failure to take her into his confidence about his second marriage, she goes away from his house for the time being. Furthermore, she can never tolerate any discrimination being practised by her brother Rama against Parvati. In all other respects, however, she stands steadfastly by Rama's family. When adversities come thick and fast on the family she provides succour through her unshaken faith. Of a devout temperament, she can bear all vicissitudes without loss of equanimity. Her roots are so firmly stuck at Kodi that no amount of suffering can ever induce her to move to a cosier place. Like Bhishma Pitamah of old, she has dominion over death, ending her life only when the sun has come back to the Tropic of Cancer and when she has given her blessings to Rama Itai's grandson.

Nagvenior Nago is the third member of this brave trio. Deserted by her good-for-nothing husband Laccha she continues to light the fire at the household shrine, refusing to go to stay with her father, a prosperous advocate at Mangalore. Her fortune touches its very nadir when Saraswati's support is withdrawn from her after her death. Hoping that her husband may come back she concentrates all her energies and resources upon the rearing of her son, named after his grandfather. There is only one moment of weakness when, under the mounting pressure of her father to take her along with him, she jumps at the estuary because she cannot go away, leaving her Ajji

Saraswati behind to fend for herself in her old age. After she has been inflicted with a dreadful disease by her husband and after she has been cheated out of the property which her father-in-law Rama Ital had willed to her, she gets hardened and is determined to show to the scoundrel what she can achieve. If in pity and compassion she yields palm to Parvati and Saraswati, she surpasses them in courage and honour and pride. Even though she does not have enough for her own needs, she insists on paying to those persons in kind who had helped her out in ploughing and sowing. When she has obstinately refused help from her father how can she consent to be under anybody's obligation? In spite of things going sadly awry, she hopes that her son will not betray her. She considers no sacrifice to be too great to make for him.

Outside the strict limits of the family also there prevails a general feeling of concern with others. Laccha's grand-parents care no less for him than do people at Kodi. The solicitude of Vasudevayya for his daughter Nago is, so to speak, monumental. His younger daughter Krishnaveni and her husband cannot accept the idea of their nephew (Nago's son Eama) staying away from them in Madras. Narayanayya is actively involved in most of the things which are likely to affect his niece Nago. One's relations may not have seen one for a long time but once they find themselves in each other's presence they experience something like a magnetic pull. Satyabhama's brother cannot but take Rama Ital, junior, to his village once he gets to know his identity; he is not prepared to listen to his excuses. Similarly, Laccha's sister Subbi takes to the self-same Rama whom she had never had a chance of meeting before with surprising alacrity.

Neighbours, too, are willing to lend a helping hand. Kala's sons work in Nago's fields but will not accept any payment. His daughter-in-law always serves as a stand by.

Even strangers know how to tact with a modicum of fellow-feeling towards others. It was a group of fisherman that had taken the drowning Nago out of the sea. The callousness that marks the city life has not fortunately penetrated into the countryside of *The Whispers of Earth*. Men are still held together by strong bonds, unless they are put under pressure by some unusual factors.

Although Rama Ital is guilty of breaking the covenant that a Hindu marriage implies in taking another spouse, his commitment to his family, however, in all other respects, is a redeeming feature of his character. Moreover, as a purohit, he keeps journeying—come wind, come water—to serve the interests of his clients according to his lights. His leaving the property to his daughter-in-law in preference to his son testifies to his strong desire to safeguard the welfare of his family. It is, however, for his grandson to demonstrate what a youngman, loyally and courageously standing by his much-suffering and aging mother, can do to bring back the honour and pride to his forefathers' family.

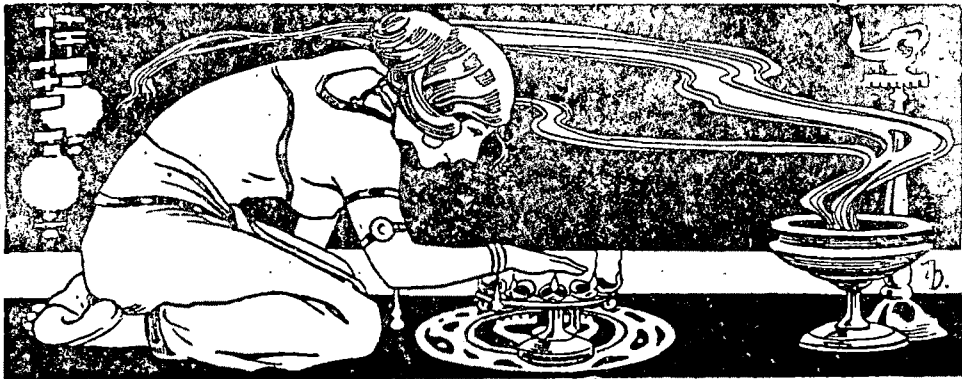
The two characters who appear most reprehensible in the novel are Rama Ital's son Laccha and Seenamayya's son Orata. The former, of course, is far more despicable. All his faults stem from his having no sense of kinship with anybody. His parents' home is like a prison to him from which he wants to escape as long as he can. Nothing that his father in his decrepitude says calls forth any genuine response from him. To gall his father he makes it a point to stay with Seena between whom and his father there is no love lost. His performing the funeral rites of his father from Seena's house is simply outrageous. Right from his childhood he has shown not a trace of affection for his younger sister Subbi. When circumstances force him to be with his family, he just stands aloof and unconcerned.

When his maternal grandfather dies, he can do no more than just put in a brief and perfunctory appearance. Finally, his treatment of his wife, who acquiesces to his cruellest demands, is the shabbiest conceivable. Far from experiencing any filial stirring within him at the sight of his grown-up son for the first time he keeps nonchalantly playing cards, taking little notice of him. What Laccha does in a flamboyant style, his crony Orata does in a low key. Totally disregarding family ties, he sets his heart at annihilating his brothers in business competition. In contrast, incidentally, may be mentioned how greatly perturbed Parvati and Satyabhama feel when they get to know about Laccha's seduction of Upadhaya's daughter-in-law. This is not the way, they feel, he should have behaved towards one of the family friends.

Karant's moral view, although not a complex one, is very relevant and salutary to the changing times through which we are living. Being part of a family and belonging to a community affords us a splendid opportunity to develop some of our valuable and human qualities. Withdrawal from one's kith and kin is a virtual death. Those who insulate them-

selves from the business and bosom of their kindred will have their faculties atrophied and their personality warped and stunted. Some might argue that the family in the shrinking world of today is too small a unit to be really viable to absorb all the depth and intensity of our passion. The fact, nevertheless, remains that those who fail to strike root within their family seldom achieve a sense of belonging in the larger sphere outside it. Participation in family and being at one with it, on the other hand, very often paves the way for one's larger identification with others. True, there is nothing very revolutionary about these ancient verities which Karant celebrates in this novel but it is these which have served as a stay against chaos and confusion. But the question that keeps reverberating in our mind after we are through with the novel is whether these verities will survive in the face of urbanization and technological advance. Karant is too careful an observer to offer us a specious and facile solution.

* K. S. Karant, *The Whispering Earth*, translated from the Kannad by A. N. Murthy Rao (Vikas Publishing House, Delhi, Bombay, Bangalore, Kanpur).



WILFRED OWEN'S INFLUENCE ON THREE GENERATIONS OF POETS

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(Continued from previous issue)

In sharp contrast with this is the world of fire in Eliot's poetry from *The Waste Land* to the *Four Quartets* brought to a focus in the following passage from *Little Gidding* which is concerned with 'fire' as the three other *Quartets* are concerned respectively with the three other elements—air, earth and water :

The dove descending breaks the air
With flame of incandescent terror
Of which the tongues declare
The one discharge from sin and error.
The only hope, or else despair
Lies in the choice of pyre or pyre—
To be redeemed from fire by fire.
Who then devised the torment? Love.
Love is the unfamiliar Name
Behind the hands that wove
The intolerable shirt of flame
Which human power cannot remove.
We only live, only breathe
Consumed by either fire or fire.

Some of Matthiessen's observations on Eliot's varied symbolic use of fire may be quoted here. Referring to the closing lines of *Little Gidding* (when the tongues of flame are in-folded' etc.) Matthiessen says ; "but of their context these lines may seem to be merely a decorative allusion to Dante's paradise. But once you have observed the central role that fire plays, intermittently through the series and dominantly in *Little Gidding*, the potential reconciliation of the flames of destruction with the rose of light is weighted with significance. A glance at Eliot's varied symbolic use of fire can also give

us an opportunity to examine more closely than we have so far the texture of the poetry he has developed through the structures of his quarters. We can observe again the lasting impression made on the poet's consciousness by this philosopher (Heraklitus), concerning whom he recorded in his student's note-book of thirty years ago : 'By god he meant fire.' But the fire in this lyric (at the opening of the second part of *Little Gidding*), and in the terza rima lines which follow it is not the fire of creation."139 And we have already seen that the fire is the fire of destruction of the German bombers. We have already seen and Matthiessen also has pointed out that 'that refining fire' at the close of the host episode refers to 'the searing flames of purgatory 'anticipatory' to the radiant spheres of paradise.'

On the passage on fire quoted above Matthiessen remarks :

"The control of the range of meanings here is masterly. On one level, the choice in the first stanza is between destruction and destruction, for as 'the tongues' on both sides declare it is either 'we' or 'they', the 'incandescent terror' must blot out either London or Berlin. But the descending dove is, more profoundly, that of annunciation, and 'the tongues' of prophecy declare the terms of our possible redemption.

The poem reaches the heart of its meaning in the heavily stressed end-word of the opening line of the second stanza. The most familiar word is yet unfamiliar to mankind, which 'can-

not bear very much reality.' We can hardly face the fact that love is essentially not release but suffering; and that the intolerable burden of our desires—our Nessus shirt—can be removed by nothing within our power, but solely through grace. All we have is the terms of our choice, the fire of our destructive lusts or the inscrutable terrible fire of divine Love."140

It has been rightly remarked by Maxwell that fire 'is a constant in Eliot's poetry, but with additional meaning in the *Quartets*.'141 But of the *Quartets* it is in *Little Gidding* that a full exposition of the symbolic significance of the word is made. One of the uses of the fire symbol is to conjure up, as Owen has done in his *Miners*, the vision of the timeless in time. An exquisite instance of this use is seen in the opening passage of *Little Gidding* where the vision of a 'midwinter spring' is created by the effect of the flaming glow of the sun on ice. "The imagery of the first strophe," says Grover Smith, "exhibits dazzling fire reflected as the sun, touching ice of a winter afternoon, creates 'Midwinter spring'.142 Unlike the spring 'in time's covenant,' 'in the scheme of generation,' this symbolic spring bears no ordinary blossom but that 'of snow',

a bloom more sudden

Than that of summer, neither budding nor fading betokening the new covenant that unites man's spiritual winter with the eternal summer of the timeless point."143

The whole of *Little Gidding* in which 'fire' is the dominant symbol is ablaze with fire and the intensity of the conflagration is concentrated in the lyric fourth movement where the different meanings of 'fire' are brought together and reconciled and in the penultimate passage of the poem, which also serves as a finale to the *Quartets*, they are transformed into 'the crowned knot of fire' of divine love. The fourth movement of *Little Gidding* may be called

Eliot's 'Fire Sermon' corresponding to the 'Fire Sermon' of the Buddha which Eliot has directly drawn upon in his *The Waste Land*. The truth of this remark gets confirmation from the following observations of Grover Smith: "The lyric fourth movement compresses the main themes of the first three movements into a 'fire sermon' of tremendous energy."

Besides its associations with the different kinds of fire in Dante's *Divine Comedy*—infernal, purgatorial and paradisaical, Eliot's fire symbol has many other associations as well. It is associated with the fire of love as in the 'Fire Sermon' of the Buddha used by Eliot in his *The Waste Land*, with the fire of divine love as in *Dark Night of the Soul* of St. John of the Cross, with the 'flame of incandescent terror' as in the descent of the Holy Ghost.

Maxwell observes: "The fire of *The Waste Land* was that of lust, contrasted by implication with purgatorial fire. The *Quartets* introduce the theme in *East Coker*. It is hinted in the transmutation of 'old timber into new fire so in the first lines, directly stated in section IV...."144

The fire is also a Hindu symbol as has been pointed out by Wheelwright. He says: "Purification by fire is also a Hindu symbol."145

He quotes from the *Bhagavad-Gita*:

The blazing fire turns wood to ashes:

The fire of knowledge turns all karmas to ashes.

On earth there is no purifier

As great as this knowledge.146

In the context of the war 'fire' has, of course, its association with the fire after the air raids or 'the air-men's fire of destruction or the gun-fire or shell-fire of the battlefield.

The different meanings of Eliot's fire symbol are summarised by Reid Mc Callum in the following words:

"In the last quartet fire predominates:

the flaming glow of sunlight on ice-covered trees: tracer-bullets-the flickering tongue of the dark dove—the fires started by bombs: penitential fire, purgatorial, refining fire the fire of sin, the fire of love, and finally the tongues of flame infolded into a crowned knot of fire, 'the fire and the rose are one.'¹⁴⁷

We have noted and it has been universally acknowledged by all critics that *Little Gidding* is a poem of fire. Helen Gardner says: *Little Gidding* is a poem of fire.¹⁴⁸ 'In the last quartet fire predominates,' says Reid McCallum.¹⁴⁹ It has been further noted that the four elements—air, earth, water, and fire—constitute the thematic material of the four quartets, *Burnt Norton*, *East Coker*, *The Dry Salvages* and *Little Gidding* respectively. Thus when we consider the organic structures of the quartets based on the different elements, we can see that the fire as the central element in the last quartet comes as a matter of course. But a careful consideration will show that there was no reason why Eliot should not have used it for any of his other quartets. A stronger reason than mere accident of the structures of the sequence on the basis of the elements was at work in Eliot's mind when he selected fire as the central element for this particular quartet. It should be remembered that *Little Gidding* was written in 1942 when London was heavily blitzed by the German bombers and when Eliot as an airraid warden had frequently to come face to face with the fires that broke out in different parts of city after the air-raids. The fires started by bombs after the air-raids, clearly referred to in the lines 'After the dark dove with the flickering tongue etc.' in the second movement of the poem, must have Eliot's imagination and touched off varied literary associations stored in it ranging from enkindled the fire of lust as in the Fire Sermon of the Buddha to the mysterious radiance of the paradisaal fire as in the *Divine Comedy* of Dante.

The great conflagration which engulfed the world during World War II could not but remind Eliot of similar conflagrations in the past, particularly that of the First World War which consumed not only the world but one of the great poets of his generation, Wilfred Owen whose memory he enshrined, as we have seen, in the second movement of his poem by recreating a strange meeting of his own with the spirit of the war poet in hell similar to the war poet's strange meeting in hell with the soldier he had killed.

Before concluding this section on the fire symbol, the possible bearing of Owen's *Winter Song* (October 18, 1917), on the opening passage of Eliot's *Little Gidding* may be remarked upon here. The country chapel at Little Gidding, the seat of the historic devotional community established by Nicholas Ferrar, is used by Eliot as a symbol of the timeless moment in time. Little Gidding is the place of the timeless moment in time represented by the 'Midwinter spring' described in the opening passage of the Quartet. As 'a spiritual symbol analogous to the rose garden in *Burnt Norton*,' Little Gidding has a spiritual message to convey to the people of wartime England. Grover Smith has pointed it out clearly in the following words: 'For the poet, therefore, and for all men like him in wartime England, Little Gidding holds the point of temporal access to the eternal moment. To this place one must come only for the purpose prayer, the key to eternity. And in prayer one would attain communion with the dead who have prayed here and have become part of eternity here,....' The value of the place is equally relevant to the poet and to the nation. "This place," Grover Smith continues. "once consecrated by the visit of the martyr king, enshrines memories essential to England's redemption. If England, in the fiery tribulation of war, is dedicated to these memories as symbols of the Incarnation, her agony shall become purgatorial. Such is the theme of

Little Gidding: the redemption of men and nations from the fire of hell by the fire of purgation and from the fire of purgation by the fire of love."150 These observations of Grover Smith refer to the opening movement of the poem and bring out clearly the direct bearing World War II had on it as also on the poem as a whole.

The implication of the opening movement, as suggested in the above observations of Grover Smith, has been anticipated, it appears, by Owen in his *Winter Song* written in the winter of 1917. It is true that the poem is unconnected with the War, but in the context of the War its implications become clearer still and are found to be somewhat associated with Eliot's passage referred to above. The first two lines of Owen's poem symbolise the war dead of all ages who in death have become part of eternity. But whenever in future war will break out and 'the winter of the world/With perishing great darkness closes in', as in *The Seed* the soul of the war dead will have their spiritual rebirth like that of Christ who, to quote Grover Smith's words used in the interpretation of the opening movement of Eliot's *Little Gidding*, 'in another earthly winter brought the springtime of human history.'151 and meet 'the need,' again to quote Owen's words in *The Seed*, 'Of sowings for new spring, and flesh for seed.' And the idea of this spiritual rebirth in Owen's *Winter Song* is confirmed by the next few lines of its first stanza:

And when the land lay pale for them, pale-
snowed,
Fell back, and down the snow-drifts flamed
and flowed.

The idea of these two lines particularly of the second line appears to be echoed in Eliot's

When the short day is brightest, with frost
and fire,

The brief sun flames the ice, on pond and
ditches,

(Mark that the work 'flame' is common to both and for Owen's 'snow' Eliot has 'ice'.)

It will be further noted that in his *Winter Song* Owen also sings of a symbolic spring (note that 'spring' and 'winter' in *The Seed* are also used by Owen in a symbolic sense) in the same manner as Eliot in the opening passage of *Little Gidding* does of the 'Midwinter spring'. Thus, in a sense, Owen's *Winter Song* like Eliot's passage, is a song of 'Midwinter spring' which is 'sempiternal' for it is not 'in time's covenant' but 'suspended in time'. And as Eliot's 'symbolic spring bears no ordinary blossom,' but that

"Of snow, a bloom more sudden

Than that of summer, neither budding nor
fading,"

so in Owen's poem, it is not ordinary leaves, but 'the browns. the olives, and the yellows' which 'died'

And were swept up to heaven; where they
glowed

Each dawn and set of sun till Christmastide,
And when the land lay pale for them, pale-
snowed,
Fell back, and down the snow-drifts flamed
and flowed

It may be noted here, as has been pointed out by Grover Smith, that 'the concept of spring at Christmas is common in seventeenth century poetry, occurring in Crashaw, Traherne and Herrick.'152 Eliot's image of the glistening of the eternal blossom of snow is still more clearly prefigured in the following lines from the second stanza of Owen's poem:

From off your face, into the winds of winter.
The sun-brown and the summer-gold are
blowing;

But they shall gleam (again) with spiritual
glinter.

When paler beauty on your brows falls
snowing,

139. F. O. Matthiessen : op. cit., pp. 189-190.

140. Ibid., pp. 191-92.

141. D. E. S. Maxwell : op. cit., p. 177.

142. Grover Smith : op. cit., p. 286.

143. Ibid., p. 294.

144. D. E. S. Maxwell : op. cit., p. 177.

145. Kristian Smidt : op. cit., p. 187.

146. Ibid., p. 187, footnote 2, Bhagavad Gita, p. 66.

147. Reid McCallum : "Time Lost and Regained". *Imitation and Design and Other Essays* (Toronto, 1953), p. 136.

148. Helen Gardner : op. cit., p. 183.

149. Reid McCallum : op. cit., p. 135.

150. Grover Smith : op. cit., pp. 287-88.

151. Ibid., p. 286.

152. Ibid., p. 327, note no. 80.

Indian and Foreign Periodicals

The Five Hindrances In Meditation

According to Buddhist teaching, there are five hindrances or obstacles which arise in the mind of the meditator and which may seriously hinder his progress in mental development if left unchecked. These obstacles have been classified under the following five headings : (1) Kammacchanda or sense desire, (2) Vyapada or ill-will, (3) Thina-middha or sloth and torpor, (4) Uddhaecakukakca or restlessness and worry, and (5) Vicikiccha or sceptical doubt.

The first of these hindrances, namely sense desire, is a very strong one which is common

to all sentient beings. All the sense organs are ever awake to grasp the object of their desire. Whatever is pleasing to one's sight, taste, hearing, smell, and touch always tempts one to crave for it. This hindrance commonly occurs to the beginner who is undertaking meditation. His main concern should be to overcome these cravings so that he can bring his mind under control. The first thing necessary is to abstain from nourishing sense desire. Giving attention to them nourishes the arising of the desire and, once the desire arises, further nourishment increases the sense desire that has already arisen. These are the six things that are con-

ducive to the abandonment of sense desire :

(1) Learning how to meditate upon impure objects, (2) devoting oneself to the meditation of the impure, (3) guarding the sense doors, (4) moderation in eating, (5) cultivation of noble friendship, and (6) suitable conversation.

Meditation on impure objects will result in disgust for the apparently pleasant objects. By contemplating the thirty-two impurities in the body a sense of disgust for the outward beauty of the body will arise. To a thoughtless man the unpleasant overwhelms in the guise of the pleasant, the disagreeable in the guise of the agreeable, the painful in the guise of the pleasurable.

In order to control the sense organs the guarding of the sense doors is an essential needssity. Therefore one has got to keeps a careful watch over the sense of sight, sound, smell, taste, touch, and objects.

Moderation in eating should be practised. Eating should be done only for the sake of maintaining and sustaining the body, and noble friendship should be cultivated for deriving help from others who have experience and can be a model for the purpose of overcoming sense desire. Suitable conversation should be carried on about meditation on impurities which would be conducive to rousing one's energy, concentration, wisdom, and deliverance from sense desire.

Another hindrance to mindfulness lies in nurture of Vyapada or ill-will, or intention to do harm to others. In one's daily life because of the clash of sense-interests, ill-will generates in the minds of average people and this leads to recrimination and a revengeful attitude of mind. For a person engaged in meditation for higher pursuits, mind has to be freed from such an evil attitude. The antidote lies in contemplation of loving-kindness. By cultivating the meditation of loving-kindness, ill-will will disappear, annoyance will disappear, and aversion

will disappear. Hatred, ill-will, or aversion would do more harm to the man who nurtures them in his mind than to the person to whom these are directed. For self-purification and pursuit of higher attainments in life one should eschew ill-will and in its stead should practise compassion and loving-kindness.

The hindrance that lies in Thina-middha or sloth and torpor arises out of lassitude, drowsiness, mental sluggishness and laziness. This can be got rid of by arousing one's energy and strong determination in the pursuit of the object which one is after. Contemplation on impermanence will create in such a person a keen sense of danger of laziness, lassitude, indolence and thoughtlessness. By the cultivation of the meditation of sympathetic joy will disappear listlessness.

Contemplation of the road of one's spiritual journey such as that which a meditator has to tread can arouse the strength to overcome all indolence. The Buddha and the Great Disciples have trodden this path and their example may serve as a great inspiration.

Another hindrance to one's progress in spiritual life lies in Uddhacca-kukkucca of restlessness and worry. Sometimes the mind becomes full of restlessness and worry even without any reason. When the mind is restless it is proper to cultivate tranquillity, concentration and equanimity. Because an agitated mind can be easily calmed down by these factors, one should strive to develop them.

Also, Vicikicca or doubt can give trouble to a meditator. Such doubts relate to the path of the Dhamma and the result to be obtained by the pursuit of meditation. Such doubts can be removed only by treading the path and experiencing the results of the same.

By removing these hindrances in the manner stated above, the factors of concentration (Jhanangas) will be strengthened, spiritual faculties will be developed and investigation of reality (Bhojjangas) will be accomplished.

The reward of the fight against the hindrances is not only the limited one of making possible a shorter or longer spell of meditation. Every step in weakening these hindrances takes one nearer to the stages of sanctity which culminates in deliverance.

These five hindrances are not only impediments to meditative absorption, but in a lesser degree also to mental concentration in our day to day life. Clear thinking and pure living are also affected by the presence of these five hindrances. Their harmful influences can be broken down by constant effort. In our day-to-day living if these hindrances are suppressed and eradicated, when one sits down for meditation rapid progress can be achieved. So it should be the constant endeavour of one who aspires after spiritual attainment to get rid of these hindrances. "The Maha Bodhi"

Herbs Aid Doctors

In our day the world is literally swamped with all kinds of chemical medicinal preparations. Man used them in practically every situation. There is remedy for any and all occasions.

Unfortunately, patients either do not know or have forgotten that from ancient times man has resorted only to medicines that strengthened his organism. These were simply herbs which were then richly represented in the traditional medicine of nearly all peoples of the world. Everything—the roots, leaves and fruit of the herbs—was employed. In each individual case the experience amassed over centuries promoted the most effective combination of components.

Unusual Garden

The garden of the All-Union Institute of Medicinal Herbs (AUIMH) in Moscow is unusual even among the Soviet Union's 115 botanical gardens. Its collection numbers 2,500 species of world medicinal flora. This garden is ideally laid out, with tidy paths and

even rows of herbs with nameplates in Russian and Latin. More than 200 native medicinal herbs—the arsenal of the modern Soviet pharmaceutical industry—are aligned on open-air plots. The AUIMH laboratories are also the source from which foreign curative herbs are sent to herb-growing, Soviet state farms.

One of the key tasks facing the Institute is the search for new herb species. Every year scientific expeditions set out for various parts of the country. Scientists make a regular study of herbs and estimate their reserves and locations. The stock of curative media applied in practical medicine, like the botanical garden, has been continually expanding.

Take, for instance, the yellow poppy. Only recently it was not noted for anything special or included in the list of particularly valuable herbs. However, it has provided the basis for the development of glaucin—an excellent cough remedy which is far more effective than codeine and, most important, contains no narcotics.

The AUIMH is not the only Soviet research institution engaged in the all-round study of medicinal herbs. The faculties of many universities and medical and pharmaceutical colleges and special laboratories share in the work, including the search for and estimation of reserves. Kharkov, Tbilisi, Tashkent, Leningrad and Kishinev are major centres of this work.

The Soviet Far East specializes in ginseng, Novosibirsk in motherwort and wild camomile, Georgia in Java tea, the Krasnodar Territory, in the Northern Caucasus, in mint, Moldavia in garden sage, etc.

Today more than 300 species of medicinal herbs are in regular medical use. Scientists believe that the use of herbs yields very good results in treatment of cardiovascular diseases. For instance, tea infusions supply the required amount of vitamins and chemical elements,

normalize metabolic processes, exercise a beneficial effect on the nervous system, improve blood-producing processes, neutralize harmful substances and speed their excretion. The absorption of such infusions, their action, takes place slowly and gradually. This is important for cardiovascular patients.

As Tonic

All that is only one aspect of the action of medicinal herbs. Folk medicine has always included not only curative potion but also tonics. The most vivid example is provided by ginseng. Its root has been used in Oriental medicine for close to 5,000 years. In the East people over the age of 40 customarily take a tincture of ginseng for two or three months each autumn. This adds vitality, improves health and prolongs man's life span.

For many long years ginseng remained a mystery to medical science, which refused to believe in the universality of its curative properties. Now ginseng has been thoroughly investigated and is universally recognised by medical science. It is included in the Soviet pharmacopoeia and is in increasing demand in Europe and America.

A similar effect is exercised by an extract made from the roots of eleutherococcus—the most important herb in the group of medicinal substance called 'adaptogens', which includes preparations of the lemon tree, leuzea carthamoides, rose-root stonecrop, the antlers of spotted deer and reindeer.

How do the adaptogens benefit healthy people? They effectively do away with fatigue improve physical and mental performance and sharpen vision and hearing. Unlike chemical stimulants, natural adaptogens are harmless and can be taken over a long period of time. But, most important, they are capable of increasing the body's resistance to wide ranging phenomena. A few examples. In Vladivostok eleutherococcus was successfully used to raise the stamina of deep-sea divers who were work-

ing at depths of 90-160 metres. In the Pamirs, where men had a hard job to do, at a height of nearly 4,000 metres, eleutherococcus helped them to maintain physical well-being despite oxygen shortage. Experimental checking in Norilsk, in the Far North, revealed that it more than halved the incidence of flu and overall susceptibility to illnesses among workers of a mining and metallurgical complex. It also prevented many unpleasant physical effects that occur during long voyages in the tropics.

A Siberian shrub called sallow-thorn is in no way inferior to either ginseng or eleutherococcus. It yields an oil which kills pain, regenerates tissues, heals burns and frostbites, normalizes the coagulation of blood, is applied in cases of muscular dystrophy, internal haemorrhages, abnormal fat assimilation, sclerosis, etc.

Harmless Sedative

In some situations people resort to tranquilizers, to remove stress and strain. Back in ancient times man knew about the sedative effect of a herb known as rauwolfia, which "reconciled people to the hardships of life." Modern medicine does not neglect it. Now composite preparations based on this herb (rauwasan and raunatin) help millions of people to cope with the intensive pace of life and the resultant rise in blood pressure (they are taken in small doses over a long period). Hundreds of such examples could be cited. One case in point is prevention of atherosclerosis, especially its initial forms. A slash in the number of atherosclerotic patients would prevent cardiovascular, neuropsychical, metabolic and many other diseases. What is recommended? A good effect is produced by a dry extraction obtained from the rootstocks and roots of *Dioscorea caucasica* (dicsponin). An anti-athero-sclerotic action is exercised by unsaturated fatty acids (linehol), multiple vitamin preparations like undeivitum, decamevitum etc., extractions obtained from

the roots of ginseng and eleutherococcus, sea kale and other sea products.

In short, man's contacts with nature are complex and multifaceted. Nature clothes, feeds, and heals man. During his lifetime man absorbs along with food and medicines an immense amount of biologically active natural substances. However, the threads of such substance connecting man with nature are frequently cut. Man unwisely cuts them off from himself, replacing natural substances with artificial chemicals, even when it is unwarranted. These ties with nature must be maintained. (Reproduced from "Science and Engineering")

The Echo Of The Earth's Interior

Sh. Zainutdinov (In "Science and Engineering")

A large team of Soviet scientists have set out for the Pamirs to carry out the final stage of the unique international experiment in seismic sounding of the earth's crust and the upper mantle of the Pamirs-Himalayan folded belt.

The unprecedentedly widespread investigations are coming to an end, I. Khamrabayev, scientific head of this work on the Soviet side, director of the Geology and Geophysics Institute of the Uzoek Academy of Sciences, a Lenin Prize Winner, Academician of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences, said, in the course of these studies the blank spots in exploring the earth's interior of the big mountain mass in the heart of Asia will be wiped out. The region under study stretches for more than 1,000 kilometers. Here specialists from Italy, India, Pakistan and other states have been working jointly with us for more than four years. The Soviet Union is represented by research organizations of the Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia and Tajikistan.

Joint efforts by scientists from different countries have led to the unravelling of many mysteries of the earth's depths, have given the opportunity to forecast mineral deposits, the

possible seismic foci and the causes of their origin. The data of the first stages of the experiment have been included in the monograph "The Earth's Crust of Central Asia" which has recently been issued in Moscow by Nauka (Science) Publishers. At present a fundamental work, written by the participants in the joint research in the Pamirs and the Himalayas, is being prepared for the press. It will appear in Russian and English.

Seismic explosions on the floor of lake Karakul (in the Pamirs) have proved most effective during the studies. Deep sounding waves, these "cardiograms" of the earth, have yielded valuable information on the thickness of the crust and on the characteristics of fissures. These data have frequently been compared with the data of space photography, which has made geological maps more precise.

The current programme is even more intensive. American scientists will take part in the experiments. They will mount their instrumentation on the slopes of the Hindu-kush and the Karakorum. The staffers of the Institute of Geological Sciences (Kazakh Academy of Sciences) will install highly sensitive instruments on the Pamirs. Thus, the boundaries of comprehensive studies of Asia's mountain masses are being expanded.

Tajik specialists are going to conduct seismic sounding on lakes Iskanderkul and Zorkul. Italians and Pakistanis have chosen for this purpose a small water body (Sangosar) at the foot of the 8,000-metre-high Nanga Parbat mountain. Indians are planning to sound the earth's interior near Srinagar. Hundreds of specialists in different specialties have joined the unique scientific experiment.

India And Southeast Asia

By V. Suryanarayan* (in "India Quarterly")

In the end, the current of Chinese expansion will meet the current of Hindu expansion over the submerged heads of the

smaller and weaker and less efficient peoples in between who are fast going asunder. And after that has happened I surmise that the new frontier between China and India will tend, slowly but surely, to travel westward at India's expense and in China's favour.¹

Will the words of Prof. Toynbee, almost expressively prophetic, come true? Against the backdrop of the Great Power rivalry and political turbulence in the region, what does the future hold for Southeast Asian countries? Can India visualize and work for a situation which fulfils the needs and aspirations of Southeast Asian peoples and, at the same time, is compatible with India's basic interests and objectives? Can India play a positive and meaningful role in Southeast Asia and assist the forces of nationalism to achieve political, social and economic progress in the region through peaceful means?

This, perhaps, is the most relevant way to pose India's foreign policy objectives in Southeast Asia since independence. This alone fits in with India's basic national interests. India's aim was not, and can never be, to replace the standing of the United States in Southeast Asia. What it should strive for is to reduce Great Power rivalry in the area, making it an "area of peace" and thus create condition for fulfilling the aspirations of Southeast Asian peoples. The problems in the region have arisen out of the strategic importance and untold wealth of the area, which the United States, Soviet Union, Japan and China covet, and the desire of Southeast Asian peoples to govern themselves and occupy a position of dignity in the international community.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In its relations with Southeast Asian countries, India possesses definite advantages which countries like the United States, Britain, France and Japan lack. India does not evoke the memories of an imperialist past in

Southeast Asian minds. Historically, Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Malaysia and Indonesia have been deeply influenced by Indian political ideas, religion, art and language. The transmission and assimilation of this culture was not due to political domination; it took place through peaceful means and was due to the courage and zeal of Indian princes, priests, merchants, artists and poets.² Southeast Asians acknowledge the fruitful links their countries had with India in the past. For instance, inaugurating the Jawaharlal Nehru Boulevard in Phnom Penh on 10 May 1955, Prince Sihanouk remarked:

When we refer to two thousand year old ties which unite us with India, it is no at all a hyperbole. In fact, it was about two thousand years ago that the first navigators, Indian merchants and brahmins brought to our ancestors their Gods, their techniques, their organisation. Briefly, India was for us what Greece was to the Latin occident.³

The relationship underwent a fundamental change in the era of European domination. The links between India and Southeast Asian countries were snapped. Basing themselves in India, the British extended their control to Burma, the Straits Settlements and the Malay States. Under the aegis of the British, a large number of Indian emigrants, mostly labourers, merchants and money-lenders spread out to Burma, Malaya and to a lesser extent to Thailand, Indo-China and the East Indies. The presence of these "Indians Overseas" added a new dimension to India's relations with Southeast Asian countries in the post-colonial period. The nefarious and usurious practices of some of the Indians abroad, for example, of the Chettiars in Burma, who exploited the indigenous people, is a tragic chapter in India's relations with Southeast Asian countries. Suspicion and hostility towards immigrant

Indians, occasionally leading to violent riots, are as much a part of modern Burmese history as Burma's struggle for independence. It must, however, be pointed out that the Indians are relatively in a better position compared to the Chinese in Southeast Asia. The nearly eighteen million "Overseas Chinese," culturally exclusive and politically aggressive, controlling trade and commerce in most of these countries, are disliked more by the indigenous people than the one and a half million Indian immigrants.

The domination by different colonial masters prevented active co-operation between Indian and Southeast Asian nationalist leaders. Even then, India's struggle for freedom provided a stimulus for anti-colonial movements in Southeast Asia.⁴ The Indian leaders, more especially Gandhi and Nehru, took a global view of the Indian nationalist movement. Since "Asia's European Age," it was put forward, commenced with the British subjugation of India, so would the British withdrawal lead to the end of colonialism in Asia. To quote Gandhi's words, India "was the key to the exploitation of the Asiatic and other non-European races on the earth."⁵ The League against Imperialism, with which Nehru was actively associated, considered India "to be the central problem in the struggle of the Asiatic peoples for their national freedom. Delegates from Southeast Asian countries occasionally attended the annual sessions of the Indian National Congress or conferred with their Indian counterparts to evolve counter dynamics against imperialism. Distinguished Southeast Asian nationalist leaders like U Nu, Sukarno, Hatta and Tunku Abdul Rahman drew much inspiration from the Indian nationalist movement. Some Indian intellectuals also gave thought to the post-War problems of security and co-operation in Southeast Asia. Examples of this new thinking are Sardar K. M. Panikkar's two books, India

and the Indian Ocean and Future of Southeast Asia.

Thank You. Comrade Khabarovsk !

Vladimir Ostrovsky, APN Commentator writes in a Press Release by the USSR Consulate of Calcutta :—

We are very grateful to the courage of the Soviet seamen who saved us, said Lieutenant Ed Caylor, second pilot of the four engined American Orion plane, at a farewell dinner in a Khabarovsk hospital.

The Story of the Accident

Imagine for a moment that you are on a four-engined Orion aircraft whose left engine has caught fire and you will understand what the American crew felt and thought. The fire had engulfed the left wing plane and it was clear to everybody that the machine could not reach the Adak base on Adack island. There were only seconds for a choice to be made. The only way out was to splash down, and the crew did it.

The Americans did not even have time to button up their rescue suits and jumped into the water depressurized, and only then did they climb onto the rafts which had in advance been ejected by the crew.

Two minutes after the splash-down the plane fell apart and sank. The waves were 7-8 metres high, the wind and rain beat hard the people drenched to the skin. The crew of the plane were in cotton uniforms, without warm underclothes. In the rescue jacket each had an individual first-aid kit and nutritious sweets. That was all they had managed to take for twelve hours they floated in the stormy ocean.

At 0030 hours the Soviet freeze trawler Mys Senyavina reached the splash-down spot.

Its many-month-long voyage was drawing to an end. The crew sat at a general-body meeting when the captain informed them of the American plane accident. He told them they were to come to the aid of the people who had

found themselves in the open sea, in neutral waters. The search lasted six hours.

...It was not at once that fishermen of the trawler saw the rafts with Americans. When the searchlight spotted one of them in the pitch darkness, marked by heavy slanting rain, a rescue boat was lowered immediately. The waves tossed it like a toy, nothing could be seen ahead, only a blank wall of rain. But the searchlight cut through, indicating the direction. The raft at last, and Soviet seamen instantly jumped onto it. The drenched, enfeebled people were handed over to the men remaining in the boat. Many of the Americans were in a semi-syncope. Three were dead: Bruner, Garcia, Rodriguas. Junior Lieutenant Grisby had drowned earlier, and Flight Mechanic Miller had died in the plane.

While still approaching the area, the trawler's crew prepared hot baths. Ship's doctor Alexandr Safonenko set out all his instruments. He was ready for any surprise. On his very first sea voyage the graduate of the

Chelyabinsk Medical Institute (Ural area), had to tend to ten patients at once. The temperature of the water in the ocean was plus 4-5 degrees celsius. The Americans looked like pieces of ice. Many had a brief loss of consciousness and arrhythmia. All showed a high temperature: 37.6-38.5 degrees, and an obvious syhic shock. The doctor and members of the crew rubbed the frozen people with alcohol. All of them were given honey, and a hot bath. The crew's rooms were provided for the Americans, while the seamen settled on the sofas in the mess. The doctor left Garry Hammer in the ship's hospital. The American was in grave condition. The first day the entire Orion crew stayed in bed. They took four meals and slept for only two or three hours. Apparently, the nervous strain told. But the second day the Americans returned to a normal life. They got up and ate at the table. Meanwhile the trawler Mys Senyavina was speeding to the nearest port—Petrovavlovsk-Kamchat-sky.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

State and Cooperative Development, being a compendium of a number papers written by experts and published by the International Cooperative Alliance, New Delhi through the Allied Publishers Private Limited, 15 Graham Road, Ballard Estate, Bombay, for their Calcutta office at 17 Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta-13. Demy Oct. Pp. 184+XIV, Cloth

bound, Paper Jacket, Price Rs. 20. The contributors are Mr. P. R. Dubhasi I.A.S., Mr. P. E. Wesraman, Mr. M. L. Batra I.A.S., Mr. K. Fujisawa, Mr. M. V. Maidana, Mr. Mak Kam Heng, Dr. Nam Kyu Chung, Mr. Hyo Chul Ahn, Mr. G. P. Das, Dr. P. R. Baichwal, Mr. M. Z. Hussain, Prof. M. N. Rudrabusavaraj and Mr. Luciano E. Lactao.

These people represented the expertise in matters connected with cooperation and Governmental assistance to cooperative organizations in Asian and near Asian countries like India, Ceylon, Korea, Malayasia, Japan, Philippines etc. The International Cooperative Alliance was founded in 1895 and has 142 affiliates spread over 60 countries. This publication will help in "Shaping Govt. Policy in regard to Cooperative development in developing countries".

The Naga Tribes of Manipur by T. C. Hodson, Late Assistant Political Agent in Manipur and Superintendent of the State. Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute and Member of the Folklore Society. Published by B. R. Publishing Corporation, 461 Vivekanand Nagar, Delhi-110052. Demy Oct. Pp. 212+XIII, cloth gilt binding, illust. Art Jacket, Rs. 40.00. The book was first published in 1911 and this is a reprint. There are 16 illustrations, map and plan. The publisher's description of the book says, "Dr. Hodson, a pioneer in the field of ethnographical research of the Nagas had produced their work after years of devoted, assiduous and intensive study of the primitive people. His own personal touch with the natives characterised by his sympathetic dispensations had won for him their confidence and the consequential absence of prejudices and suspicion had helped him tremendously in his study of their habits, social customs and thought patterns."

"Thomas Challan Hodson occupied key administrative positions in Bengal Khasia Hills, Assam and Manipur before retiring in 1901." He was secretary of Royal Anthropological Institute, reader in Ethnology, Cambridge University and William Wyse Professor of

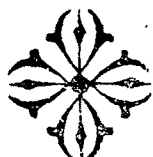
Social Anthropology, Cambridge. He wrote several learned treatises which place him in a high position among scholarly people who have contributed to the development of Anthropological Studies. The book is authoritative.

Date of Mahabharata Battle by S. B. Roy, Director, Institute of Chronology, New Delhi. Published by The Academic Press, Gurgaon, Haryana. Demy Oct. Pp. 226+XVIII, charts. 2, cloth gilt with illust. jacket, Price Rs. 50/-. The author is a Sanskrit Scholar, an astronomer and an expert in fixing chronological dates by the use of all the technique that chronologists make use of. The methods are 1) The Literary Method; 2) The Archaeological Method, 3) Radiocarbon Technique, 4) The Astronomical Method and 5) The Cross Contacts. The merits as well as the weaknesses of the above methods have been fully gone into by the author in order to be free from the risk of being led astray by fallacious reasoning. Western Indology and its strength as well as its weaknesses have been studied analytically by the author. The various authorities who attempted to fix the date of the Mahabharata Battle have been considered. Some thought 3100 B. C. would be the right date. Others put it at 2500 B. C. A third group fixed it at 1450 B. C. while the last group thought 950 B. C. would be correct. We find all sorts of people joining in the work of fixing dates. Aryabhatta, Brahma Gupta, Varaha Mihira, Kalhana, Cunningham, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Vivekananda, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Sri Aurobindo, Meghnad Saha, K. P. Jaiswal, R. C. Mazumdar, to name only some of them. S. B. Roy considering astronomical, puranic and inscriptional facts comes to the conclusion that the date of the Mahabharata battle was 1424 B. C. or a date very near it.

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NOTES

Air Services in India

Railway Trains, locomotives, wagons, coaches etc. can only go when there are railway lines. Their movements are limited by the permanent ways of the railway organisation. Motor vehicles of various kinds are in their turn restricted by the motorable roads and they cannot go any where unless there are proper roads leading to such places. Ships and similar crafts which float in water and move by driving screws or pedals operated by engines, manually or by other means ; are restricted by the location of rivers, lakes or seas on which they float or move. Ships or boats can only travel along water ways. Aeroplanes however, are not restrained by any tracks or specific passages marked out in the sky. They can go freely along the sky, though in actual practice aeroplanes also have to follow fixed rules relating to movements along fixed routes. In 1976 India had nearly 1000 civil air craft which flew carrying passengers and freight. In that year these air crafts carried 45.35 lakh passengers and 81805 tonnes of cargo. India has four international air

ports and 85 aerodromes. The international air ports are in Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi and Madras and the aerodromes are in Azartala Ahmadabad, Amritsar, Begumpet, Delhi Gauhati, Jaipur, Lucknow, Nagpur, Patna Tiruchirapalli, Varanasi, Aurangabad, Behala, Belgaum, Bhavnagar, Bhutar, Bhopal, Bhubaneswar, Bhuj, Bombay, Coimbatore, Gaya Indore, Junagarh, Kailasahar, Kamalpur, Kulda, Khajuraha, Khowai, Kota, Kumbhigram, Madurai, Mangalore, Molanbari, Mozaffarpur, Nadirgul, (Hyderabad), North Lakhimpur, Panagarh, Pontnagar, Porbandar, Port Blair, Raipur, Rajkot, Ranchi, Tirupati Trivandrum, Tulihat, Udaipur, Vadodara, Vijayawada, Vishakha Patnam, Akola, Balurghat, Barapani, Bilaspur, Chakulia, Cooch-Bihar, Cuddapah, Donakonda, Hazdapsar, Hassan, Jabalpur, Jhansi, Ghassa, Guda, Joghani, Kanpur, Khandwa, Kolhapur Lalitpur, Malda, Mysore, Palanpur, Panna, Passighat, Rajumun, Ramnad, Raxoul, Rupal, Satna, Shetta, Sholepur, Thanjavur, Vellore and Warrengel.

Air services are run by two corporations.

The Indian Airlines and the Air India. Indian Airlines runs the air services within the country and her connecting link services with Nepal, Sri Lanka, Maldives, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Bangladesh. The Air India runs air service with 34 countries. In 1976 Air India transported 862661 passengers and carried about 65.26 crore tonnes km. of freight. Air India operates a number of most modern powerful aircraft which compare well with the planes used by the most renowned international airlines like British Overseas Air Corporation, Pan American, Air Corporation Quantas, Air France etc. India has connection with many countries for air transport among which one may mention Australia, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Federal Republic of Germany, France, Hungary, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Malaysia, Nigeria, Poland, Singapore, Switzerland, Thailand, United Kingdom, United States of America and USSR.

There are many flying clubs and gliding centres in India which are subsidised by government. Allahabad has a civil Aviation Training Centre which undertakes to train persons for various jobs connected with civil aviation e. g. air traffic controllers, radio operators and technicians. Training in flying is given at several other schools and the pilots and other staff trained in India are internationally recognised to be highly competent professional air services personnel.

The Indian Air Force is a well trained, properly equipped and experienced arm of the national defence organisation. It has many thousands of officers and other ranks in its various units who naturally help to create an atmosphere of flying efficiency which improves the effectiveness of India's civil aviation. A good many retired air force men take up commercial work after retirement.

Progress after Independence

When British domination over India ceased

on the 15th of August 1947, a new era of material advancement, cultural, intellectual and scientific progress; distinct gain in position in the assembly of nations and a general all round go ahead outlook began, and India rapidly stepped out in vigorous strides to occupy her rightful place alongside the progressive nations of the world. The British had been busy exploiting India for nearly two hundred years and had done next to nothing to develop the valuable potentialities of this vast country with varied talents and capabilities for the reason that Britain's main objective in managing the affairs of India was to make some profit for herself and to let India have only what came incidentally in the process of Britain's selfish adventures. India developed some institutions and industries in this manner but did not build up the all embracing infrastructure of basic economic and socio political establishments which could speed up her forward march. As a result India had little to show, materially, culturally, scientifically or in any other manner which could rhyme with her achievements of the ancient and medieval periods. The British had organised a few universities and some educational institution but had not made much progress in educating the masses of India. There are now 102 universities and 19 university type institutions in India of which less than 20 were established before 1947. The others had great many colleges affiliated to them in which very large numbers of students pursue their studies. India now is organised to take a comprehensive view of her educational needs as well as to sustain and nourish all her cultural, scientific, economic and other national endeavours in various other fields. The nation now looks after its heritage in the world of painting, sculpture, music, dance, drama, cine production, etc. etc. in a creative and constructive manner. It does not minimise the great importance of physical culture, games and sports,

scientific research, development of international relations, publication of books and journals, organisation of press service, radio broadcasting, tourism and a host of other things which make a nation fully alive and progressive. Some facts give more shape to these ideas and one such fact is that India is the seventh largest producer of books in the world. She is also the 3rd largest producer of English books, the USA and the UK being the 1st and the 2nd. Another fact is that India has over 50000 libraries among which are some which have numerous rare books and manuscripts. There are 200 museums and many art galleries in India. A very well organised and highly efficient body of men and women operate the various sections of India's army, navy and air force. Numerically these bodies of persons are not too big but with their up to date equipment and training system, the Indian military machine is a fully effective set up which is ever prepared to defend the land, sea and air frontiers and territories of this sub-continent. India is quite advanced in capacity and technique in the production of arms, military equipment, naval craft and war planes; and is more or less self sufficient in the field of defence supplies. India has made a good deal of progress in the sphere of utilising nuclear power for peaceful purposes. She is also fairly advanced in space research. India has also made a mark in medical, agricultural and general scientific research work. Indian, doctors, scientists and technicians are constantly going to other countries and are earning high salaries, fees etc. fairly easily. The expertise of Indians is finding gainful use within the country too and India is advancing swiftly in many lines of production. One may specially mention electronics, plastics, alloys, drugs and chemicals in this connection. India's achievements in the field of eradicating and controlling certain diseases have been quite praiseworthy too. Much useful work is being done in controlling

diseases like Malaria, Filariasis, Small Pox, Leprosy and various other infectious and dangerous ailments. Some facts are indicators of the progress made in the medical field. More than 25 crore persons have been Tuberculin tested and more than 22 crores vaccinated upto August 1977. There are 237 clinics for treatment of venereal diseases and 110 hospitals undertake to treat cancer patients. In 1950-51 there were 30 medical colleges. There are now 106 medical colleges. The number of new admissions of new students has gone up by five times. The number of nursing schools is now 266 and there are 8 colleges of nursing which qualify 4963 nurses. Generally speaking independent India has organised health services in a very effective and comprehensive manner and, as a result of work done by the various departments handling matters connected with national health many diseases have disappeared totally from the country while others have nearly gone. The death rate used to be more than 27 per 1000 but it has now come down to 15.9. Life expectancy has gone up from 32 to 50 years. Pure drinking water, pure milk, mass production of high grade bakery articles, prevention of food adulteration etc. have attracted the governments attention and there are now many successful schemes of water supply in many places as well as government sponsored dairies, bakeries, food examination centres etc. etc. which are actively helping to improve the nation's health. The nation is now more health conscious than ever before and the number of participants in games, sports, boxing, wrestling and physical culture is increasing from year to year. We may now assert with confidence that India is improving physically, intellectually as well as in the field of staunch adherence to the ideals that strengthens the moral stamina of a nation. The Indians of coming generations will be better equipped in body and mind as well as in patriotic fervour, moral outlook and all else

that develops the character of a large community of human beings.

About Iran

Iran is a kingdom with territories which total upto 634000 Sq. miles out of which considerable portions are desert. The population of Iran is about 33 millions of which many live in the following large cities. Tehran (4,950,394), Meshad (670180), Esfahan (671825), Tabriz (598576), Shiraz (414408), Rezuyeh (163991), Abadan (296081), Ahwaz (129006), Qum (246831), Rasht (187203), Hamadan (155848), Sari, Kerman, Kermansha Bandar Abbas, Zahed, Sanandaz etc. The Shah of Iran is a semi autocratic monarch. The reigning monarch Mohammad Reza Pahlavi was born in 1919 and came to occupy the throne of Iran in 1941 when his father abdicated. In 1906 the then Shah of Iran consented to establish an Assembly or majles which framed a constitution for the country. There is a majles with 268 members and a senate of 60 members of which 30 are nominated by the Shah. The Shah can dissolve the houses singly or jointly but he has to accept as law all legislation passed by the parliament, though he can refer back to the Majles Finance Bills for reconsideration. In 1975 the Shah declared that the National political Resurrection Movement was a lawful movement. The first general election was also held in 1975.

Iran has a 220000 strong army with 3 armoured divisions. The Iranian navy has 3 destroyers, 4 frigates, 4 corvettes, 2 mine sweepers and 80 other ships of various types. Plans are afoot to enlarge and modernise the Iranian navy but not much progress has been made so far. The naval air arm now consists of 12 patrol, transport and command aircrafts. There are also 36 helicopters. The Iranian air force consists of 22 squadrons of war planes. Each squadron has 15 planes. Air force personnel number 100000. Banking is fairly well

organised in Iran and the problem of inflation has not appeared in dangerous dimension. The natural resources of Iran are considerable and the most valuable and important mineral is oil. This industry is well developed and the crude oil output is about 300 m. tonnes. Other minerals include iron ore, lead, zinc salt, chromite and natural gas. In this sphere of tenancy conditions the Shah has taken strong measures to abolish absentee landlordism and to enable the actual tillers of the soil to own the land they cultivate. There are now, 14 million farmers who own the land they till. Among agricultural products one may mention wheat, oats, rice, sugarbeet, tobacco etc. Opium production has been stopped. Export of caviar is a profitable item in the commerce of Iran. Wool and carpets are produced in substantial quantities. Livestock consisting of cattle, sheep, goats, horses, camels, pigs and donkeys are a source of profit to the people of the country. In the industrial field Iran has more than 2,00,000 manufacturing units employing about 2 million workers. Various commodities are produced and the quality of the goods is excellent. The state looks after the interest of the workers to a certain extent but there is room for improvement.

On the whole the people of Iran are not terribly exploited nor oppressed. It is therefore not very clear why there is so much agitation there to remove the Shah and replace his government by some other system. There are occasional autocratic excesses but that is not very commonly noticeable. Usually the governmental attacks on the people are retaliatory. Iran is fairly well provided with roads, railways, housing, employment, medical aid etc. and the people have reasonable living conditions.

Those who decry the Shah's regime would have us believe that the Shah has been an out and out autocrat if not a heartless tyrant. There

are numerous ex-government servants in Iran who are anti-Shah for the reason that they were dismissed from their jobs by the Shah on some charge or other. Undisciplined behaviour, favouritism or corruption might have been the case in most dismissals and many of the accusations were probably genuine. Such anti Shah agitation cannot prove that the Shah of Iran is a soulless despot. Rather it suggests that he is a strict disciplinarian who does not tolerate men in high posts abusing their power. These people who have a grudge against the Shah can easily go round collecting others who are fanatical Islamites or ultra revolutionists with ideas of overthrowing the Shah. This may lead to a civil commotion or scattered outbursts of anti Shah demonstrators but, generally speaking, cannot bring about a total revolution, as has been suggested by some of the more persistent anti Shah trouble seekers. Some people say that behind all this political turmoil well informed persons see the hidden hands of foreign instigators. It is well known that the Shah has been on good terms with the governments of the USA and the UK. Other powers too would not be disinclined to establish friendly relations with Iran. It may be that some foreigners could be against the Shah just because his regime is monarchical and not approved by them for ideological grounds, but there are no clear evidence that any particular country is involved in anti Shah activities.

Some small states

There are some small islands in the Atlantic near the American coast which are politically quite advanced and have well developed economics. The population of these states are mixed and there are Negroids, Asiatics, South Americans and persons who have European blood in them. These people are energetic, hard working and are good agri-horticulturists. They are also suppliers of fruits, wines and spirits, fish, high grade cotton etc. to many

Euro-American countries. A summary description of some of these island states gives one a fair idea of what these states are like. One may begin by describing some of the islands of the West Indies. These islands are Antigua, St. Kitts Nevis-Anguilla, Dominica, St. Lucia, Grenada and St. Vincent. Britain looks after their defence and international relations. Antigua is 108 sq. miles in area and the islands of Barbuda is 62 sq. miles and Redonda 1 sq. mile. Population in 1975 was 69,700. These islands are popular tourist centres and in 1976 more than 62,000 tourists visited the islands. Dominica has an area of 289 sq. miles and a population of 70,302. The people are of mixed blood. St. Lucia has an area of 238 sq. miles and a population of 1,14,000 (1975). St. Vincent has an area of 150.3 sq. miles. Population (1976) 109,743. St. Vincent arrowroot starch is of very good quality.

Jamaica has an area of 4,243 sq. miles and its estimated population in 1976 was 2,084,500. Among the valuable resources of Jamaica one should mention Bauxite, ceramic clays, marble, silica, gypsum etc. Jamaica is the world's largest producer of Bauxite and Aluminas. Other products are sugar, Rum and other spirits, cigars, cigarettes, fruit condensed milk, oils, fats etc.

Trinidad and Tobago have an area of 1,864 sq. miles and a population of 931,071. Among economic activities oil refining and rasale is the most important. The "Pitch Lake" of Trinidad is most valuable of all natural resources. Fruit production and manufacture of sugar are important among commercial and industrial enterprises. 25% of the population are Hindus and about 6% are Moslems. About 35% are Roman Catholics. A good number are Christians of different denomination. Fiji islands consist of more than 840 islands of which about 106 are inhabited. Viti Levu

and Venal Leon are the two largest islands providing 6/7 of the total area of the islands. The inhabitants of the Fiji islands are 259932 Fijians, 292896 Indians, 10276 part Europeans, 4929 Europeans, 4652 Chinese and about 15000 various others. Sugar cane cultivation is the most important agricultural enterprise. Copra and ginger are next in importance. Then come rice, cocoa, maize, tobacco, fruits and vegetables. There is some gold mining and a good many small industries. There are in Fiji 299960 Christians, 234530 Hindus, 45241 Moslems and 731 Confucians.

Bermuda is a colony and a great tourist centre. In 1976 tourists visiting Bermuda numbered 558874. The commonwealth of the Bahamas include about 700 islands off the coast of Florida. The land area of these islands would be about 5500 sq. miles and the climate is warm and healthy. Estimated population in 1977 was 218000. There are many small industries but the most lucrative business is Tourist entertainment. In 1975 there were, 1,380853 Tourists, 50% of the government revenue and employment come from this Tourists business. The British Airways and the Pan American Airways run special flights for the convenience of persons who go to the Bahamas from the American mainland and from Jamaica, Bermuda and other islands in the Atlantic. The Bahamas have a large import and export trade. There are many small industries but many commodities are imported. The exports are mainly salt, craw fish, pulp wood, cement, ram and patroleum products.

So far we have been making a survey of the various islands in the Atlantic ocean east of the Americas. There are many islands in the Pacific ocean on the other side of the Americas too and we would now examine the areas, population, economy and other facts relating to some of the Pacific islands. One of the important islands are the Hawaii group

of islands. In 1959 Hawaii islands were granted the status of state in the United States of America. The Hawaii Islands, which are about 20 in number and out of which 7 are inhabited lie about 2000 miles South West of San Fransisco. The area of these islands is 6424 sq. miles and the population is 846900. Of the islands Oahu is the most densely populated on account of the capital Honolulu being there with a population of 324874. The population of the Hawaii islands when split up racially show 298100 Caucasians, 217307 Japanese, 52039 Chinese, 93915 Filipines, 7573 Negroes, 1126 Indians and 98441 others. Agriculture is highly developed. There are 4300 farms, sugar and pineapples being the principal products. The sugar produced was valued at \$442 million. Tourism is very helpful to the economy. In 1974 the number of Tourists visiting Hawaii came to 2,786000 who contributed \$1100 million to the state economy. There are about 500000 passenger motor cars in the Hawaii Islands and about 4500 miles of good motorable roads. A number of airlines connect these islands with the main land of America and other countries. Numerous people make use of these airways to do business or for sight seeing. Lot of freight also are carried by a number of aerial carrier planes. There are also shipping lines whose ships link the islands with the USA, Canada, Australia, China and Japan. There are other steamer services which link up the islands as a large number of people travel regularly from island to island.

Among other islands of the Pacific Ocean we would mention the Philippines here. Japan or Australia should not be included in a list of small states. The Republic of the Philippines include 7100 islands with a land area of 115830 sq. miles and a population of more than 44 million persons. The percapita annual productivity is US \$410. The capital Manila has a popula-

tion of 1.5 million apprx. The Army, Navy and Air Force of the Philippines are on a small scale for the reason that the USA have a treaty with the Philippines for provision of a number of military bases to the USA. This naturally puts certain responsibilities on the USA to defend the Philippines. Economically the Philippines are reasonably well developed. The revenues of the state were about 15000 m Philippine Pesos in 1974-75. The expenditure account of the same year ran to about 16500m. Pesos. The state has valuable mineral resources as well as large commercial forests, cultivated farm lands, fisheries and several million heads of livestock. Manufactures are mainly embroidery, weaving and spinning, pottery, coconut oil extraction, cigar and cigarette manufacture, rice milling, shoe factories and sugar manufacture. There are also some cement factories and power generation plants. About $7\frac{1}{2}$ million workers are employed as industrial workers. The total number of employed persons would be about 15.5 million peoples. In 1977, the exports of the Republic of the Philippines amounted to US \$2550 million and the imports US \$3210 million. The principal items exported were sugar, coconut oil, copper, logs, timber, copra, gold, fruits, nickel and oil cake. The imports were mainly machinery, mineral fuels, explosives, chemicals etc. etc. Generally speaking the Republic of the Philippines is a modern and progressive state whose people are well organised and properly looked after by the peoples' representatives from the social welfare angle.

The state of New Zealand is another small state which is well developed and highly progressive. The land area of New Zealand is 268704 sq. km. and the population a little over three million. It is one of the British commonwealth countries with its own parliament and independent constitutional set up. Originally peopled by Polynesian people of the Maori race, there are even now a good number

of Maoris in New Zealand who have been integrated in the multiracial population of the country. People of British origin are in a majority in the country and they are industrious and technologically active in a highly productive way. The per capita annual productivity of US \$4250 points to the economic progressiveness of the people of New Zealand. The country is very rich in energy resources and uses large quantities of natural gas and geothermal energy for boosting the economy of the country. New Zealand is rich in its mineral wealth. A schedule drawn up in 1975 shows a list of minerals produced during that year; and one finds among others the following:—Gold 85.4 kg., 3055 tonnes of Diatomite earth, 5246 tonnes of Bentonite, 211423 tonnes of clay, 26097 tonnes of potter's clay, 2297056 tonnes of iron sand, 1502496 tonnes of limestone, 2412393 tonnes of coal, 226129 cu. metres of petroleum condensate, 521.9 m. cu. metres of natural gas. There was also 40000 tonnes of salt produced from sea water by solar evaporation. The total value of all minerals produced was \$84345000. New Zealand had in 1974 63455 agricultural holdings with an area of 20722000 hectares. Among other products these farms produced more than 180 million tonnes of wheat, maize and barley. In 1977 there were in this country about 10 million heads of cattle out of which there were about 3 million milk yielding cows. There were also 56.4 million sheep and 536000 pigs. The total yield of meat was 1243000 tonnes. Milk produced amounted to 6442 million litres. Of this about 80% was used for the production of butter and cheese. Along with mutton New Zealand produced large quantities of sheep's wool, the 1976 output being more than 300000 tonnes. The forest products of New Zealand are also considerable and the economy of the country owes much to what the forests produce. To make these products marketable the country has set up 420 saw mills, 9 vincer and ply-

wood plants, 6 pulp and paper mills. The pulp produced in 1976 was more than a million tonnes and the output of paper and paper board exceeded 600000 tonnes. The country has many industries, the latest additions are an oil refinery, an Iron and steel factory and a hydro-electric power operated aluminium smelting establishment. Other industrial units include plants that manufacture various food articles, beverages, tobacco, textiles, footwear, clothing, furniture, rubber, chemicals, petroleum, metals, electrical and other appliances. New Zealand has a balanced economy in which the products of agriculture, forests, mines, fisheries, factories and human knowledge and skills combine to make the country affluent and prosperous. Its connections with the British commonwealth of various other states have certain advantages which add to the country's economic and cultural strength and stability.

Moving on towards Malay, Indonesia and India we come to several other states which are small but reasonably well developed and socio-economically progressive. One such state is Ceylon (now known as Sri Lanka or Sinhala). This country was conquered round about 600 B. C. by a north-east Indian Prince called Vijay who named it Sinlala and the racial-linguistic name given was Sinhali (or Sinhalese.) The dynasty set up by Vijay ruled Lanka or Sinhala for more than 2000 years. Certain parts of the islands were occupied by the Portuguese and the Dutch during the 16th/17th centuries and the British took over political control of the country in 1815. In Indian mythology Sri Lanka or Swarna Lanka was a kingdom dominated by Rakshashas or demons. The king of Lanka Ravana had abducted Sita the consort to the Ayodhyayan Prince Rama and this led to the war Ramayana. The demons were conquered by Rama and most of the demon Princes and nobles were killed. All this happened in folk lore account in pre-

historic times and there are no accounts which fill the gap between the story of the Ramayana and Vijaya's conquest of Ceylon. The country as we know it now has no demons nor any cannibals or Rakshashas. The land is peopled more than three-fourths by the Sinhalese who follow the Buddhist religion. The rest of the people are Tamil immigrants from South India, Moors, Burghese who have Portuguese, Dutch, or British connections and others. There are some forest dwelling tribals too who are supposed to be descended from the original inhabitants of Sri Lanka. These people are called Veddas and are not cannibals or demons in any manner of speaking. Ceylon grows large quantities of tea and rubber. North Ceylon has much rice grown in it and the people of Ceylon are excellent craftsmen. The areas in which tea is grown are mainly hilly and some gardens are situated at heights which exceed 5000-8000 feet. The forest products of Ceylon are valuable and the Ebony and Satinwood that Ceylon produces are highly prized by all who seek superior timber. Coconut trees are another source of wealth to Ceylon and it is growing. Other products are graphite, cocoa, cinnamon and precious stones. There is also some pearl fishing carried on in the Gulf of Manaar. Modern industries are also developing as also the making of objects of art of gold, silver, ivory, tortoise shell etc. etc. Ceylonese politics developed along with the politics of the various other dominions and colonies of the British empire when at the end of the second world war, large numbers of these units of the empire were granted independence by the British Government of Westminster. As things are now, democratic forces are holding their own against the communistic and other totalitarian organisations which are also quite active in the islands. Generally speaking Ceylon politics are keeping step with those of other commonwealth countries.

FEDERALISM IN INDIA

NIRMALENDU BIKASH RAKSHIT

Though Art. 1 of the Indian constitution enjoins that India, that is Bharat, shall be a union of states, the Indian constitution is federal in form. In fact, nowhere in the constitution the word 'federation' has been used and the omission is obviously deliberate. While submitting the Draft Constitution, Dr. Ambedkar opined that there were advantages in describing India as a 'Union' although its constitution may be federal in character. The word union was used, he pointed out, to indicate two things, viz. that the Indian federation is not the result of an agreement between the units and that the component units have no right to secede from it.

But the word 'union', of course, does not indicate any specific type of Govt. in as much as it is used in the preamble to the *const* of the United States—a model federation, in the *const* of the Soviet Union (Art. 1) which is rather a highly centralised totalitarian system and also in the preamble to the Union of South Africa, a glaring example of unitary constitution.

We have, therefore, to examine the provisions of the constitution itself, apart from the label given to it by the makers, to determine whether it provides a federal system as claimed by its chief architect.

There are two principal methods of forming a federation and the way it comes into existence depends upon the pre-existing conditions of the federating units. The first is the result of voluntary agreement between the hitherto sovereign and independent states. The states desiring to federate agree to transfer certain subjects of common concern and interest to the

newly-created national govt. and retain the rest for themselves. The distribution of powers is determined by the constitution which is immune from unilateral amendment.

The other method is the transformation of a unitary system into a federal one for administrative efficiency. The case of India, however, falls to the second category. Prior to the Govt of India Act, 1935, it was a unitary system. By the Act of 1935, the British Parliament set up a federal system. The scheme could not be enforced in its entirety and only the provincial part came into operation. The provinces were autonomous within the sphere assigned to them. But there were no actual autonomy for the provinces and the central govt. could exercise its dominating influence through the governor's special responsibilities and discretionary powers. When India became independent, the Govt of India Act, 1935, provided a working machine and our makers more or less accepted the general character of the distribution of powers between governments as enshrined in the Act. Thus, Dr. Jennings, has observed, 'it was not possible to start afresh when Province became states'.

The foreign rulers as well as the architects of the constitution realised the need of a federation with some centralising tendencies. With the integration of the states, the formation of a federation was rather a fait accompli.

The Indian Union, thus, is not the result of a compact between the component units. It is the creation of the people of India acting through the representatives in the Constituent Assembly and the Constitution determines the distribution of power between the two sets of

govt. The union is indestructible and no state can secede therefrom. Thus, the status accorded to the states in the 1935 Act and in the Draft are, as N. Srinivasan observes, identically the same.

The Act of 1935 enumerated legislative power in three Lists—the federal, the provincial and the concurrent. In the concurrent list both the centre and the state could legislate though it was stated that in case of conflict between the federal law and provincial law, the former would prevail. The residuary power was vested in the Governor-general who could authorise either the center or the province to legislate on a matter falling within this category. The Draft Constitution of India has accepted the fundamentals of these features and despite its sincere attempts to create a federation, some learned thinkers have declined to accept the Indian constitution as an example of federation. Some writers have even described it as unitary while a few others have stoutly accepted it in the category of federal system.

Even since the submission of the Draft in the Constituent Assembly, an unending controversy has centered round the nature of the Indian constitution and the noted writers have sharply differed among themselves. The real difficulty of any treatment of federalism lies in that there is no agreed definition of a federal state. Thus, while some people regard Indian constitution as federal, the 'quasi-federal' school which has so far nurtured a rigid notion of federalism, has aptly quashed that claim. And, sometimes different, and even conflicting, views have been expressed by eminent, authorities and the subject has generated a lively controversy. For example, while Dr. Biman Behari Mazumder³ realises a need for fundamental re-adjustment of centre-state relationship, M. C. Setalvad⁴ opines that no major constitutional change is either possible or desirable and that centre is to exercise more

power in education, food-production and distribution of essentials.

Federalism means, according to Dicey⁵, the distribution of the force of the state among a number of co-ordinate bodies, each originating in and controlled by the constitution. Similarly, Dr. Wheare⁶ writes: 'The principle of a federal govt. is that powers are divided between a Govt. for the whole country and the Govt. for its parts and that these govt. are independent of each other within own sphere.' He further observes that each govt. in a federal system, should be limited to its own sphere and within that sphere, should be independent of the other⁷. Thus, federal system involves, analytically, three essential features—distribution of power, supremacy of the constitution and the authority of the judiciary.⁸

Then, federal system means, first, a dual polity in which powers are divided and distributed between the central and provincial govt. by the constitution itself. Unlike the Unitary Govt. powers of the units of a federation are original and not derived. Both the central and regional Governments have independent authority within the allotted spheres and none can encroach upon the authority of the other.

Secondly, federal system means the supremacy of the constitution in the sense that each power whether it belongs to the centre or to units, is subordinate to and controlled by the constitution. Thus, while in a unitary system the central govt. is assigned natural supremacy over the units, in a federal system both the sets of govt. are at par, the constitution being their common superior.

The constitution, in a federation is thus to be written and rigid. The amending process of the constitution in such a system is, as Dr. Wheare puts it, so devised that neither the central Govt. acting alone nor the constituent governments can alter the division of powers in the constitution.

A federal system, finally, presents an independent judicial body to act as the final arbiter in cases of dispute between the central and provincial governments regarding their respective rights and duties. An impartial and independent judiciary, J. S. Mill⁹ pointed out long ago, is an essential element of federal system.

1. So far as the Indian constitution is concerned, it contains all the fundamental features of a federal system. Thus, the constitution adopts a three-fold distribution of legislative powers between the union and the states (Acts. 246, 247 and 248). The union list includes 97 subjects in which the union has exclusive power of legislation. The state list comprises 65 items over which the state legislature should exercise, normally, unabated authority of legislation. The concurrent list comprises 47 matters on which both the union and the state shall legislate. The residuary powers are, however, expressly vested in the union.

Thus, our constitution has elaborately divided the powers between the governments in order to avert useless litigation. Such distributive scheme is, Wheare admits, wise and rarely found.

2. Our constitution is supreme in the sense that it creates all agencies and determines that authorities by express provisions. Moreover, the supremacy of the constitution is protected, as the supreme court held in the case of *U. P. legislature V. judiciary*, by independent judiciary, invested with the authoritative power of interpretation.

It is, further, the largest constitution of the world with an 'elephantine size'. The amending process is a mixture of rigidity and flexibility. But the amendment of fundamental provisions, including, the distribution of powers, needs a rather complicated procedure. (Art. 368).

3. Our supreme court, under Art 131, has

been made the final and exclusive arbiter in the cases of governmental disputes arising out of conflicting claims of jurisdiction. The supreme court has been made the final interpreter and guarantor of the constitution and the right units are to be preserved by its delicate verdicts.

The Centralising Features :

Yet the constitution has certain centralising features.

Legislative field :

1. In the legislative field the centre is invested with tremendous power and, consequently, dominates the scene like a colossus. The Union list which consists of ninety-seven items is the longest of the three and includes all important matters. The centre has the authority of legislation on these subjects.

2. The State list consists of sixty-five items on which the authority of legislation has been normally left to the state-legislatures. The selection of these items is made on the basis of local interest and it envisages the possibility of diversity of treatment with respect to different items by the local authorities.

Although the states have exclusive legislative authority over these items, there are some exceptions which entail central intervention :

(a) If the council of states declares by a resolution supported by two-thirds of the members present and voting, that it is necessary or expedient in the national interest that parliament should make laws with respect to any matter enumerated in the state list, then the Parliament would be competent to make such laws for the whole or any part of India (Art. 249).

(b) under Art. 252, if two or more states pass resolutions to the effect that it is desirable to have a Parliamentary law regulating any of the matters enumerated in the State list in national interest, then it would be lawful for Parliament to make laws on such matters.

(c) Art 253 enjoins that Parliament has

power to make any law for the whole or any part of the territory of India for implementing any treaty, agreement or convention with any other country or countries or any decision made in any international conference or association. In other words, Art. 253 empowers the Parliament to legislate on State—subjects if such legislation is deemed necessary for implementing an international obligation.

Such central intervention in State-matters is, however, not possible either in the U. S. A. or in Australia. In Canada, of course, the centre may interfere with the provincial sphere if national interest so demands. But in India, only two of the federating units may be the judge of a national crisis against the majority and central intervention may be invited by a peculiar manner. Shri Ashok Chanda¹⁰ reminds us that in the U. S. A. and Canada, the power of the federal or provincial governments cannot be changed without a constitutional amendment. The states of India have no special authority in ratifying the international agreements as in the U. S. A. nor they have any privilege as in Switzerland.

3. The concurrent list consists of forty-seven items. There are the matters with respect to which uniformity of legislation throughout the territory is desirable but not essential. Of course, this is a Canadian borrowing. Though our provinces may feel proud of concurrent authority over another forty-seven items, Canadian constitution mentions only two such subjects—agriculture and immigration. But, in actuality, this long list may signify nothing. For one thing, this is a concurrent power and the constitution indicates that once the parliament enacts a law on such items, Parliamentary law shall prevail over any state-law in this regard. For another, the concurrent legislation is a device to strengthen the centre. As Dr. Leacock¹¹ puts it :

‘By adopting the plan of concurrent jurisdiction and leaving it to the central govt. to

occupy the field in proportion as the progress of national evolution demands it, a way is open for continued expansion without suffering the pangs of amendment or relying upon the strained interpretation of the law.”

4. Lastly, following the Canadian constitution, the residuary power has been reserved for the centre. But in U. S. A. and Australia, however, the method is entirely the reverse and the states enjoy the residuary powers.

Dr. Pylee¹² correctly observes that a clear understanding of the federal provisions will show that our makers were eager to avoid the long, winding way along which federal power had advanced slowly and painfully in the older federations. He, further, remarks : ‘The entire scheme of the distribution of legislative powers undoubtedly display, a strong tendency towards a high degree of centralisation.’

5. The provincial legislation requires, for becoming laws the assent of the governor who can also veto the bills or reserve them for Presidential consideration. The governor is appointed by the President and he holds office during the latter’s pleasure [Arts. 155 and 156 (1)]. In Australia, however, the governor is appointed by the crown on the advice of the state council of ministers and, in most of the states of the U. S. A., they are elected by the people. But in India, the governor’s appointment, tenure of office and service condition are such that he is, so to say, an agent of the central govt. This is, as D. K. Sen.¹³ puts it, ‘a remarkable index of centralism which is not generally found in a federal constitution.’ Similarly, Morris-Jones¹⁴ has observed that the position of governors in relation to the President is only one of the special features of the federal aspects of the constitution.

Administrative field :

In the administrative field also, the central govt. has been given the authority of intervention in the provincial sphere. Thus, Art. 256

declares that executive power of every state shall be so exercised as to ensure compliance with the laws made by Parliament and the executive power of the union shall extend to the giving of such direction to a state as may appear to the govt. of India to be necessary for that purpose. Under Art. 257, the centre may issue directions to the states not to prevent, impede and prejudice the executive power of the union. These two Articles leave a wide scope to the union and amount to an unprecedented widening of central authority.

Then, following the Weimar Constitution, our makers have empowered the union to give directions to the state governments as to the construction and maintenance of the means of communication declared to be of national or military importance.

But, by far the most centralising provision is obviously Art. 365 under which the union may give direction to the states on administrative matters and in case of gross failure on the part of the latter to apply them, the centre may take up the provincial administration in its own hand on the plea that the governance can not be carried on in that province in accordance with the constitution.

All these provisions have, of course, a direct bearing and also some psychological reaction, on the administration of the States. On the cumulative effect of these provisions, writes G. N. Joshi,¹⁵ there is the impress of the fact that India had in the past a centralised govt. and that trait is rightly not entirely eliminated by the establishment of Federation.

Financial field :

In a federal system of govt. the centre and the units are independent in their respective domains and in order to preserve this independence, it is imperative that each government should be provided with sufficient funds so that the responsibilities of each of them can be properly discharged. If the units are dependent on the centre for financial assistance, the centre

would have an inevitable opportunity wherefrom it can extend its control over to avoid the impoverished units.

Indian constitution, in order to avoid the pitfalls of other federal constitutions, sharply demarcates the tax-jurisdiction of both the centre and the states, provides for periodical appointment of Finance Commissions for making appropriate recommendations on financial relation between the centre and the states, and deals with grants-in-aid of the revenue of the state.

But an analytical examination of Union-state relationship in the financial field would show, as Dr. Pylee observes, that it is in harmony with the general nature of Indian federalism, namely the tendency for centralisation. Dr. Bharati Roy¹⁶ has rightly opined that the Indian states have been dependent on the union for financial assistance. More trenchantly Dr. B. B. Mazumder¹⁷ has observed that while the state have preponderant financial obligations, it has given less money, and the union, with comparatively less duties, have much to enrich itself:

Emergency ;

During Emergency the federal constitution of India is transformed into a unitary system. G. N. Joshi rightly points out that during the period of political or financial emergency the state governments are in effect merely subordinate governments and they function as parts of a unitary structure. Thus, concludes Dr. K. V. Rao¹⁸, "There are some federal features, but they are not strong enough to make India a federation on a par with any known federation so far."

Other unusual Forces :

1. The constitution of the U. S. A. provides for a dual polity and, consequently, there is a provision for double citizenship. In other words, in the U. S. A. a citizen is a citizen of the state to which he belongs and also a citizen of the American federation. But Indian cons-

titution does not recognise such double citizenship.

2. In the U. S. A. again, there is a double system of courts—the national and the state courts. But here in India we have an one integrated system of judiciary and the Supreme Court is placed at the apex of the judicial organisation and it acts as the final court of appeal in India.

3. Another principle of federalism is the recognition of the equal status of all the units of the federation. Thus, the federal legislature is made up of two Houses and the upper house represents the units on the principle of equality. For examples, the State of the U. S. A. have two representatives of each of the federating units. In the Soviet union, the same principle is accepted, though in a different manner. But the constitution of India, however, does not recognise this principle and membership in the Rajya Sabha is shared by the provinces on the basis of their size and population.

4. The power of the President under Art. 123 to promulgate ordinances during the recess of Parliament is a distinctive feature of the Indian federalism. The President of these U. S. A. or the Governor General of Canada or of Australia does not possess any such power.

5. While some of the federations of the world like the U. S. A., Switzerland provide for separate constitution of the provinces, in India the units have no such privilege and have to function under the single constitution.

6. Federal constitution is, without exception, rigid so that the autonomy of the units is preserved. Indian constitution, though it combines elements of both rigidity and flexibility, does not satisfy the test of federal requirements in this respect.

7. Under Art. 3, the parliament may by law—

a) form a new state by separation of territory

from any state or by uniting two or more states or parts or more states or by uniting any territory to a part of any state ;

b) increase the area of any state ;

c) diminish the area of any state ;

d) alter the boundaries of any state ;

e) alter the name of any state,

The President, of course, shall have to ascertain the views of the state concerned before a bill for these purposes is introduced in Parliament. But the centre is not, however, obliged to act in accordance with the view of the state. This means, that in flagrant disregard of the views of the states, their territorial boundaries can be changed and even a state may be abolished altogether. In Australia, the U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. the territory of a constituent unit cannot be changed without its express consent [Section 3 (1) of the U. S. constitution, Arts 123 and 124 of the Australian constitution and Art 18 of the U. S. S. R. Constitution]. Thus, according to Dr. K. P. Mukherjee,¹⁹ Indian constitution is unitary in spite of its federal facades.

8. Appointment to the High courts are made by the President and the judges of the High courts can be transferred by the President from one High Court to another. The Constitution, further, provides for certain provisions to ensure the uniformity of the administrative system and to maintain executive efficiency. They include the creation of All India Services such as the Indian Administrative and Police Services a considerable number of members of which are offered exalted position in the States.

9. The Comptroller and Auditor-General of India is appointed by the President and is concerned not only with the accounts and auditing of the Union government but also those of the states.

10. The Election Commission, appointed by the President, is in charge of conducting

elections not only to Parliament and other union offices but also those to the states.

11. Although the State Bills are sent to the governor for his assent, certain bills relating to the High Courts, are to be reserved to the President. Only with the assent of the President can such Bills become law.

12. The constitution vests in the union the right to resolve conflicts which may arise between the union and the states. The Finance Commission, the Inter-State Council etc. are examples of such central adjudicators. Moreover, the inter-state disputes regarding rivers or river-valleys are to be decided by the union and the judiciary has been denied any jurisdiction in such matters.

13. The union may entrust to and impose duties on the officials of the state government and the state has virtually no choice in this regard.

14. The governor in our constitution has dual functions to serve. He is the head of the Provincial executive and also the agent of the union.²⁰ He keeps the President informed of the political situation of the state and can even request the latter to suspend the provincial administration. The union may, thus, exploit his ordinary constitutional power as well as discretionary authority in order to have a close control over the states. Alexandrowicz points out that the governor is the central agent constitutional provision while his headship is based on British convention. Dr. Biman Mazumder²¹ thus observes, 'the governor leaps into importance when a constitutional crisis develops in the state.'

Extra Constitutional Forces :

There are some extra-constitutional forces which have accentuated the centralising bias of the constitution, K. Santhanam²² thinks that actual union-states relationship has differed far from the pattern set forth in the constitution and the state-government have become politically sub-ordinate agencies, economically

passive and financially dependent. He attributes the reasons of this tendency to two factors—personality of Mr. Nehru and centralised planning. He bluntly concludes that India has practically functioned as a unitary state prior to the general election of 1967. Similarly, Dr. Mazumder has observed that party-discipline and planning-mechanism have made the greatest inroad on the autonomy of the state.

Having considered all these centralised forces and provisions, some learned writers have constrained to regard Indian constitution as an example of quasi-federation. Thus, K.C. Wheare²³ believes that in the class of quasi-federal constitution, it is probably proper to include the Indian constitution of 1950. He further observes that India is a Unitary state with subsidiary federal features rather than Federal state with subsidiary unitary features. Similarly, Dr. K. M. Munshi opines that our constitution is quasi-federal and convertible into a unitary one in case of need²⁴. Prof. D. N. Banerjee,²⁵ however, claims that he characterised our constitution as quasi-federal early in 1950 and since then Prof. Wheare has taken the same view. G. N. Joshi, more precisely concludes that our constitution is unitary in Emergency and quasi-federal during normal period.

Before going to estimate the merits of such observations, it is necessary to point out that the nature of our constitution has sometimes obscured even a consistent reasoning. Thus, Joshi once remarks that the constitution is neither unitary nor federal (preface IX), but admits elsewhere that the federal constitution of India is the latest addition to the federal constitutions of the world (p. 37) D. Basu who brilliantly combats the quasi-federal thesis and points out the necessity of a strong centre in India in spite of federal structure, claims to agree with Prof. Alexandrowicz (a pioneer to regard Indian constitution as federal) con-

cludes abruptly that Indian constitution is neither purely federal nor purely unitary (pp. 50, 53). But, we would remind that the quasi-federal school would regard a constitution as quasi federal only when it is neither truly federal nor truly unitary.²⁶ P. B. Gajendragadkar²⁷, a former Chief Justice of India, has described the Indian constitution as both unitary as well as federal according to the requirements of time and circumstances, and concludes that it cannot be said to be federal in the true sense of the term.²⁸ Sometimes, again a precise opinion is avoided and the constitution is described as 'federal or quasi-federal'²⁸.

Some Considerations :

1. Both Ashoke Chanda and Gledhill think that what the term 'quasi-federal' connotes is not clear, Gledhill²⁹ concludes : 'To describe a constitution as quasi-federal gives little help to an understanding of its nature.' He flatly opines that if the constitution allots to the unit political power over local matters and financial resources to perform their duties, it should be regarded as federal.

2. Even some foreign writers³⁰ think that India prescribes a federal constitution only on the surface. But also in spirit that India provides federal system. Dr. Ambedkar rightly held 'The chief mark of federalism lies in the partition of the legislative and executive authority between the centre and units by the constitution. This is the principle embodied in our constitution. It is therefore wrong to say that the states have been placed under the centre. The centre cannot by its own will alter the boundary of this partition. Nor can the Judiciary.'

It is true that both during normal period and emergency the centre can intrude into the provincial field. But it can do so only in certain circumstances and through some procedures determined by the constitution. If intervention is not warranted by constitutional pro-

visions, it is void and hence ineffective. Herein lies the fundamental difference between our constitution and a unitary system.

3. No doubt, during an emergency the constitution becomes almost unitary. But, as D. Basu rightly points out, emergency means some exceptional circumstances and that must not overshadow the normal fundamental structure of the constitution. Emergency provisions offer a mechanism only to deal with unforeseen situations of uncertain future.

Neither during normal period nor in Emergency the union and the states can assume powers which have been assigned by the constitution to the other govt. and, excepting some specific cases as fixed by the constitution itself, central interference even by the consent of the states would be void. Thus, the charge of over-centralisation, is, according to Dr. Appadorai³¹, not quite true.

4. It has been pointed out that the centre has been assigned a tremendous power not befitting to federal constitution. But the fact is that the extent of power allotted to the union and the units is not the criteria of federalism. What is essential to a federal system is a specific status accorded to the units. As Gettle³² writes : "It is quite possible that the actual powers granted by the constitution to the constituent units of the federation may be less than those delegated by the national govt. to the local sub-divisions in unitary state. The test of a federal system is not the extent of the powers exercised by the subdivisions, but their legal status and the source of their authority."

5. A formidable difficulty with the quasi-federal school is that it regards the American constitution as a model federation. If any deviation from American federalism means quasi-federal system, then none of the known federations can be retained in their allotted category. We must remember that the question whether a state is unitary or federal is one

of degree and when a particular constitution combines the features of both unitary and federal systems, It is necessary to ascertain whether it is basically unitary or otherwise.

In spite of some subsidiary variations, Indian constitution represents all the fundamental tenets of federalism and hence all vague terminologies should be avoided in the discussion of constitutional niceties. Sir B. N. Rau³³ rightly held that Indian constitution is definitely federal and any other view was 'an erroneous conception'.

6. Indian constitution has, no doubt, vested in the centre preponderant power. But this is neither unusual nor inconsistent with modern federations. As Dr. Ambedkar himself declared; "However much one may deny powers to the centre, it is difficult to prevent the centre from becoming strong. Conditions in modern world are such that centralisation of power is inevitable".

Federal power has grown tremendously even in America—a model federal constitution. This is due to favourable judicial decisions of the Supreme Court that the original scheme of distribution of powers has altogether reversed and the constitution with stronger units has now transformed into a centralised federation. Thus, though it is regarded³⁴ as 'the most completely federal constitution in the world', now it is agreed that the states have less executive power at present than ever before and that the general tendency has been in the direction of greater centralisation³⁵. Economically also, the United States has evolved a new federalism in which the states are now under direct control and regulation of the federal authority.³⁶

In Canada, on the other hand, the constitution itself created a strong centre. As John Macdonald declared in 1860: The fatal error of American federation was in making each state a distinct sovereignty. What instead was required in Canada were a powerful cen-

tral govt. a powerful central legislature and a powerful decentralised system of minor legislatures for local purposes'. Here also judicial decisions have added to the growing strength of the union.

Australia, a classic example of federal system, has of late shown centralising tendency and Dr. Wheare himself admits that the process is towards quasi-federal character. Perhaps there are no serious writer to regard the Soviet Union as a genuine federation. According to Getell, it is highly centralised under the unitary control of the leaders of the communist party'. Federalism in this state is simply a matter of administrative units, not of division of power³⁷.

The Swiss federation is not exception to the general tendency and as G. A. Coddin³⁸ has observed, the power of the Swiss federal govt has increased tremendously over the years and the end is not in sight. One noted writer has even remarked that the Swiss federation is more centralised than American system.³⁹

Thus, it is clear that even in federal states central power is increasing day by day. That is only natural. With the acceptance of social welfare concept by the modern states, the duties and obligation of the central governments have been multiplied. Scientific development, means of communications, war, depression, defence—all these factors have acted in favour of central pre-dominance. Even Wheare⁴⁰ admits that war, economic depression the growth of social services and the mechanical revolution in transport and industry have centralising influence and if the war and economic crisis persist, the prospect of survival of federal governments is doubtful. Lipson⁴¹ very precisely points out that all the great driving forces in modern society combine in a centralised direction.

All these mean that federalism has a new meaning in the present context and as Dr. A. C. Kapoor⁴² has nicely puts it, the tradi-

tional cry of federalism is a political anachronism now. He further points out that the dominant spirit of federalism is not competitive, but co-operative exercise of authority by different governments. The original doctrines of 'dual sovereignty' or 'state rights' are now untenable.

Case of India :

7. In India a strong centre is all the more necessary and this was realised by the makers. The chief architect himself wrote that some binding force must be provided so that the provinces may be held together and the unity and uniformity built up by British rule should not disrupt.⁴³

Secondly, Dr. K. M. Munshi correctly pointed out in the Constituent Assembly that glorious days of India were only the days when there was a strong central authority. He warned that failure to learn this historical lesson would lead to disaster and even subjugation.

Again, the native states were a constant source of danger and anxiety to the makers. These states were clamouring for autonomy, dominion status and even independence. The makers remembered the events in Hyderabad and Kashmir during the making of the constitution.

The makers were deliberating in the context of aggression of Pakistan, recalcitrant attitude of Hyderabad and communal riots and partition of India. All these factors had a tremendous effect of their logical sense and a strong centre was a natural result.

The need for a strong centre is now greater than ever when the separatist forces of communalism, linguism, scramble for power and craze for popularity are playing foul in our surroundings. Thus, Dr. Mazumder also conclude: But the union must retain its strength, otherwise the integrity of India will be threatened (quest, spring, 1969). Similarly, D. N. Banerjee⁴⁴ observes that a strong

centre is essential for the maintenance of unity and integrity of India and notwithstanding some clamours in both Kerala and West Bengal, 'there must not be any statutory change in the frame work of our constitution'.

8. One of the test of federal system in our country is, according to D. Basu, the co-existence of communist govt. in Kerala with congress-dominated centre after the general election of 1957. After 1967, in almost half of the provinces non-congress ministries have been formed and the centre has not swallowed them up.

9. Centralised federation in India has been, according to Dr. S. C. Dash⁴⁵ the result of five outstanding forces—

- a) Monolithic party ;
- b) Congress rule in union and all states till 1967 ;
- c) Dominating personality of Nehru ;
- d) National planning ;
- e) Foreign aggression.

All these forces, obviously, are extra-constitutional and have no place in the letters of the constitution.

Conclusion :

Modern federations arose either out of imperfections of unitary states or the defence-necessities of small separate states. What is needed is neither complete independence nor complete dependence, but an inter-dependence that creates harmony, progress and prosperity. This is the essence of federalism and only genuine federalism can provide such an effect. It presents a mechanism whereby unity amidst diversity can be achieved.

While federalism is viewed in this broad sense, Dr. Pylee brilliantly concludes, there is hardly any possibility for a controversy on the federal character of our constitution.

From this broad point of view, Dr. V. D. Mahajan⁴⁶ opines that the right view is that the Indian constitution is a federal one. He thinks that in the greater interests of the

national integrity and prosperity, the centre requires in every federation some stupendous powers.

Dicey has pointed out long ago that federal govt. is weak govt. In stead of accepting the known pattern of federalism, our makers have wisely adopted the federal principles to our peculiar conditions. D. N. Banerjee rightly observes that events in Kerala and Assam have justified the political foresight and statesmanship of the authors of our constitution and that the unitary elements in our constitution are great safeguard against any possible operation of the forces of disintegration of the country. The task was tremendous and the makers have aptly served their duty. As Dr. Jennings⁴⁷ puts it: 'Perhaps the idea of union should be emphasised in order to offset disintegrating tendencies in a population so vast and so diverse :

An overdose of centralism can hardly transform a federal system into a unitary one. The two systems are fundamentally different. In a unitary state the units have no legal authority or enumerated powers. They will assist the Central Govt. in the administration with those powers as from time to time are vested in them. These powers, again may be curtailed and even the units are liable to dissolution. But in a federation the Units have legal status analogous to that of the Federal Govt., their powers are original and plenary and cannot be transferred even by mutual agreement. Original scheme of distribution of power may be changed only by a constitutional amendment of rigid procedure. In India all these tests of federal govt. are present and the change in the original scheme of distribution of power is possible without the consent of the units. Moreover, the Supreme Court has been invested with original power of adjudication in cases of dispute between governments and, within two

decades, there has been at least one such clash (Union V. State of West Bengal).

We should remember, further, that 'federalism is a matter of degree' (Morris-Jones) and that it varies from place to place. When the essential features of federalism are tested in India, we have to agree with C. H. Alexandrowicz⁴⁸ that 'India is undoubtedly a federation in which the attributes of statehood are shared between Centre and local states. In a convincing study, Dr. A. K. Ghosal⁴⁹ concludes that federal constitutions may be arranged in an ascending scale of conformity to the rigid federal principle beginning with Australia at the one end of the pole where the degree of conformity is the highest to Canada at the other where it is the lowest. India's position in the scale would be beside Canada rather than Australia. In fine, we may conclude with R. N. Gilchrist⁵⁰ who writes '... the union of India is sui generis, of its own peculiar type, and that it represents, not a type of Canadian, Australian or South African federalism, but in fact, its own type, Indian federation.'

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NON-NORMAL EDUCATION : IT'S NATURE, SCHOOL AND SIGNIFICANCE

V. T. PATIL AND B. C. PATIL

The fundamental goal of all education formal or non-formal is the development and enrichment of human personality. The all-round development of the human personality can be considered in terms of the integration of the body, heart, mind and spirit. Mere intellectual attainments will not serve this over-all purpose, but the physical, emotional and ethical growth of an individual assumes importance for any evolution towards a complete man. Non-formal education is one of the many strategies evolved to achieve this fundamental purpose of education. It is of unique relevance to the socio-economic and political problems of under-developed countries. It can be so conceived as to make it very flexible to conform with the realities of life and the environment in which the educand lives. Being flexible it is capable of catering to the needs of different people in different walks of life. The course content or the syllabi as well as the method of imparting instruction can be more informal and non-authoritarian. Non-formal education must be structured in such a manner as to keep in view effective learner participation. It has to pool the available local resources to enrich the human and environmental potential. Non-formal education is primarily a non-institutional activity with a wide variety of courses offered to cater to the needs of people with diverse interests.

Non-formal education not only meets the requirements of every segment of society but it encompasses within its ambit all age-groups. The literate and the semi-literate, the urban and the rural, can take advantage of this

method of education for personal satisfaction, professional advancement, or for a meaningful comprehension of problems at all stages of life. This implies that non-formal education has to be diverted towards the landless and the underprivileged sections in the community. Such a process involves a more proportionate distribution of knowledge in the context of India, where vast millions are illiterate and consequently the role of non-formal education assumes tremendous importance. Most of these illiterates live in rural areas under conditions of abject poverty, hunger and degradation. Given this low standard of living of the people, education of any kind to these deprived people is a boon. Non-formal education in such a situation assumes the role of individual salvation and prosperity.

Non-formal education must be organized to suit the convenience of learners. Classes could be held in places like workshops, mosques, chapels, tempels, farms, library centres and private houses. The courses could be short or long depending upon the need, ability, attitude and aptitude of the learners. As for the number of classes each day and the length of each of these classes, they could depend upon the objective conditions in the community and the educands professional schedule. Classes could be suspended or prologed over a period of time or cut short depending upon the exigencies of the situation.

The content of non-formal education is closely linked up with the socio-cultural and economic needs of the learner groups. Such a relationship makes the curricula highly flexible

in order to include a vast range of extant national problems that are pressing for immediate solutions. The courses must reflect the individual and national priorities. In line with such guidelines the programme content for young people in the age-group of 15-25 must include the study of a wide variety of courses. It is necessary for the learner group to get a scientific understanding of the problems to inculcate a positive attitude towards problems. Emphasis must be on relevant information about the developmental processes in the country, modernization and industrialization, scientific and technological progress, community health and hygiene, basic skills in the three R's and introductory occupational and vocational skills. Since the course content is spread over different areas, instructors with multi-disciplinary training in large numbers will be required to formulate an effective and viable system of instruction to the learner groups.

An important aspect of non formal learning takes place through persuasive discussion and dialogue. The various forces and factors in the environment have to be analysed and relevant conclusions have to be drawn. Through such a process the participants in non-formal system of education acquire the capabilities of reading, writing, calculations etc. which constitute a potent source of communication. In addition to these considerations, stress is laid on constructive activities and community action. All this involves a clear conception of the relationship between education and the life pattern, social activities and work experience of the learner groups. In short, it has to be a very fruitful and meaningful experience. It may be so because non-formal education is neither authoritarian in import and significance, nor is it to be imposed from above. Purely theoretical and abstract formulations which lead to obfuscation of issues are avoided under

all circumstances. The most obvious advantage of this type of education is that it is closely related to the problems and interests of learners.

Non-formal education forms an intrinsic element of a comprehensive strategy of education. It can go a long way in fulfilling the socio-economic goals of a society. In view of these attributes all institutions and agencies directly involved in educating the unlearned are expected to bear the maximum responsibility for non-formal education. Universities, schools and colleges, departments of education, factories and commercial institutions are among other important agencies for the purpose of achieving the objectives of non-formal education. In a country like India with a large rural population, rural development and social welfare agencies and peasant's organisations, youth organizations etc. have a specific role to play.

Non-formal education has assumed profound significance because of the popularity of global education in recent years. Educational institutions like schools, colleges and universities must devote a reasonable proportion of their financial resources to foster non-formal education. Major proportion of the funds must come from governmental sources as they are in a position to provide liberal grants for non-formal activities for different kinds of learner. The intimate connection between non-formal education and socio-economic development definitely establishes the role of industries, farms, panchayats municipal governments or public sector undertakings as sources of finance. In all those areas where non-formal techniques serve the purposes of these developmental projects sufficient provision of funds for non-formal education must be made. Non-formal education focuses on voluntary learners interests and needs and is therefore in a position to attract support from

individuals as well as the community. Voluntary organisations can offer assistance in cash and kind and also provide other types of help such as workshops, plots of land etc.

Non-formal educational processes and programmes create a high degree of consciousness among individuals in a developing country. The development of a rational, objective and scientific temper among the people is an essential condition for modernising a traditional social order. The limitless human potential needs to be enriched with a view to augment the resources of the community at large by promoting individual and group creativity. In an open society active participation gives strength and sustenance to political institutions by integrating individual and social efforts towards economic development. Non-formal education, in a large measure, can build an environment of learning in which everybody will have equal opportunity to self-learning on a continuing basis. All this leads to a better sharing of opportunities as also an equitable distribution of the wealth generated in the society.

Non-formal education is based on a valid assumption that knowledge is a creative force which generates the required capabilities in individuals, with the result that such individuals can play a dynamic role in the society. In an underdeveloped country like India every individual must be in a position to improve his knowledge on a continuing basis throughout his life. The objective of life-long education becomes a major element in a vigorous, and rapidly progressing society. It becomes a matter of great importance for Indian educationists to formulate such policies as to emphasize life-long education as the master concept. Non-formal education helps the development of a balanced personality through life-long, life-wide, life-oriented education

through learning rather than merely by formal teaching.

Life-long education or 'education permanente' as the French call it, is a concept which is not entirely new to India. Life long education is defined as a creative process spread over the entire life by aiming at the integration of all kinds of learning experiences for the evolution of a comprehensive human personality. Education, according to this viewpoint is a permanent process extending from the cradle to the grave. Formal education may come to an end when an individual takes a degree from a higher institution of learning. But non-formal education is a continuous and ever-changing process.

A programme of life-long education must be in tune with the realities of the modern world. The basic moving force is the unending quest for knowledge. Knowledge is increasing, cumulatively with the result that there is explosion of knowledge. Today, man has realised the limitless possibilities of knowledge on the one hand and the limitations of individual intellect to comprehend knowledge in all its manifestations on the other. It is an assertion of a pervasive truth when the claim is made that the nations of the west have achieved socio-economic advancement because of the vast quantum of their knowledge. It will also not be wrong to argue that knowledge is growing so fast that even the highest university degree is not valid for a life-time. This certainly calls for reeducating individuals on a continuing basis. In such a task, non-formal education has a definite role.

In an age of science and technology life-long education has a crucial role to play. The knowledge of scientific techniques and their vast potential for improving material comforts of man has generated unprecedented reliance on science and technology. The invention of the atom bomb, television, synthetic fibres organ transplants etc. paradoxically bring out force-

fully the creative role of science and the obvious inadequacies of man to use peacefully the fruits of his scientific endeavour. Hence, non-formal education is essential if individuals are to comprehend and regulate the environment in desired directions and to acquire the skills through which positive contributions to the progress of nations can be made.

India is a participant democracy and it is a way of life for millions of its countryman. The democratic process demands certain qualities to make it a going concern. The success and stability of democracy can be guaranteed only when the citizens have a high degree of political consciousness, patriotism and a sense of social responsibility. They cannot be satisfied merely with the exercise of their franchise periodically. If they are keen to make the democratic experiment a living experience, then they must work for its success without any reservations. In a democracy every individual has to choose between competing alternatives. This task can be simplified if individuals are given the required academic, vocational and cultural training through a system of non-formal education or life-long education.

Life-long education must be functionally linked with experiences in the life of individuals and their interest-orientation. Moreover, non-formal educational programmes, whether organized or unorganized, structured or unstructured, planned or unplanned must provide opportunities for flexible and spontaneous learning experiences so that the educand develop a persistent urge for life-long learning. There must also be scope for free and frank discussions and interviews so that learning through observation and participation can be fostered in an effective manner. The need to orient non-formal programmes towards the human personality means that the physical,

psychological, social and cultural requirements of the educand are met. In this task, the role of non-formal educational workers is one of involving the educand with the learning process through tact and intelligence combined with helpful attitudes.

Formal literacy is no education in the real sense of the term. On the other hand, informal education comes to grips with fundamental problems in the life of individuals. The basic strength of the non-formal educational strategy is to make individuals acquire knowledge that is relevant to meet successfully the many challenges thrown up during their life-time. The core of non-formal education is based upon the idea that the spiritual and physical faculties of individuals must be given a free play.

In the Indian context, non-formal education can play a crucial role in bringing about a socio-economic revolution if legislators, administrators, developmental agencies, mass media, educational institutions and teachers and students measure up to their social responsibilities by creating an atmosphere in which economic activity can be hastened through viable political action. Public opinion has also to be mobilized to increase the willingness of the people to plan and launch ambitious programmes of non-formal education. A wide variety of programmes have to be evolved to be of any genuine use to the rural population whose problems require urgent attention. Orientation courses and training classes must be organized throughout India so that the educand can derive the maximum benefit from non-formal educational programmes. India has to-day reached a stage in its developmental process in which a vast network of non-formal educational programmes have a role of the highest significance.

NABOKOV : THE NOVELIST AS CRAFTSMAN

P. MARUDANAYAGAM

In much of the postmodern fiction, the borderline between serious literature and pornography is scarcely discernible. Whereas the critics of the past confounded art with pornography, there is now the danger of pornography being accepted as art. Perhaps time alone can tell a potboiler from a work of art. "Lolita", stigmatized as repulsive trash on its first appearance has now attained the status of a text book in many of the American Universities. "The Annotated Lolita" is the first annotated edition of a modern novel to have been published during its author's lifetime! An outstanding social anatomist and prose stylist of the present century, Nabokov had to wait long and face savage criticism before what he palmed off as a psychiatric case-history could be accepted as a classic.

Vladimir Vladimirovitch Nabokov, born on April 23, 1899, in St. Petersburg, Russia was the much-cherished son of a wealthy Russian liberal and Anglo-phile, who was shot to death by Russian fascists at a public meeting in Berlin. After growing up as a princeling on a great private estate Nabokov experienced fifty or sixty different lodgings in exile. In his splendid memoir, "Speak, Memory," he pictures his boyhood raptures as a young entomologist in Russia wandering about with his butterfly net :

"I confess I do not believe in time. I like to fold my magic carpet, after use, in such a way as to superimpose one part of the pattern upon another. Let visitors trip. And the highest enjoyment of timelessness—in a landscape selected at random—is when I stand

among rare butterflies and their food plants." He graduated from Cambridge in 1922, and spent some time in Berlin before leaving for the United States in 1940. America with its freedom and openness was "a second youth" for Nabokov. While living in Berlin and Paris, he had published a series of Russian Novels and tales under the pseudonym of Sir'n. After coming to America, he started writing in English under his own name. This perhaps accounts for the high degree of stylistic self-consciousness in his English writings. In his postscript to "Lolita" he mentions the painful linguistic decision he had to take :—"My private tragedy is that I had to abandon my natural idiom, my untrammelled, rich and infinitely docile Russian tongue for a second-rate brand of English devoid of any of those apparatuses—the baffling mirror, the black velvet backdrop, the implied associations and traditions—which the native illusionist, fractals flying, can magically use to transcend the heritage in his own way." The extraordinary outburst of Nabokoviana—from 1957 to 1968, 21 Nabokov titles appeared—proved that the reference to his "second-rate brand of English" is outrageously modest.

Described by Updike as "the best writer of English prose at present holding American citizenship", he writes a spare, visual and swift prose and achieves in his poems and novels the verbal panache denied to many American novelists. In "Ode to a Model", he writes,

"Can one picture a blackbird as the negative of a small firebird? Can a record, run backward, turn 'repaid' into 'diaper'?"

In many of his novels the reader has to struggle with the difficulties posed by rich, elaborate verbal textures and mythological, anatomical, botanical and geographical allusions. "Lolita" abounding in portmanteau words, puns, comic etymologies, anagrams, spoonerisms and foreign and archaic words is the most linguistically playful novel in English since "Finnegans wake".

His books are highly patterned. The hero of "The Defence", a chess player is driven to suicide by his perception of a repeating pattern. He gradually realizes that his past life is in the process of being replayed, with certain variation and that most of the incidents are but delicate repetitions of an initial pattern of events. Feeling that he has been caught up in a monstrous game of chess, he resorts to suicide in an attempt to leave the game. An expert on lepidoptera—he was a research fellow in the Museum of comparative Zoology at Harvard some time—he fits every character with minutely patterned wings. Cincinnatus C., one of his protagonists, sentenced to death for 'gnostical turpitude' passes his last days reflecting on the invulnerability of the soul. "The Gift" deals with a young Russian writer living in Berlin and his father, an entomologist who goes trekking across central Asia. A linguist who can think in several languages and fields of knowledge, Nabokov has packed a number of deciphering pleasures into his books. "The Vane Sister" carries the pleasure of cryptography to the maximum extent possible. The narrator receives a number of communications from the dead. The most vital of these is hidden as an acrostic in his final paragraph, without his suspecting that he has unconsciously put it there!

Nothing was lost on the encyclopedic mind of Nabokov. "Lolita", vividly describing the mutual reduction of a middle-aged man and a twelve-year-old girl captures the surface of

American life—"the American small town, the house with the Van Gogh paints, the humdrum poetry of cars, schools, neighbours, the swimming lakes and country inns." The reader is as much impressed by these as by its detailing of perverse sexual desire and its constant dependence on sexual metaphors. The novel was inspired, says Nabokov, by a newspaper account of an ape who produced the first drawing ever charcoaled by an animal—the sketch of the bars of the cage! His immaculate sense of humour and irony are quite distinctive. "The Gift" contains a characteristic description of the birth of a suicide weapon:— 'Should an aimless questioner have turned up among the angels, already converging, already swarming and fussing professionally around a cradle where there lay a little dark new-born revolver.'

To Nabokov art and nature are "a game of intricate enchantment and deception" in which the author and the reader are the players. His art is artifice or nothing. He detests symbols and allegories, "which is due partly to my old feud with Freudian voodooism and partly to my loathing of generalizations devised by literary mythists and sociologists." He was never interested in the literature of social comment: "Politics and economics, atomic bombs primitive and abstract art forms, the entire Orient, symptoms of 'thaw' in Soviet Russia, the future of Mankind, and so on, leave me supremely indifferent." For him a work of fiction exists only in so far as it affords him what he calls aesthetic bliss. Committed "to writing as a way of life and to fiction as the art of arts", he was a political and scornful of all public causes.

It was Nabokov, the author of the three great master-pieces, "Lolita", "Pale Fire" and "Invitation to a Beheading", who, along with two or three more novelists of the present era, kept alive an art form that was expected to die with the advent of the television and the cinema by demonstrating new possibilities for it and by underlining, through his example, certain aesthetic aspects of the form gravely neglected by most of his predecessors of the nineteenth century.

INDO-SRI LANKAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO HUMAN RIGHTS

Dr. BUDDHADASA P. KIRTHISINGHE

The civilizations of India and Ceylon have immensely enriched mankind with moral values and ethical codes from time immemorial through their sages. Of these, the contributions of the Buddha are remarkable in the field of Human Rights.

Sri Lanka is an ethnic, spiritual, cultural and geographic link of the subcontinent of India, yet her civilization—Aryo-Indus Valley—has developed a distinct personality of her own. When she became a spiritual bastion of Buddhism she exerted tremendous influence over South-East Asia beginning in ancient times, due largely to her missionary zeal.

The modern states of India and Sri Lanka, although politically and economically independent, have a common democratic heritage.

That Buddhism helped greatly in the evolution of democratic forms of government in ancient India is borne out by what the Marquess of Zetland, a former Viceroy of India says in the preface to the book, *Legacy of India*. Lord Zetland says :

“We know indeed that political science—Arthasastra in Sanskrit—was a favourite subject with Indian scholars some centuries before the Christian Era. The Social Contract as the origin of Kingship is discussed in the now famous work attributed to Kautilya, the Chief Minister of Emperor Chandragupta, about the year 300 B.C. And it would seem that the people who contracted for a king in these early days did so in order that there should be some external authority capable of ensuring that the laws and regulations of the

various corporate bodies, which had come into existence, were respected.”

“The King,” wrote Vajnavalkya, “must discipline and establish again on the path of duty all such as have erred from their own laws, whether families, castes, guilds or associations....”

It is notable that the tendency towards self-government evidenced by these various forms of corporate activity received fresh impetus from the Buddhist rejection of authority of the priesthood and further by the doctrine of equality as exemplified by its repudiation of caste. It is, indeed, to the Buddhist books that we have to turn for an account of the manner in which the affairs of these early examples of representative self-governing institutions were conducted. And it may come as a surprise to many to learn that in the assemblies of the Buddhists in India two thousand or more years ago are to be found the rudiments of our own parliamentary practice of the present day. The dignity of the assembly was preserved by the appointment of a special officer—the prototype of “Mr. Speaker” in our House of Commons. A second officer was appointed whose duty it was to see that when necessary a quorum was secured, the prototype of the Parliamentary Chief Whip in our own system derived from the British. A member initiating business did so in the form of a motion which was then open to discussion. In some cases this was done once only ; in others three times, thus anticipating the practice of Parliament in requiring that a Bill be read a third time before it became law. If discussion disclosed a difference of opinion the matter was

decided by majority vote, the voting being ballot.

As Lord Zetland says, the Buddha's doctrine of equality made a profound impression on the social and political life of the people of India and Sri Lanka, and other parts of Asia where Buddhism prevailed, and this influence has lasted to this day to some degree.

Therefore it is not surprising that India and Sri Lanka since attaining independence have adopted and sustained democratic values successfully for the last 25 years, with adult franchise granted to both sexes.

The preamble to the Indian Constitution bears striking resemblance to the Declaration of Rights of the American Constitution. The fundamental rights of all citizens are guaranteed under the Indian Constitution, which countenances no discrimination on the grounds of race, religion, creed and sex. "Untouchability" has been abolished and the practice of it is made a criminal offence under the law. Freedom of speech and expression, assembly and association, migration, acquisition of property and choice of occupation or trade are guaranteed. There is perfect liberty to follow and practice one's own religion, and minorities are especially protected in respect of their language, religion and culture.

Sri Lanka, on the other hand, following British Parliamentary practice, assumes all unwritten traditions of the British Constitution, which are considered equal to the above. Furthermore, India and Sri Lanka strive towards the goal of economic democracy and their foreign policies promote peace and security and maintain just and honorable relations between nations. The foreign policies are based on Buddhist and Gandhian ideals of peace and universal goodwill.

The women in Indian society in the Buddha's time did not receive much recognition. It was

the Buddha who raised the status of women. The Buddha foresaw the difficulties of admitting women to the Sangha or community of celibates, and refused Yasodhara's quest three times to have them admitted to the Order as Bhikkhunis. But later, observing the zeal of both Prajapati and Yasodhara for leading a religious life, he no longer could resist it, and assented to have them admitted in the Sangha. When Venerable Ananda asked the Buddha whether women are competent to lead a bhikkhuni's life, the Buddha declared them to be competent to be admitted to the Sangha and to attain release from a wearisome repetition of rebirths and attain sainthood. The equality in social, economic and political life of women with men in Hindu-Buddhist lands is not at all surprising. India and Sri Lanka have produced women Prime Ministers in modern times. Mrs. Sirimo Bandaranaike of Sri Lanka and Mrs. Indira Gandhi are shining examples. These two great women symbolize both the womanhood and motherhood of their respective countries.

The Buddha made no distinction between man and man. No life was insignificant and all men were equal in His sight. He led them all on a path of righteousness. From beggar to king, all received His compassion and love.

The caste system was becoming rigidly established in India in Buddha's time. He revolted against this injustice. He welcomed to the Sangha people of low and high castes. He admitted into his Order Sunita, the outcast, Sati the son of a fisherman, Nanda a cowherder, Ambapali a courtesan, and Punna and Punnika who were slave girls, etc.

The story of the ordination of Upali, the barber, is an outstanding example of how the Buddha tried to abolish the caste system. Once six Sakyan princes closely related to the Buddha came to seek admission to the Sangha. Upali, the barber, followed them, who were his

masters, to the Buddha and asked for ordination. The ordination was arranged so as to give Upali the place of seniority in the Order. The princes, who also became monks, had to pay homage to Upali, who later became the highest authority on monastic discipline.

Some members of the nobility were upset by these actions of the Buddha and one of them challenged the Buddha to define a nobleman. It was then that He declared :

“No man is noble by birth,
No man is ignoble by birth.
Man is noble by his own deeds,
Man is ignoble by his own deeds.”
(Suttanipata-Vasalassutta)

The more fascinating example of non-recognition of a person's caste is the case of a girl at a well. Ananda, the favourite disciple of the Buddha, had been sent by the Buddha on a mission. He was passing by a well near a village and, on seeing Pakati, a girl of low caste, he asked for a drink of water. The girl hesitated, stating : “O nobleman, I am too humble and mean to give you water, as I am of the Mitanga caste.” And Venerable Ananda replied : “Sister, I ask not for caste but for water.” Then the girl's heart leaped joyfully and she gave him a drink.

It is not surprising that there was no caste system in Buddhist India from the 3rd Century B. C., under the influence of the great Emperor Asoka, who ruled India at that time, to about the 10th Century A. D. This is even true today of all Buddhist nations from Sri Lanka to Japan. However, when the exploitations of Brahmanism replaced Buddhist rule in India from the 10th Century A. D. onwards, the pernicious caste system re-established itself. It is obvious that the Indian elite became parasitic and not creative. Thereafter the great Indian civilization rapidly declined.

The Buddha condemned slavery in every shape and form. It was not William Wilberforce in the United Kingdom and Abraham

Lincoln in the United States who were pioneers in the abolition of slavery, as is often claimed in the West. According to the United Nations Organization reports, slavery is scarcely practiced in any part of the world today. The Buddha led the anti-slavery movement by laying down a rule for the right manner of earning one's living, and one should not engage in any form of trafficking in human beings. Human beings might be engaged for domestic services or elsewhere, but it was enjoined that they be treated with as much consideration as a member of one's own family, as regards their personal rights, and even to share little treats on special occasions.

Sigalovada Sutta (The Layman's Code of Discipline) is a famous *sutta* of the Buddha. Here He proclaims duties of parents to children, children to parents, pupil to teacher, teacher to the pupil, wife to the husband and vice versa. This laymen's discourse, which is based on social ethics, is highly commended by the world-famous British scholar, Professor Rhys Davids, erstwhile chairman of the Dept. of Comparative Religion of Manchester University.

In the Maha Mangala Sutta, which is highly cherished in all Buddhist lands, there is a comprehensive summary of Buddhist ethics. In it the support of the mother and father, wife and children, are greatly stressed.

Here are three of twelve verses that pertain to this essay. The English translation from the Pali is the work of Dr. R. L. Soni of Burma :

With the fools no company keeping,
With the wise ever consorting,
To the worthy homage meeting;
This, the Highest Blessing.

Mother, father aptly serving,
Children, wife duly cherishing,
Life's business coolly attending,
This, the Highest Blessing.

Acts of charity, righteous life,
From all alarms the kins protecting,
Blameless pursuits fully rife—
This, the Highest Blessing.

These verses indicate why problems of old age are not so acute in Hindu-Buddhist lands, as people look after their parents in their old age. Illicit traffic in women and slavery were abhorred by the public. Although no civilization is perfect, at least the influence of Hindu-Buddhist ethics dominated life in these Asian lands.

In the practice of Buddhism, knowledge and wisdom are stressed. During the reign of Asoka education institutions sprang up in every temple in the land. And thereby every Buddhist temple became a veritable center of learning, some of which later grew into world-famous universities, from the 2nd Century A. D., such as the ones at Nalanda, Taxila, Vikramaditya, and elsewhere.

The Buddhist civilizations of India, Burma and Sri Lanka were the first to have university education in the annals of mankind. Admittance was based on competence and not on wealth, race or creed. Students from Afghanistan to China resided in these centers of learning. The universities flourished up to around the 10th Century A. D. They were totally destroyed by the invading Moslems—Mogul armies from the North—in the 14th Century A. D. and later.

During the 3rd Century B. C. both India and Sri Lanka had hospitals for both man and beast. These facts are noted in the *Outline of History* by H. G. Wells. Emperor Asoka was the first to establish hospitals in India and he encouraged, in the 3rd Century B. C., the cultivation of medical herbs. No wonder the late H. G. Wells calls Asoka the noblest king in the history of mankind.

The Buddha laid the foundation for this movement. Once it is said an old Bhikkhu of a surly disposition was afflicted with a

loathsome disease, the sight and smell of which was so nauseating that no one would go near him. It is said that the Buddha came to the Vihara where this unfortunate man lay, and on hearing his case he ordered warm water and went to the sick room to nurse him. He administered unto this sick Bhikkhu daily as long as he stayed in that place, and declared, "Whoever among monks nurses the sick nurses me."

Religious freedom is one of the greatest virtues stressed by the Buddha. He preached the gospel of tolerance, of compassion, loving kindness and non-violence. He taught man not to despise other religions and not to belittle them.

In his day Asoka practiced the golden principle of tolerance. Under his patronage Buddhism flourished in his time. As a Buddhist he was tolerant of other religions. One of his edicts says :

"All religions deserve reverence for some reason or other. By thus acting a man exalts his own religion and at the same time does service to the religion of other people."

The Buddha sounded the clarion call of Human Liberty. He said : "Take ye refuge unto yourself and be ye your own salvation with earnestness and high resolve work out your own salvation."

Miss Barbara Ward, the well-known British economist and writer, states : "History's first lesson is that true prestige has always been the product not so much of genuine power as of genuine excellence." This is eminently true of India and Sri Lanka, for their world prestige has been inspired both in ancient and modern times by their moral and social ascendancy under religious influence rather than in periods of military grandeur.

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WORKER'S PARTICIPATION IN MANAGEMENT

ANADI BHUSAN MAITY

I

Workers' participation in management is one of the most widely and hotly debated issues of industrial relations in India today. Indeed, it has become one of the main planks of the labour policy of the Government of India in the context of the industrial development of the country. In realising its importance in a developing country like India, the late Prime Minister Nehru once observed: "I am convinced that we should gradually associate the representatives of labour with the management of industry. We should all join together to shoulder the heavy responsibilities which face us." The central idea of workers' participation in the industrial administration is to accelerate the pace of productivity in the industries by fostering mutual trust and understanding between labour and management. In the past workers' participation was given a fair trial but could not meet with the anticipated success. It is still widely held that its establishment in industry will usher in a new era of industrial peace and progress.

Workers' participation in management or 'participative management' is the outcome of the growth of socialist ideas and democracy. It is a widely used, but nowhere clearly defined concept. It is a process or system in which workers or their representatives are given a chance to put their views and ideas before the management in the formulation of policies and decision-making. According to Keith Davis: "Participative management is designed as a mental and emotional involvement of a person in a group situation which encourages to share responsibility and contribute to group goals."1

However, participation is a psychological process in which both workers and managers pool their initiative and creativeness to work towards the common goal of the organisation. It aims at satisfying workers' urge for self-expression and to create in them a sense of belonging in order to secure their cooperation in the efficient working of the system. Michael Armstrong points out: "Participation takes place when management and employees are jointly involved in making decisions on matters of mutual interest where the aim is to produce solutions to problems which will benefit all concerned."2

Workers' participation in management is taken to be synonymous with the concept of 'industrial democracy' which postulates that the worker has the right to participate in industrial direction. Industries are the property of those who own the capital invested in them, not of those who work in them. In such a situation the worker is allowed absolutely no share of control in industrial administration, but asked to obey the dictates of employers without questioning. He is reduced to a mere 'cog in the wheel', than an intelligent human being with his natural urge for association and cooperative activity. Industrial democracy helps in restoring the worker's self-respect and status and enables him to achieve a direct foothold in the decision-making spheres of industry. It thus "prevents that ownership of capital from degenerating into dictatorship."3 Moreover, industrial democracy is deemed to be the corollary of the 'right to work'. The 'right to work' was usually understood in the sense of the right to work for one's livelihood.

Today it is understood as the right to share in production, in social life and to develop one's personality. It has been stated: "The right to work in a concern entails a right to have a say in its management."⁴

It should be noted that the right to industrial democracy has found its logical counterpart in political democracy. The systems and patterns of industrial democracy may differ from country to country, but it has been widely accepted that the fundamental principle of political democracy can not be considered as consolidated within any society unless there is democracy also in industry; for 'democracy in the small is the basis for democracy in the large'. "Political democracy", as Shri V. V. Giri says, "will remain formalistic and legalistic if it is not supplemented by industrial democracy."⁵ If our objective is to achieve a genuine democratic society, in the words of Shri B. K. Tandon, "it does not make sense to establish political democracy and at the same time to leave industry under authoritarian rule; democratizing the political structure of society is only half the job of building democracy in an industrial society."⁶ Prof. G. D. H. Cole, therefore, rightly points out that "no society can rest on a really democratic basis unless it applies democratic methods to its industrial as well as to its political affairs."⁷

In a developing country like India the establishment of industrial democracy has acquired a special significance. First, it will lead to the protection of worker's human rights at the workplace by giving him a direct foothold in the decision-making spheres of industry. Secondly, it will help in establishing 'social democracy' in industry, which means 're-modelling of social setting in the workplace in accordance with humanitarian sentiment'. Lastly, and the most immediate objective, it will add a new dimension to our industrial relations system which has an important bearing on the economic growth of the State.

Industrial democracy provides the means to correct the ethical and moral delinquency in the industry. It seeks to replace the 'master-servant' relationship by the 'status of partnership', and as a result the workers will be imbued with a sense of commitment to the organisation. With this changed status the entire situation in the work-place will be transformed and the workers will be in a position to devote their whole energies for the success of the enterprise. Industrial democracy is, therefore, vital for the realisation of the objectives of our Five-Year Plans, viz. attainment of economic self-reliance and removal of poverty.

II

The drive for Workers' participation in industrial management is a world-wide phenomenon, although the systems, organs and methods of participation differ profoundly from country to country. This is due to the fact that different interpretations have been given to the expression 'workers' participation' in the context of different social, economic and political situation in the countries concerned. In its broadest sense it can be taken to cover all processes and arrangements whereby workers participate in decisions within enterprises, ranging from information, consultation, discussion and negotiation to more institutional forms, such as the presence of workers' members on management or supervisory boards or even management by the workers themselves in Yugoslavia. It is no longer disputed today that workers should participate in decisions affecting their wages and working conditions, whether by negotiation, discussion, consultation or otherwise. In the West there is a clear trend towards increased workers' involvement and participation in the decision-making process in the industry. In those countries the workers no longer accept a

passive role which merely permit them to react to management decisions that have direct consequences for them. They want to exercise an influence on these decisions before and when they are taken; they want their views to be taken into account before management makes up its mind; they want to be associated, in one way or another, with the decision-making process at the enterprise level. However, it must be emphasised that participation does not mean ownership of the industry or controlling the business policy of the concern. It means, as Mr. J. Schregle says, "active involvement of the people in the making of decisions which concern them directly at the place where they spend most of their lives, where they try to find in their work a degree of satisfaction and self-fulfilment to which they feel entitled."⁸ Workers' participation, therefore, cannot be limited to its institutional forms, such as Works Committee, Works Council, Joint Management Council and more particularly to the appointment of Worker-Director to the Board of Directors in the enterprise. Whatever may be the role of these institutions, observes Mr. J. Schregle, "it is clear that these forms of workers' participation are not in themselves a guarantee of democracy within the enterprise: Whatever steps are taken to involve workers' representatives in the decision-making process at higher management level, they must be supplemented by arrangements for associating rank-and-file workers with decisions that are taken at the shop-floor level and affect them directly."⁹

In India, as in Britain, workers' participation in management was given a shape in the form of Joint Consultation, which has been defined as "consultation of the workers by the management before decisions are made so as to acquaint themselves fully with the workers' point of view whilst at the same time explaining their own aims and problems."¹⁰ Being informal in character, joint consultation is

viewed as "the mildest and least objectionable form of workers' participation from the point of view of employers in a private enterprise or mixed economy."¹¹ However, joint consultation was accorded legal status with the provision of setting up Works Committee under the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947. Under the Act the works Committees are required to be set up in units employing 100 or more workers. Works Committees are to serve two-fold purposes: (1) to remove the causes of friction between the employer and the workmen in the day-to-day working of the establishment, and (2) to promote measures for securing amity and good relations between them. Thus the aim of the Works Committees should be to develop a sense of 'partnership' with a view to creating a climate conducive to increase the productivity of the enterprise. Indeed, considerable attention was paid to the effective functioning of the Works Committees, but they could not make much headway. The salient reason for their poor performance is said to be the apathy of the employers and trade unions. The National Commission on Labour remarked that "advisory nature of recommendations, inter-union rivalries, union opposition and reluctance of the employes to utilise such media have rendered Works Committees ineffective."¹²

In view of the failure of the Works Committees to achieve the desired result the Government took recourse to alternative measure for the promotion of constructive co-operation and better understanding between the labour and the management. The Industrial Policy Resolution of 30th April, 1956 emphasised the need for joint consultation between management and workers in the common task of development. In this context, the Resolution stated: "In a socialist democracy, labour is a partner in the common task of development and should participate in it with enthusiasm... There should be joint consultation and workers and technicians should,

wherever possible, be associated progressively in management. Enterprises in the public sector have to set an example in this respect." Joint consultation received official recognition in the Second Five-Year Plan which had the over-all objective of establishing a 'socialist pattern of society'. It envisaged: "A socialist society is built up not solely on monetary incentives, but on the ideas of service to society.....It is necessary in this context that the workers should be made to feel that in his own way he is helping to build a progressive State. The creation of industrial democracy, therefore, is a pre-requisite for the establishment of a society." Towards this end, the Plan proposees 'increased association of labour and management' and recommended setting up of Joint Management Councils (JMCs) in larger establishments in the organised sector consisting of the representatives of management, workers and technicians. The objectives were to promote cordial relations between management and workers, build up understanding and trust between them, effect substantial increase in the productivity, secure better welfare and other facilities for workers and train them to understand and share the responsibilities of the management. The Third-Five Year Plan again re-affirmed the value of joint management Councils and recommended their introduction in a large number of undertakings so that, in due course, the Scheme might become 'a normal feature of the country's industrial system.' The Draft Fourth Five-Year Plan also states that the JMCs have to be developed into 'an essential functional link in the structure of industrial relations.' It is thus evident that the Government of India have put great emphasis on the closer association of labour with management as pre-requisite for the establishment of industrial democracy in India.

In fact, the sad experience of the function-

ing of Works Committees served as a background to the setting up of JMCs in certain major industries in 1958. The Scheme was voluntary and based on tripartite agreement. Despite the utility of JMCs, it was found that they could not make much headway. The Scheme was adopted by only a limited number of undertakings in the public and private sectors. The National Commission of Labour reported that in even where the Councils exists, they were found to be ineffective and their functioning unsatisfactory. In many cases, the Scheme existed only on paper. The main reason for this state of affairs was attributed to the lack of appreciation on the part of the employers as well as the workers. The apathy, or even hostility, of the employers arose from their apprehension that the Scheme would lessen their authority, particularly in making decisions and framing policies. On the other hand, the workers withheld their cooperation on the apprehension that the outcome was only the thin edge of the wedge to disrupt their power of collective bargaining. Thus our experiment in industrial democracy through the establishment of Joint Management Councils had been an unsuccessful one.

Despite the failure of the two joint consultative machineries, the Government Committed to the furtherance of a policy aimed at a greater and effective participation of workers in the management of industrial affairs. In November 1971 a bold step was taken in this direction by appointing Worker-Director to the Board of Directors of various public sector undertakings. This, inevitably, set in motion speculations about the practicability, advisability or usefulness of such a step. The trade unions did not support the move in view of the fact that such a step would not readily lead to a real workers' participation in management. According to them, it should be at all levels starting from the shopfloor level to the highest policy-making body, i. e. the Board of

Directors. Moreover, their past experience also confirmed the view that there could not be effective participation even in the lower level without a radical change in the attitude of the management. However, the demand for worker's participation became increasingly pronounced as it was based on a realistic view of social realities and potentialities. The Fifth Five-Year Plan, 1974-79, recognised the importance of workers' participation as an essential ingredient of maintaining healthy industrial relations. The Plan points out that attention should be paid "to promote mutual trust and accommodation between the two organised parties to accelerate growth with social justice through the forms and processes of industrial democracy.... The accumulated experience from various countries indicates that active participation in decision-making helps in re-structuring the attitudes and values of employees in a positive manner." Finally, workers' participation has been incorporated into the Constitution of India in 1976 by inserting a new Art. 43-A in the Directive Principles of State Policy which reads: "The State shall take steps by suitable legislation, or in any other way, to secure the participation of workers in the management of undertakings, establishments or other organisations engaged in any industry."

III

It may thus be seen that despite the setting up provision of Works Committees and joint management councils, the communication channels between labour and management remained inoperative. In the absence of communicating channels and continuous dialogue between the workers and the management the general industrial relations in the country deteriorated. The industrial relations were at the lowest ebb during 1974-75. Workers' participation in management has once

again become a live issue with its inclusion in 20 point Economic Programme introduced on July 1, 1975. The Programme has envisaged 'the Scheme for Workers' Participation in Industry'. The Scheme for workers' participation at shop/floor level was endorsed in the State Labour Ministers' Conference in July, 1975. Besides, a seminar on Workers' participation was held at Jaipur in October, 1975 which urged for a cautious approach and taking modest steps so that the impediment faced in the process of implementation of the Scheme could be overcome. As a result of these efforts, the Union Government came out with a new scheme of workers' participation at the shop and plant level.

To begin with, the Scheme proposes to cover only manufacturing and mining undertakings in the public, private and co-operative sectors employing 500 or more workers. The scheme has been kept flexible so that it may mould itself according to the needs of local conditions. The Scheme is non-statutory, but it is not optional as it has to be implemented through executive action. The Scheme, however, provides guidelines and hence needs to be carefully examined. The main features of the Scheme are as follows:

In every industrial unit the employer will constitute a shop council for each department or shop, or one council for more than one department or shop, considering the number of workmen employed in different department or shops. Each council will consist of equal number of representatives of employers and workers. Management will nominate employer's representative and worker's representative will be picked up from amongst the workers engaged in the concerned shop of department of the enterprise. The number of members of each council may be determined by the management, but the total number of members, however, may not generally exceed 12. All decisions of the Council will be on the

basis of consensus and not by process of voting. Each decision of the shop council will be implemented by the party concerned within one month, unless otherwise specified. A shop council once formed will function for two years. It will meet as frequently as necessary and at least once a month. The Scheme contemplates participation of workers in the decision-making process in matters relating to production, productivity, absenteeism, safety measures, general discipline, working conditions and welfare.

There is a provision in the Scheme to set up Joint Council for the plant as a whole. Its membership will remain confined to those who are actually engaged in the unit. It will be set up for a period of two years and meet at least once in every quarter. Every decision of the Joint Council will be implemented within one month, unless otherwise specified. The Joint Council will deal with matters relating to optimum production, efficiency and fixation of productivity norms for man and machine for the unit as a whole, matters emanating from shop Councils which remain unresolved, development of skills of workmen and adequate facilities for training, preparation of schedules of working hours and holidays, awarding rewards for valuable and creative suggestions received from workers, optimum use of raw-materials and quality of finished products and general health, welfare and safety measures of the unit. The scheme emphasises effective two-way communication of exchange of information between the management and the workers. For this each unit should devise a suitable system of communication within the undertaking.

In order to look after the proper implementation of the Scheme, a 22 member National Apex Body comprising both employers and workers was set up by the Union Government. The duty of the Apex Body was to explain the underlying philosophy of the

Scheme to workers and managements for their acceptance and adoption in the private sector. The Central Government also advised the State Governments to set up Advisory Committee to ensure speedy implementation of the new Scheme and directed public sector undertakings to implement the Scheme within three months.

Both employers and employees have responded enthusiastically to the new Scheme. It has been reported that with the implementation of the Scheme in letter and spirit production has considerably increased, optimum utilisation of man and machine and raw-materials has been made and the 'waste' has been minimised. Above all, the industrial relations in the enterprise has been substantially improved. The implementation of the Scheme in State, public sector and private sector industries has gathered momentum. According to the available information, as many as 545 public sector and departmental undertakings of the Central Government have either implemented or initiated steps to implement the Scheme. Besides, 167 units in the State Public Sector, 1,132 in the Private Sector and 99 in the Co-operative Sector have also either implemented or initiated steps to implement the Scheme of workers' participation in management.¹³ A Committee under the Chairmanship of the Union Labour Minister has been appointed to "formulate a definite, clear and constructive scheme" that will enable "full, effective and meaningful participation of workers in the management of undertakings." It is reported that the Committee has completed its task but could not come out with any spectacular without reiterating the various experiments carried out in this country. The Committee has recommended by majority a 3 tier system of workers' participation including equity capital and at Board level in the Corporate Sector.

IV

We have previously seen that the two main agencies of Joint Consultation—Works Committees and JMCs—have failed to produce the impact expected of them. The most important factor responsible for their failure is the lack of mutual trust and goodwill between the parties concerned. Joint Consultation represents industrial democracy in a very limited sense; for, it limits the worker to a consultative role, and not 'joint control', with the power of decision—making in the hands of the employer. Moreover, in India the initiative for workers' participation has come from the Government, and not from the trade unions. It is thought that by instituting some form of workers' participation labour management relations will be improved and production will be increased. Thus, the two joint consultative machineries have been looked upon as a lubricant of the industrial relations system to minimise conflict and friction without effecting a change in the attitude of the parties or power relationships in the industry. They have been devised with the intention that if they can not usher in an era of 'peaceful co-existence', they will at least seek to establish 'working co-existence' which will serve the interests of the industry better than the alternative relationship of outright class warfare,

The new Scheme of Workers' participation in industry has given recognition to workers' mental and emotional attitudes and enlarged their role in industry. It has provided an opportunity to the workers at the grassroot level to participate in the production process on a substantive basis as opposed to participation in form. On the other hand, it has called for evolution of a new management ethos in conformity with the spirit of industrial democracy. The objective is to cultivate 'a sense of community of purpose' throughout the organisation and to secure better organisation-

al performance through the democratisation of the management. This is in keeping with the contemporary thinking that participation of workers at the level of the immediate work process is the most efficient way to run an enterprise. As Prof N. R. De observes: "The concept of workers' participation in management will need be overhauled in terms of industrial democracy. The essential requirement will be the substance not the form of participation. The workplace—whether it is office or shop-floor—will need be democratised in terms of active participation of the workmen in the production process in the form of autonomous group-working. To get the best out of the inputs of production, popular participation will be required in the form of small groups as production units with the commensurate obligations to participate in decision-making. Democratisation of workplace will nurture the culture of collective problem-solving and, as such, it will be distinct from the bargaining relationship which is also an essential requirement. The sterile argument about workmen as the partners of the Board can become meaningful should be whole decision-making structure be conceived in terms of involvement from down upwards", 14 In short, the Scheme has sought a higher degree of involvement of the Workers in the aims of the industry, i. e. higher standards of performance, fuller utilisation of Productive equipment and elimination of inefficiency. It has thus positively recognised that everyone in an organisation is entitled to contribute for its development.

There are certain pre-requisites if workers' participation is to be effective. To make the participation purposeful it is necessary that both the managements and the workers must consider themselves as *Partners* in an industrial system. But the most essential condition is the fundamental change in the managements attitude as the concept of worker's participation is a challenge to the traditional manage-

ment philosophy. As Carole Pateman points out: "The whole point about industrial participation is that it involves a modification, to a greater or lesser degree, of the orthodox authority structure; namely one where decision making is the 'prerogative' of management, in which workers play no part. This is what is overlooked by many writers on management".¹⁵ It is, therefore, obvious that effective workers' participation primarily depends on a substantial change in the attitude of the management. In a study it has been revealed that "participative management is better institutionalised in an organisation where the management was genuinely interested in workers participating in the management process."¹⁶

Besides, no participative scheme can succeed without the wholehearted co-operation of the trade unions. Traditionally their function is to defend or improve the workers' standard of living. To day they are required to re-fashion their role in accordance with the needs of the society. They need to abandon their defensive, negative and demanding attitude and to display qualities of constructive leadership, understanding and co-operation. The existence of strong, united, independent and responsible trade unions is essential to make Workers' participation effective and meaningful.

Above all, workers' participation can be active and fruitful only when the workers attain the requisite level of consciousness. The workers should, therefore, be equipped for active participation mentally and intellectually. To bring about such a situation adequate emphasis has to be given on the development of human resources through education and training. Obviously, this postulates the need for workers' education, workers' education is vital for two-fold reasons: 'First, the workers' representatives must have 'technical knowledge' which is essential for participa-

tion in a works council or on a supervisory board. They must have also the knowledge of the economic and financial situation of the industry and the country as a whole. Secondly, education brings about changes in habits, attitudes and codes of conduct. The workers' representatives are required to be aware of their responsibilities towards the workers and the Trade Union. They must also be aware of the role of Trade Unions in the economy and society at large.¹⁷ For realising these purpose both the managements and the Trade Unions should cooperate with the existing Workers' Education Scheme, sponsored by the Government of India, which is functioning, impartially, in a dispassionate manner, to the rank-and-file workers on various aspects of labour-management relations, including trade union methods and philosophy.

V

It is essential to note that the Scheme for Workers' Participation in Management is a part of the wider programmes for the socio-economic transformation of the country. As an accompaniment of progressive industrialisation the Scheme is required to be implemented in all undertakings, big or small. Necessary steps should also be taken to ensure workers' participation at all levels, including production and distribution. Managements and workers are, therefore, required to develop an *esprit de corps* and mobilise all their resources—physical, mental and moral—towards the success of the Scheme. The future may hold many hazards, but they should remember the following words of Dr. M. V. Pylee: "If India has to banish poverty (garibee hatao) and get industrialised and modernised within a reasonable time, workers and managements have to work out mechanics of getting together, working together and, what is more, staying together. Every effort should be made to remark-

industrial relations institutions in this country in such a manner that the management and the worker participate—with State assisting in creating the atmosphere—as responsible partners in a worthwhile socio-economic adventure".¹⁸

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WILFRED OWEN'S INFLUENCE ON THREE GENERATIONS OF POETS

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(Continued from previous issue)

It may be incidentally observed here that Owen's imagery of 'the browns, the olives, and the yellows' died/And were swept up to heaven' may be an echo of Shelley's imagery of leaves of different colours in his *Ode to the West Wind* (St. I). The idea of the West Wind as a spirit of destruction and preservation including the idea of regeneration or rebirth is also implicit in Owen's imagery as applied to the war dead.

Winter Song is unconnected with war. But when its date of composition is remembered (October 18, 1917), its association with the Great War may not be far-fetched. The idea which the poem is likely to yield when interpreted in the context of the War would be an exceptional one in Owen's war poetry which has nothing to do with the spiritual rebirth of the war dead (cf. *Asleep, The Promisers, A Farewell, The Abyss of War, Spring Offensive, The Erd, and Strange Meeting*). This may be explained by reference to Owen's essentially religious mood—the result of his early religious upbringing at home, his mother's desire that he should enter the Church, and his two years' stay at Dunsden vicarage under Mr. Herbert Wigat—153 which never deserted him even though during the War he lost his faith in the orthodox Christianity. It is by the same mood of religious optimism (rare in Owen's war poetry), it may be presumed, that the following lines Owen's *This is the Truck* were inspired :

And when in aftertimes we make return
Round solar bounds a while to run,

They gather many satellites astern
And turn aside the very sun

But this mood of religious optimism which is rare and occasional in Owen's war poetry, is insistent in Eliot's *Four Quartet* in general and dominant in his last quartet, *Little Gidding*.

The churchyard at Little Gidding is the place of death. But there are other places of death as well :

There are other places
Which also are the world's end, some at the
sea jaws,

Or over a dark lake, in a desert city—

These places are interpreted by Grover Smith as 'places of water or earth or air, for fishermen, the airmen of war, and all others who strive'.¹⁵⁴ But it is the idea of death in air or air-raid that has strongly worked in Eliot's mind. This is apparent from the direct allusion to the air attack over London in the opening lines of the ghost episode in the second movement of the poem, *Little Gidding*.

Thus we can see that death in war and rebirth themes inspired both Owen's *Winter Song* and Eliot's passage and that in both a symbolic spring is created, in Owen's poem by the effect of an unearthly glow which, in winter, 'flamed and flowed' 'down the snow-drifts, and in Eliot's passage by the 'dazzling fire reflected as toe sun touched' the ice of a winter afternoon. Again, common to both is the central image of 'fire' or 'flame' expressed more or less in identical words :

WILFRED OWEN

When the short day is brightest, *with frost*
and fire.

The brief sun flames the ice, (Eliot)

where they *glowed*

And...

Fel back, and down ' the snow-drifts *Flamed*
and flowed.

The sense of a spiritual rebirth in Owen's poem is further intensified by the word 'Christmastide, which takes place in winter as 'into another earthly winter,' observes Grover Smith in the context of Eliot's passage, 'Christ brought the springtime of human history.'

'The content of Little Gidding,' Matthiessen points out, 'is most apparently under the shadow of the war. 'It is significant that Eliot should open his poem with 'Midwinter spring'.

Unlike Owen, Eliot sees in the great winter of the world a 'Midwinter spring' or the union of 'man's spiritual winter with the eternal summer of the timeless point'. This pre-vision of the ultimate resolution of all conflicts leads him through devious by—paths of spiritual speculations on the timeless moments in time to the ultimate vision of the crowned kingship of divine love in which alone all discords are harmonised and all conflicts are resolved. So that with a note of bold religious optimism he could say,

All manner of thing shall be well'

When the tongues of flame are in-folded

Into the crowned knot of fire

And the fire and the rose are one.

This is no doubt Eliot's final reading of the War (as of all human conflicts referred to in his quartets) during which three of his four Quartets were written. But quite different was Owen's final reading of his war and his poetry in general provides ample evidence of that. In fact, his poetry is nothing if not a negation of Eliot's glib optimism as at the close of his *Little Gidding*. This can be seen even one of his early poems *The Seed* (1914). It is true

that in this sonnet Owen's attitude to the War is not finally crystallised, but there can be no doubt that he saw fore-shadowed in it a storm that was to portend the breaking of nations. It is only in the closing couplet of the sonnet that we can see certain phrases that may lend themselves to an interpretation that can bring Owen's meaning closer to Eliot's. Whatever that may be, Owen views the war as 'the winter of the world'.

Let us analyse the sonnet to bring out its implications. The words 'spring' and 'winter' in the sonnet are, of course, in a symbolical sense. But it should be noted that the 'spring' in the poem is neither the 'Mid-winter spring' which Eliot glimpsed at Little Gidding, nor the spring that immediately follows winter as in Shelley's 'If winter comes can spring be far behind?', nor the spiritual spring as is suggested in his own *Winter Song*, nor even the real spring season which Owen has described in his *Spring Offensive*. The ironical sense of the phrase 'new spring' is apparent in the words that follow it — 'flesh for spring'. And the meaning is clear enough: as with the outbreak of the War, 'the winter of the world' sets in, a new spring is sure to follow and it will take the share of a universal holocaust on the Western Front.

If, however, we take the phrase 'new spring', as opposed to 'winter' in the metaphorical sense of a better human world to come, the meaning may be somewhat similar to Eliot's reading of the War: If we wish a better world order to emerge from the present crisis in civilisation, we have to make a great sacrifice which the Great War may demand of us on the Western Front. A great sacrifice—'flesh for seed'—on the part of a nation's individuals will be called for to usher in the 'new spring' of human history, when 'the winter of the world/With perishing great darkness closes in' upon it. The tribulation

of war in that case will be purgatorial in the same sense as England's agony in the fiery tribulation, of war as Grover Smith points out, will be purgatorial if she is dedicated to the memories of Little Gidding as a symbol of the Incarnation or as a symbol of the timeless in time.¹⁵⁵ When the world is in a state of flux and the values are in the process of disintegration, the only hope for man, Eliot would think would lie in anchoring his faith in the changeless reality of eternity.

This interpretation of the sonnet may not be far-fetched specially when it is remembered that Owen did not yet enlist in the army nor was his faith in orthodox Christianity yet shaken. Mr. Blunden has pointed out that at about the time Owen wrote *The Seed* 'he did display any immediate conception that war was disenchantment, obscenity, and torture. He stood, watching the storm working up, and contemplating the change of empires. He had matured, and was now come to his intellectual stature. He viewed the past, and discerned inevitability.'¹⁵⁶ Mr. Blunden further points out that *The Seed* represents Owen's 'reading of the War as an abstract subject.'

Even in early 1915 Owen believed that the War would soon be over. It appears that Owen's optimism did not desert him till after his bitter experience on the Western Front. Optimistic view of the war can be discerned in another earlywar poem written after his joining the Artists' Rifles, *Ballad of Purchase Money's*. The poem, Blunden points out, 'opens with the aspect of new crusades and modern knightliness and 'closes with the burden of war'. In this poem Owen says that the soul of England is safe 'because their bodies men vouchsafe/To save the soul of England', 'because the good lands' limbs lie cold And their brave cheeks are bloody'.

When we associate this flesh and blood imagery with the image of 'flesh for seed' in

the penultimate line of *The Seed*, the meaning of the line 'the need Of sowings for new spring, and flesh for seed' becomes clear and points to the second interpretation given above. Thus the War may be regarded as a spiritual necessity for the purgation of the sins of the world. In other words, the sufferings of the War, if viewed in a proper perspective, can become purgatorial and usher in a 'new spring' in the winter of human civilisation. We can see further that in the line, 'the need Of swings for new spring and flesh for seed', may be implied the sense of a crusade (as Mr. Blunden rightly suggests in his comment on *Ballad of Purchase Money's*) which has in view the object of bringing into existence a new and better order of things. And Dr. Welland's comment that in *The Seed* he (Owen) tries to see the war as itself part of this regenerative process' may also support the above interpretation of the sonnet, namely, the war can become purgatorial.

Referring to the symbolism of flesh and blood in the concluding stanza of *East Coker*, Part IV, Grover Smith suggests that the image gives a better sense with 'reference to the field of battle; the context being World War II. War is the hell that can become our purgatory.'¹⁵⁷ Our analysis has shown that something of this sense may be implied in the last couplet of Owen's sonnet.

It should be noted that the word 'Spring' with a capital 's' occurs earlier in *The Seed* in the line, 'For after Spring had bloomed in early Greece.' Where its meaning leaves no room for ambiguity. When, therefore, Owen uses the word 'spring' with a small 's' in the phrase 'new spring' in the last line of the sonnet, he may have intended a difference in the sense as well. Whatever that may be, the imagery of spring in Owen's poetry, as in Eliot's, plays a dominant role. Dr. Welland's words may be aptly quoted here :

"Imagery of spring and natural growth is prominent in Owen's poetry because spring itself is also engaged in a war 'on Death—for Life', and much of Owen's most memorable work is in those poems where this natural parallel is most imaginatively exploited. In the early poem 'The Seed' he tries to see the war as itself part of this regenerative process" 158

But what we are primarily concerned with here is not spring as such as spring in winter, the 'Midwinter spring' in the opening passage of Eliot's *Little Gidding* and the spiritual spring (the word is not there in the poem, but the atmosphere is highly suggestive of it) in Owen's *Winter Song*, both being created by means of the fire symbol.

On a final review of Eliot's use of the fire symbol, it would appear that in the opening movement of *Little Gidding* as throughout its other movements except the third, the fire symbol is employed with such a frequency and richness of associations that one can hardly resist the feeling that Eliot's use of the symbol in variety of senses is deliberate. There can be no doubt about the richness of Eliot's contribution to the fire symbol. It is also true that the multiple associations of the symbol are very skilfully woven into the texture of the different movement's, but on the readers mind impression that Eliot sought to exhibit how the symbol could be used in different sense becomes irresistible. And a reader has, at times, reason to be excused if he suspects that some of the associations are surprising and non-functional.

The following anthology of phrases, lines or expressions containing the fire symbol in the different movements of *Little Gidding* will indicate the wide ranging associations of the symbol employed by Eliot in his *Little Gidding* alone. Except the third movement in which the fire imagery is conspicuous by its absence,

all the other movements of the poem introduce a number of fire images :

L. G. I. 'frost and fire', 'the brief sun flames the ice', 'pentecostal fire', and 'the communication Of the dead is tongued with fire beyond the language of the living'.

L. G. II : 'water and fire' (repeated), 'death of water and fire' (an allusion to the Heraclitean idea of the ceaseless flux of the elements), 'the dark dove with the flickering tongue', and 'that reining fire'.

L. G. IV : 'flame of incandescent terror', to be redeemed from fire by fire', 'the intolerable shirt of flame', and 'consumed by either fire or fire'.

L. G. V : 'Any action/Is a step to the block, to the fire, down the sea's throat Or to an illegible stone', and, finally, 'When the tongues of flame are in-folded
Into the crowned knot of fire

And the fire and the rose are one.'

Thus we can see that *Little Gidding* starts 'with frost and fire' and moving through different kinds of fire in its different movements, closes with 'the fire and the rose are one'. Owen's poetry also made a somewhat similar start with 'frost' and 'fire' as in *Exposure* (both words are found to occur in the first lines of the last two stanzas of the poem). But the fire in Owen's poetry instead of being transformed into the rose as in Eliot's poetry ended tragically in 'My fiery heart shrinks, aching It is death' as in one of his last poems *The End* or in 'Let us sleep now.....', the last words on his poetic lips as also the last words on all wars as in the last line of his last poem, *Strange Meeting*.

The autobiographical passage in the fifth movement of *East Coker* deserves to be

remarked upon here. The passage deals with Eliot's poetic process, though the difficulties and frustration that he experienced as a poet in the written of poetry might as well be those of the poets in general. Eliot speaks of 'the twenty years' between the two great wars as 'largely wasted.' He refers to his experiments and failures in the poetic diction. He is perpetually trying to learn the use of words in poetry and finds that 'every attempt is a wholly new start'. In short, he is perpetually engaged in that 'intolerable wrestle With words and meanings', of which he speaks in the other autobiographical passage in the second movement of the poem. The art of poetry is a favourite theme of Eliot's to which he returns again and again in his *Quartets*. Theme is first introduced in the fifth movement of his first *Quartet*, *Burnt Norton*, which was written in 1935 before the outbreak of the Second World War. What is noteworthy here is the change of language that creeps into his interpretation of the poetic art with the passage of time. To quote his own words in connection with the same theme, which he has put into the mouth of the ghostly stranger he encountered in hell in *Little Gidding II* :

For last year's words belong to last year's
language

And next year's words await another voice

It will be observed that for the expression of his ideas on his poetic art during the war years Eliot makes use of a language which is different from that which he employed for the same in a pre-war year. This will be clear from a consideration of the autobiographical passages dealing with the art of poetry and appearing in different *Quartets*.

In his autobiography *World Within World* Stephen Spender has remarked that 'T. S. Eliot was the least time-bound of contemporaries'.¹⁵⁹ Spender also refers to two aspects of Eliot's work, 'the first, culminating *The Waste Land*, shows us how deeply we are involved, since we are products of our civilisation, in the fragmentariness of our time; the second, culminating in the *Four Quartets*, shows how we are involved in eternity and therefore free from it.'¹⁶⁰

153. Harold Owen : *Journey from Obscurity*, vol. i, chaps. 12 & 13.
154. Grover Smith : op. cit., p. 287.
155. Ibid., p. 288.
156. Edmund Blunden : op. cit., p. 10.
157. Grover Smith : op. cit., p. 274.
158. D. S. R. Welland : op. cit., p. 73.
159. Stephen Spender : op. cit., p. 287.
160. Ibid., p. 288.



Current Affairs

The Garland Canal Project

CAPT. DINSHAW J. DASTUR

Floods and droughts, food, energy, transport and remunerative occupation for our millions in their own surroundings are major problems facing India today. On their solution depends the future progress and prosperity of India. Development of a certain state of mind is essential for the progress and prosperity of the nation which can only be achieved by giving remunerative occupation to our millions in their own surroundings.

Let me differentiate between occupation and employment. Occupation is work of one's own liking in one's own surrounding. It may be remunerative or may not be. This is not the case with employment. The major factor with employment is remuneration. For employment people have to leave hearth and home and may have to go away miles in search of it. That is why we have this exodus from rural areas into towns and cities. People searching for employment to earn their livelihood are overcrowding the cities, creating slums and the lowest form of human life style. It is a disgrace for our nation, to let this state of affairs continue like this. So it is the bounden duty of our Government to see that our 600 millions get remunerative occupation in their own surroundings.

For some years now, the necessity of total commitment of the people of India to economic growth and progress has been stressed continuously. No such commitment has so far manifested itself in practical terms because arousing popular commitment to such abstractions as progress and prosperity is practically

an impossible task without giving them remunerative occupation in their own surroundings. They need something great, something awe-inspiring, something useful to visualise and see growing out of their own efforts. Then only progress and prosperity are possible.

Space, atomic energy, development of our industrial and mineral resources, even discovery and recovery of oil have their limitations. Millions are being spent daily on all these items but that is not going to solve the major problems of floods and drought, or give food, energy, transport or remunerative occupation to 600 millions in their own surroundings. These are the essentials for progress and prosperity of our country.

India is basically an agricultural country but we chased the wrong shadow of industrialisation for 30 years after Independence, putting industry before agriculture and find ourselves in economic trouble today.

Development of industry for a nation like India should be such that it should help develop agriculture first and should help only to manufacture the basic necessities of life for masses. The emphasis should be on health, housing, communication, textiles and other essentials of life.

It is only conservation of our 900 million acres of land and 3,000 million acre feet of monsoon water every year in conjunction with our under-ground water resources flowing under controlled conditions with the aid of our people which can help us to tide over economic difficulties, putting us on the path of eternal progress and prosperity. The answer to this is to build a trans-basin continental canal under the "Garland Canal Project".

The Garland Canal Project also known as the Dastur Plan is a long-range defence against floods and drought, hunger and malnutrition. If brought to fruition, it will jack up not only the entire Indian Nation but also the whole of South-East Asia and that too the weakest section of humanity by a few points in human lifestyle and social security. This single item will solve almost all problems for India—of floods and drought, food, energy, transport and remunerative occupation for our 600 millions in their own surroundings.

India has 800 million acres of flat land and 900 million acres of geographical area. It is showered by 3,000 million acre feet of monsoon water, brought in by North-East and South-West Monsoon. If all this water is collected and spread over these 800 million acres of flat area, it will raise the level of the water from the ground by about 4 feet.

Now this is not the only water to contend with. There is more water flowing from the Northern slopes of Himalayas into the plains of India, brought in by the Brahmaputra, Ganga, Indus and their North Side tributaries. Every year with sickening regularity we get floods and deluge bringing in its wake destruction of life and property and causing vicious displacement of people from their hearths and home.

In order to arrest all these waters before the rivers leave the mountain gorges, then to conserve and distribute the same to the plains of India wherever and whenever required during the year, we have to build these two mammoth canals with integrated lakes—the Himalayan Canal which will conserve and control the glacial flow and the glacial rivers and the Central and Southern Garland Canal which will control and conserve the flow of the monsoon fed rivers.

The Himalayan Canal starts from River Ravi, skirts the periphery of the Himalayan Range at an even height of 1,200 ft. above MSL and joins Brahmaputra river, then it

descends further south skirting the eastern range of the Himalayas at the same height, passes through Chirapunji and joins a river which flows into the Chittagong harbour. Thus we will succeed in bringing the sea to all the land-locked countries of the Himalayas.

The Himalayan Canal will be 2,600 miles long. It will conserve about 250 million acres feet of water out of the total Himalayan flow of 500 million acre feet and will distribute the rest. It will have nearly 80 integrated lakes sandwiched between the periphery of the Himalayan Range and a 100 feet rear bund of the canal. Each lake is on an average 120 feet deep, about 1.25 miles broad and each is segregated at 33.1/3 miles distance by a bund with gates. The canal is in front of the continuous integrated lakes and is 1,000 feet broad and 50 feet deep which is formed by the front bund of the canal. The canal has got flood gates which opens up to the subsidiary canals which are positioned at every two miles distance on the main canal and forms part of the herringbone system of drainage and irrigation. The permanent level of water in the canal which is filled by the lakes behind is 30 feet high.

The Central and Southern Garland Canal starts from the centre of the North Part of the Central Plateau skirting both sides of the Central Plateau, the Deccan Plateau and the Southern Plateau, joining at a point somewhere near Cape Comorin forming a complete garland, that is why it is known as the Central and Southern Garland Canal.

It has got 200 integrated lakes similarly built as in the Himalayan Canal and two very big lakes, one in Nagore in Rajasthan and the other one in the Valley of Son. The conserving capacity of this canal with its integrated lake is in the vicinity of about 750 million acre feet of water. It is 5,800 miles long and it is built at an even height of about 1,000 feet above MSL.

The two canals are joined at two points by

pipe lines and also by an old course of river which flows into the Rajputana desert which is treated by raising bunds on both the sides, joining the Himalayan Canal to the Central and Southern Garland Canal. In this way we can bring huge quantities of water into the Central and Southern Garland Canal from the Himalayas.

The transfer and distribution of water in the Garland Canal Scheme takes place purely by gravity and no energy is needed whatsoever.

There are three points shown on the map in the Jamuna basin from where the surplus water can be also re-cycled into the Central and Southern Garland Canal if required by means of unlimited hydro-electric power we will be having at our disposal once the garland canal project is constructed thus retarding the progress of the water flowing into the sea and dissipating itself.

In order to supply water to the plains under controlled conditions at every two miles interval on the main canal are positioned subsidiary canals. They form part of the system, known as the herringbone system of drainage and irrigation. This system helps to keep the plains of India irrigated by supplying them water if needed at the same time draining the water in river basins in case the lands are water-logged. In short, it will help keep the underground water table at a depth say about 6 to 10 ft. from the ground surface which is most suitable for irrigation.

* This is from the text of the 13th A. D. Shroff Memorial Lecture delivered in Bombay on 27th October, 1978.

Iran's Regional Foreign Policy Posture

By Abbas Amirie in India Quarterly

From the Second World War up to the early 1960s, Iran's foreign policy was dominated primarily by Cold War issues and thus the most part heavily focused towards the West. This Western orientation has deep

historical roots. What impelled Iran most to seek co-operation with the West and ultimately encouraged it to subscribe to a Western-sponsored military alliance system was its security concerns, especially in the North, vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. It was perceived that the Soviets had never abandoned their long-sought goal of reaching the warm waters of the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. Further, the United States in pursuance of its policy of containment was only too willing to prop up Iran to play a key role in thwarting any Soviet expansionist tendencies in that part of West Asia.

Also, Iran's economic conditions had grown pathetically weak after the Second World War. Its formal membership in the alliance system endowed it with the right to receive not only adequate military hardware from the United States so as to stifle the perceived Communist threat, but also considerable amount of economic assistance and aid to develop Iranian agriculture and industries.¹ From the mid-fifties, Iran's major aspiration has been centred on fashioning out a powerful Western-style industrial economy.

This industrial economy implied transfer of goods, ideas, technology, and skilled labor from the industrialized West, especially the United States. Reliance on the West was intended to serve not only the goal of importing goods and for receiving economic and technical assistance for Iran's massive industrialization programme, but also for providing Iran an export market, especially for its oil. Here again, the Western market was found to be the best. Because of an excessive but understandable pro-West orientation up to recent times, many Iranians felt (and some still do), that only Western industrial states were capable of providing Iran with what was needed to build a strong industrial society.

Whatever might have been the past historical imperatives in adopting a pro-West policy it should be at the same time recognized that Iran

did not pay enough attention to expanding cultural and economic relations with the countries of the region itself. This lack of adequate contact resulted in a huge information gap regarding advances that these regional states, specially India, had made during the past two decades.

The Persian Gulf And The Indian Ocean

During the past several years, Iran had concluded that better and closer relations with the countries of the region and the littoral states of the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean are of cardinal importance to the country's future. The rapid rise in Iranian diplomatic representation and the volume of commercial and economic intercourse between Iran and the countries of the region in the past few years are indicative of this awareness. Up to 1970, Iran had only three small embassies east of New Delhi. Since then, the country has established diplomatic relations with all the littoral states of the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. Iranian business interests and banks now operate in most of these countries. Iran's financial and trade commitments to the nations east of its borders also add up to an impressive figure.

It was no accident that the Shahanshah, during a visit to the Indian Ocean countries in 1974, proposed the formation of a "common market" that would enhance economic co-operation and trade among all littoral states of this region. Further, he made it clear that such co-operation should first begin among the Asian countries, and then extend to the Indian Ocean littoral states of Africa. In an interview with UPI on 10 April 1975, the Shah repeated his invitation to the Indian Ocean littoral states to form a kind of commonwealth, asserting that such a community could also include South Africa, provided that the South African Government made changes in its racist policies. He also stressed that the commonwealth proposal could start out as an economic co-operation

plan and evolve into other forms of co-operation geared towards making the Indian Ocean a region of peace and security. This community would be inclusive of Iran and its immediate neighbours—Pakistan and India—and other countries as far as Indonesia and Australia.

Having launched the single biggest attempt at industrialization outside the big Power club,² Iran plans to build an industrial society capable of maintaining the standard of living of its people, once the oil wells run dry (in the next 25 years or so). Much of the industrial development in Iran is, and will continue to be, concentrated along the 1830 kilometre coast-line of the Persian Gulf. It has been estimated that the Government will invest some 30 billion in this region during the next five to six years. The projects already under way include large petro-chemical industries, steel mills (with a projected capacity of 12 million tons a year by the mid-1980s), copper industries, mammoth de-salinization plants, the country's first two nuclear power generating plants, vast programmes for tapping underground water reserves, expansion of fisheries etc. It may be pointed out here that Iran has huge copper deposits in the province of Kerman, believed to be among the world's richest.

Kapilavastu Relics in Sri Lanka

Srimani Samarasinghe writing in Ceylon Daily News as reproduced in Maha Bodhi :—

A new chapter in the annals of Buddhism in Sri Lanka was opened on Saturday, Bak Full Moon day with the arrival of the sacred Kapilavastu relics in Sri Lanka. This same Bak Poya is hallowed by the Buddha's second visit to this island in the fifth year after His Enlightenment.

On Saturday 2561 years after His visit the people of Sri Lanka witnessed the arrival of the sacred Buddha relics from the Buddha's paternal ancestral home of Kapilavastu.

All sections of the people joined in the re-

ception given to the sacred relics at the Bandaranaike International Airport at Katunayake on Saturday.

The arrival of the sacred relics in a special Sri Lanka Air Force plane accompanied by the highest prelates of the Sangha fraternity—the four Maha Nayakas of the Malwatte, and Asgiri Chapters and the Amarapura and Ramananna Nikayas, was reminiscent of the arrival of the Buddha with a retinue of yellow robed Buddha putras over 2500 years ago.

In the same aircraft were the Sangha Nayake Theras living in the holy land of India, Ven. Neluwe Sri Jinaratana and Ven. Metivala Sangharatana and India's Superintendent Archaeologist Mr. Srivastava who discovered the holy relics at Kapilavastu.

Following the custom of ancient Sinhala Kings, President H. E. J. R. Jayewardene walked up to the aircraft and received the sacred relics keeping the casket on his head.

When Mr. E. L. B. Hurulle, Minister of Cultural Affairs handed over the relics casket to the President, the four lekha-kadhikaree Theras Ven. Rambukwella Sumangala Nayake Thera of the Malwatte Chapter, Ven. Yatawatte Dhammakkhanda Nayake Thera of the Asgiriya Chapter, Ven. Tallalle Dhammananda Nayake Thera of the Amarapura Chapter, Ven. Baddegama Wimalawansa Anu-Nayake Thera of the Ramananna Chapter chanted the virtues of the Buddha.

An air force helicopter sprinkled jasmine flowers when the President was carrying the Buddha relics to the VIP lounge amidst the blowing of conch shells, the beating of magul bera and pancha turya naada.

President Jayewardene handed over the casket to the Prime Minister Mr. Premadasa who placed it on the special dais in the VIP lounge.

Mrs. E. L. B. Hurulle and Mrs. Nalm Ratnaike sprinkled perfumed water on the relics

casket while it was brought along the red carpet.

At the VIP lounge the four Malanayake Theras, Ven. Sirimalwatte Ananda, Ven. Palipane Chandananda, Ven. Kosgoda Dhammawansa and Ven. Induruwe Uttarananda chanted the Maha Mangala Sutta while the President, Prime Minister and the laity listened with clasped hands.

Offering jasmine flowers in silver trays the four Mahanayake Theras made the first poojas, chanting 'vanna ghandha gunopetan'.

After offering flowers the Mahanayakes performed a 2500 year-old rite which the bhikkhus of the Buddha's time performed when they sought pardon from the Buddha for any 'sin' of omission or commission by chanting 'kayena vaca cittena pamadena maya katam.'

The President and Prime Minister on behalf of the people of the country offered trays of jasmine and lotuses sprinkled with fragrant water while the crowds that assembled at the VIP lounge cried 'Sadhu, Sadhu'.

They were followed by Cultural Minister, Mr. E. L. B. Hurulle, Health Minister Gamini Jayasuriya, Textile Minister, Wijeyapala Mendis, Food Minister, S. B. Herath, the Indian High Commissioner, Sri Gurbachan Singh and Deputy Minister of Culture, W. M. G. T. Banda.

Sri Sriyastava who discovered the relics and Mrs. Gurbachan Singh, Mrs. Hurulle, Mrs. Wijeyapala Mendis, Mrs. Ratnaike also offered white lotuses.

Earlier Ven. Sirimalwatte Ananda Mahanayake Thera administered Panchasila.

Provincial Press In USSR

by A. Kuprikov

There are about 8,000 newspapers and 4,900 magazines and journals published in the USSR, with a total annual circulation of more than 40 million copies. Soviet newspapers are published in 56 languages spoken in the Soviet

Union and 10 foreign languages.

Newspaper publishing in the Soviet Union is organised on the so-called territorial-industrial principle. Practically every administrative unit of the country, except very small towns and villages, has its own newspaper. The 30 "central" or principal newspapers are published in Moscow, the capital of the Soviet Union. They constitute what is proverbially known as "the big press." Principal newspapers are sold all over the country. They are either transported or transmitted by phototelegraph or via satellites for printing in places many thousands kilometres away from Moscow.

The majority of other Soviet newspapers may be considered "provincial." Provincial newspapers include 156 republican newspapers, 312 newspapers published in various territories, regions and areas, 95 newspapers published in the autonomous republics and regions, 657 city and 2,517 district newspapers, 2,965 newspapers published by major industrial plants and factories and 723 newspapers published by collective farms.

Newspapers also are published by trade unions and various public or collective organisations.

There are 131 youth papers published in the Soviet Union, 28 newspapers for children, five on industry and construction, 42 on transport, six on agriculture, 17 on culture and the arts, 6 newspapers for teachers, and 15 sports papers. Most of these are provincial newspapers.

An Industry That Does Not Depend On Advertising

Newspaper publishing is an industry in the Soviet Union. The press in the Soviet Union is not owned by private individuals. Various public, collective or party organisations, at different levels, own and publish newspapers and periodicals.

Soviet newspapers do not depend on advertising. They are financed out of subscrip-

tion fees and retail sales. Some newspapers, particularly evening ones, publish advertisements and notices but these do not have any effect on the financial position of a newspaper.

Wages, Fees And Pensions

The Soviet newspaper industry employs more than 100,000 journalists and reporters. Most of them work in provincial newspapers. There are 22 institutions of higher education in the Soviet Union which train journalists, about 1,000 a year. Besides staff correspondents, provincial and central newspapers publish material supplied by part-time correspondents. There is a total of about six million amateur journalists in the Soviet Union.

Many newspapers have their own recreation facilities, sports grounds, swimming pools, etc. In the press industry, men who have reached the age of 60 and women who have reached the age of 55 are entitled to a pension the size of which depends on the length of service and the wage received before the person reached the pensionable age. All pensions in the Soviet Union are paid by the state, so a wage-earner does not have to pay any contributions to the pension fund.

What Do Soviet Papers Write About?

Journalism has always been a very respected profession in the Soviet Union. This can be explained by the more important social role played by the Soviet press as compared to that in the West.

Besides providing information, Soviet newspapers and periodicals, particularly those in the provinces, perform an educational and organisational function. They publicise advanced methods of production and constantly carry material on youth problems, ethics and economics, exhorting people to be thrifty and to increase the productivity of labour.

Under Soviet laws, any official who has been criticised in a newspaper has to answer criticisms in writing and report on the measures taken to rectify the faults criticised.

Any criticism in the press should be constructive and fair and should not humiliate the dignity of people criticised. Distortion of facts and misinformation is regarded as an administrative or even criminal offence.

Issued by the Information Dept. of the USSR Consulate General in Calcutta.

Roerich's House Restored

Moscow (APN): Restoration work on the house in Izvara estate, where the remarkable Russian artist Nikolai Roerich spent his childhood and youth, has been concluded.

Izvara, situated in a picturesque place near Leningrad, is often mentioned in the diaries and letters of Roerich, an artist, scholar, writer and tireless traveller. He recalled, in particular, that when a boy he was very fond of a picture depicting a snow-capped mountain, which hung in one of the rooms of his parental home. Many years later he learned that it was Kanchonjunga and, was amazed by this surprising coincidence which had brought him, in his childhood days, together with the country that was to become an inalienable part of his later life.

Roerich's house was re-created by Soviet restorers on the basis of the artist's drawing he had sent in one of his letters.

The experience of Soviet restorers in preserving and recreating cultural values as highly assessed by the General Assembly of the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) held in Moscow this summer. Its participants, among whom were scientists, architects, restorers and public figures from sixty countries, adopted a document saying that the Soviet experience deserves to be spread throughout the world.

Calcutta Pays Homage To Leo Tolstoy

150th Birth anniversary celebration begin

Calcutta, September 13: Homage to the "immortal genius" of Leo Tolstoy, Great Russian writer, thinker and humanist, "one of the greatest literary creators in world literature

and a universal man", was paid at a meeting of writers, intellectuals and distinguished citizens, held on Wednesday, September 7, at Gorky Sadan, commencing the 150th Tolstoy Birth Anniversary Celebrations in the city.

Eminent Bengali writers and public figures spoke about the great literary and humanistic heritage of Tolstoy, whose message of peace, international understanding and social progress was as "contemporary as ever". They specially recalled Tolstoy's deep sympathy for India's struggle for freedom and independence and his spiritual influence on the Father of the Nation—Mahatma Gandhi.

Hon'ble Mr. Sankar Prasad Mitra, Chief Justice of West Bengal, presiding over the meeting, paid glowing tributes to the "outstanding contribution of Leo Tolstoy in championing the cause of Indian independence the world-over, during his life time". "Tolstoy was one of the first world figures to champion the cause of great struggle for freedom of the people of India, and his ideas of truth, justice, non-violence and upliftment of the poorer of the poor, exerted powerful influence on the mind of Gandhiji, the father of our nation", he said.

The Chief Justice urged upon all political, social and cultural organisations in the country to befittingly observe the birth anniversary of Leo Tolstoy, to whose intellectual, moral and artistic genius, the Indian nation remained "indebted in many ways."

Mr. Annada Shankar Ray, eminent writer-critic, discussing Tolstoy's "unsurpassable contribution" in world literary heritage, observed that the history of world culture had few names "so revered as his". Referring to Tolstoy as a "creator of an epic dimension", Mr. Ray claimed that if the first ten books of contemporary world classics could be listed, then Tolstoy's "War and Peace" would be considered as the topmost one, along with his "Anna Karenina" and "Resurrection" enriching the list. Saying that many writers of

eminence of world literature were influenced by the artistic power of Tolstoy, Mr. Ray stated that he himself had felt this influence as an "indomitable artistic phenomenon of great force". Mr. Ray proposed that as a tribute to this "world-genius", all major works of Tolstoy should be translated in full in the Bengali language, to enrich our own literature.

Mr. Monoj Basu, well-known novelist and member, Sahitya Akademy Board, said that Indian writers found in Tolstoy an "everliving source of creative inspiration". Many of his stories and tales, along with M. Gorky's memoirs on this great literary giant, translated in Indian languages, enjoy wide popularity. His name is dearer to Indian heart. Mr. Basu spoke of his visit to Tolstoy's Yasnaya Polyana as a "pilgrimage".

Prof. Hiren Mukherjee, prominent intellectual and former M. P., paying his homage to Tolstoy, referred to V. I. Lenin's famous appraisal of Tolstoy. Lenin called Tolstoy "the Mirror of the Russian Revolution" of 1905-1907 the first Russian revolution.

Prof. Mukherjee, who just returned from a trip to the USSR, spoke about the nation-

wide preparation for Tolstoy anniversary celebrations in the Soviet Union. The Indian people and the whole of the progressive humanity would be celebrating this occasion with deep respect, as the great Russian writer and thinker Tolstoy, "belongs to the entire world", he said.

Prof. Tarun Sanyal, General Secretary, Indo-Soviet Cultural Society (West Bengal), pointed out that the ISCUS would be celebrating the Tolstoy Birth Anniversary by holding meetings, seminars, exhibitions etc, throughout this year.

Mr. A. G. Boulytchev, Vice-Consul and Head of the Cultural Department of the USSR Consulate-General in Calcutta stated that during the Soviet years 18 editions of Tolstoy's collected works and 2525 book titles by Tolstoy have been published in a total print of 218,644,000 copies.

A portrait of Tolstoy done in embroidery by Mrs. Rekha Chakraborty, an artist, was presented to Soviet Vice-Consul, on the occasion.

The meeting ended with the screening of the Soviet film ballet "Anna Karenina".



NEED FOR ABOLITION OF OCTROI DUTY*

VINEY BEHARI SEXENA

Octroi is an import duty levied on goods entering local boundaries for use, sale or consumption therein. It has to be refunded if goods go out of the borders of the local body in the same form in which they entered. Octroi is an anti-quoted tax with no counterpart in the developed world. It frequently necessitates long hold up of transport and thus leads to great delay and waste. This has raised strong protests from transport authorities, industrial and trade interests, and official committees. Fortunately, today some of the States levy no octroi and in the States allowing them, many local bodies have not utilized their right to impose them. For instance, in Gujarat, while octroi was levied by all corporations and municipalities and 49 Nagar Panchayats out of 59 of 11,986 Gram Panchayats, only 279 levied it. Imagination shudders at the physical obstacles to commodity movements if the right to impose octroi were more fully used and there is a great temptation to do so. It has not been adequately recognized that the imposition of octroi creates artificial tariff barriers between one small locality and the rest of India, which are alien to the integration of the national economy. In the new context of rural industrialization, it has the great danger of obstructing free access of products of small areas to the prosperous urban markets. There is, therefore, a strong case for abolishing the octroi duty which has so far survived only because of its revenue productivity.

While presenting the Union Budget for the year 1978-79, the Finance Minister, Mr. H. M. Patel pleaded for suitable legislative measures

by the State Government to remove the octroi duty. The revenue from octroi duty is of the order of Rs. 250 crores, which is at present going to the local authorities. Quite understandably they will seek from the State Governments a reimbursement for the loss of revenue and in turn the State Governments will no doubt claim a measure of compensation from the centre.

A renewed attempt is being made to crack the 100-year-old knotty problem of octroi. The Centre has asked the States to consider afresh an alternative to octroi which still eludes a solution resulting in considerable loss to exchequer, undue delay in movement of transport vehicles and percolating corruption down to municipal level.

The Union government has told the states that a lasting solution will have to be through an "unorthodox and unconventional approach".

The Centre has put it to the states to consider whether despite the reluctance on their (states) part, to an alternative to raising tax through additional sales tax has really been exhausted. It has been suggested that sales tax will have flexibility to be further increased so as to compensate the state governments for the loss of octroi duty.

The government has emphasised that what needs to be kept in view is that if the states have not accepted this solution during the last 30 years, are there any chances of their acceptance now? An apprehension has also been expressed that in pursuing this line further with the states, "we may only lose time without

achieving the objective" "and time is the essence in finding a solution", the government has said.

The Union government has mustered a number of arguments based on latest study reports and drawing on a number of experts committees which had gone into the problem in the past 50 years, to drive home the point that an effort will have to be made earnestly to find a satisfactory solution.

The government had in a note impressed upon the states at the recent chief ministers' conference the need to come to an early settlement of the issue.

The crux of the problem is if the octroi is abolished how can the states be compensated? It has now been suggested that the responsibility to make good the states loss be put on the Centre itself in view of the stakes involved. It has clearly been stated that if this position is accepted, it would not be beyond the ingenuity of the Union government to find ways and means to do so.

For instance this could be done either of the following manner :

i) Compensating the state governments from the excise collected on textile sugar and tobacco or by increasing the general excise of two percent at present levied on all manufactured goods or a general increase of states allocation ; or ii) by a levy of a surcharge on high speed diesel oil and kerosene.

Alternative one would mean a corresponding reduction in the resources availability to the Centre. If there is a levy on HSDO, there has to be a levy on kerosene as well.

Analysis of octroi has shown that for every rupee of the net revenue from octroi, the net burden on the community is Rs. 6.27 and the gross burden is Rs. 7.27. In other words, for collecting Rs. 250 crores as octroi which is estimated to be the order of revenues from octroi, at present the available and wasteful

expenditure to the community is of the order of Rs. 950 crores. This is a rough estimate. Even if this is considered on the high side and is halved, the studies show, it would still amount to about Rs. 500 crore. As a matter of fact, what is more significant is that in a sense this amount would form a transfer of resources from rural to urban areas.

Another point made out is the anticipated saving of 15 per cent on fuel oil on the present consumption of about seven million KL of high speed diesel oil will lead to a saving of over one million KL valued at Rs. 120 crore. This may also lead to lesser import of kerosene—two fuel oils being more or less interchangeable.

There are at present 2,00,000 vehicles on roads. A 15 to 20 per cent saving in the turnaround time will immediately result in enhanced capability of the existing fleet to handle more goods traffic to that extent. It would amount to as if about 30,000 to 35,000 commercial vehicles are added to the fleet resulting a two things : first, it will create large export surpluses and motivate larger exports of commercial vehicles which would soon become inevitable, would not be necessary. The present cost of setting up capacity for about 20,000 commercial vehicles of ten-tonne pay-load would be about Rs. 200 crore.

The present government is keen to remove cobwebs of the past and feels the present is an opportune moment to abolish octroi. This is all the more felt necessary in view of the fact that the saving would be about Rs. 500 crore of avoidable and wasteful expenditure (not taking into account the actual collection of octroi). This would have a favourable impact on arresting the rising prices and in fact in enabling to lower them to some extent.

Various alternatives to octroi duty have been considered in the past including : i) a surcharge on sales tax or additional sales tax ; ii) municipal surcharge or sales tax ; iii) muni-

capital turnover tax and iv) other complementary levies.

Since the levy of octroi is a state subject, the agreement of the state governments is necessary to abolish it. This would mean amendment of the Constitution. The states have not favoured raising resources from sales tax because it is their mainstay and levy of additional sales tax or surcharge on sale tax will restrict further scope for raising resources for their own requirement. The states had also pointed out that it is not possible for them to levy sales tax or turnover tax on sugar, textile and tobacco which form a substantial portion of sales and on which additional excise duty in lieu of sales tax is currently being levied by the Union government.

As regards municipal sales tax or its variants, it has been said that this may introduce wide disparities in the rates and the amount of income generated may be different from the present pattern of octroi income. The local bodies will not be able to get the same level of income from the municipal sales tax or any of its variants and secondly it would work out to the advantage of bigger urban centres as against the smaller towns. The states have also pointed out difficulties in regard to the levy of turnover tax to replace octroi. The national permit system introduced during the emergency is said to touch only a fringe of the problem.

Another suggestion is for the Centre to levy a surcharge on HSDO and compensate the states for the loss of octroi. The difficulties pointed out are : i) unless excise on kerosene is also correspondingly increased this would disturb the parity between kerosene and HSDO ; ii) while 75 per cent of the HSDO is consumed by road transport, the remaining 25 per cent is consumed by the railways and the agriculture. It would not be reasonable to ask the non-transport sector to pay the surcharge and iii) many states like Tamil Nadu,

Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Assam, Nagaland, Tripura and Meghalaya do not levy octroi at present. But if a surcharge on HSDO is levied, these states will also want a share of the levy on the ground that they are also sharing the burden.

As regards the argument that non-transport sector should not be asked to pay extra levy on HSDO, it is said that they could easily be compensated through a reduction in excise, for example, on rails and wheels and axles or other steel materials for wagons or tractors. In so far as the levy on excise on kerosene is concerned, the whole question will have to be viewed in its totality in order to keep the price parity between HSDO and kerosene.

A novel suggestion made is that the levy on kerosene be earmarked for rural development such as provision of potable water, rural electrification and link road (over and above the existing plan allocation). This should give a sense of identification to the village population that the more they pay for kerosene, the more will be the return benefit to the community in the rural areas as a whole.

Moreover, it would mean certain transfer of funds from urban to rural areas on two counts : first, because there is a substantial consumption of kerosene in the urban areas and second, because of the lowering of transport charges and therefore, the lowering of the ultimate price of goods in the villages. Such a measure would be in accordance with the view of the Janata government that instead of the rural areas subsidising the urban areas, there should be a transfer of resources from urban to the rural areas.

The Centre has made it clear that no half-way measure to abolition of octroi would meet the situation. "It is necessary to make a clean departure from the system of the tax collection and bury it for good. If there is a political will, suitable solution can be found", the note says.

Several committees had gone into this problem in the past. In 1925, Sir Josiah Stamp, heading a group, pointed out that the form "in which octroi duties are levied in India offend against all canons of taxation. The tax in the present form is condemned by economists everywhere".

In 1950, the motor vehicles taxation enquiry committee observed various ill-effects of octroi on our trade". "The road transport reorganisation committee recommended in 1959 the abolition of octroi. A highlevel committee of the Lok Sabha had come to the same observation in 1965. Sir Charles Travelyan in fact pointed out octroi as the remains of the barbarous system of universal taxation".

The committee on transport and co-ordination policy said in 1966 that the octroi "should be abolished". In the same year the rural urban relations committee had said "octroi constitutes a major hindrance to the free flow of traffic and trade and regress the growth for commercial and industrial activities. It is in the national interest that octroi should go".

The ministry of shipping and transport carried out a study in 1967 on cost to the community and found that cost by way of delay at octroi posts of vehicles was enormous. The delay at checkpoints between Lucknow and Delhi is 3.5 hours (actual run 11.75 hours) and

between Mangalore and Bangalore 16 hours, (actual run 11.75 hours). The total burden of transport cost on the community has been estimated at Rs. 144.52 crore of which Rs. 131.05 crore was due to delay and therefore wasteful expenditure.

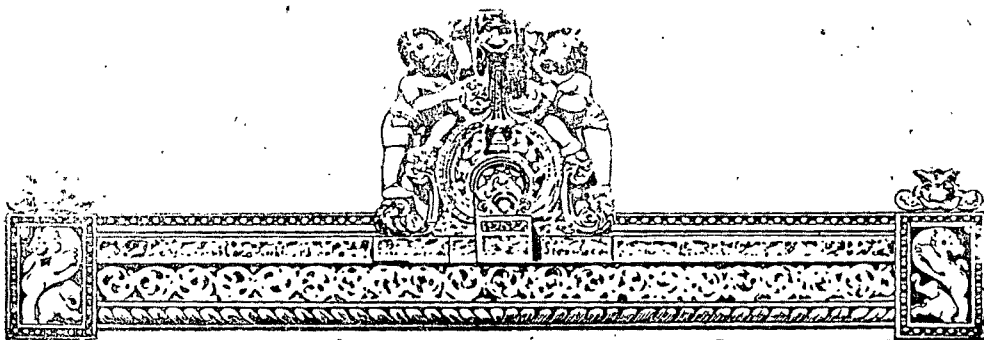
It also found illegals trafification rampant. The cost of collection constituted 30 percent of the total revenue.

The note says the cost of collection of additional excise on HSDO and kerosene will practically be nil. The revenue would increase from year to year as consumption of HSDO and kerosene goes up. The states should find it satisfactory.

An argument against abolition of octroi has been that those engaged in the unproductive work of collecting octroi will be rendered idle. It has however, been pointed out that every sinecure unproductive job deprives the community an opportunity to create several productive jobs and only helps perpetual poverty.

The Centre is likely to take up the issue with the states on a priority basis. The hope is expressed here that this time a solution would be found.

* The Author is grateful to Dr. P. S. Saxena and Dr. R. M. Dubey of Economics Deptt. of Hindu College, Moradabad for their valuable suggestions in the preparation of this paper.



Indian and Foreign Periodicals

Good News For Non Nuclear Countries

By Vladimir Simonov, APN Political Correspondent—

Countries without nuclear bombs could be free from the complex of vulnerability. To do so they need another method of protecting themselves against a nuclear attack. Today such an alternative is a real hope, with the Soviet Union proposing for the 33rd session of the UN General Assembly the idea of an international convention to offer greater security guarantees to non-nuclear countries.

But it should be said at once that lack of a nuclear arsenal is not enough to give the country a safe place behind the shield of the convention. In Moscow's considered opinion, new guarantees in international law can be claimed only by countries that have refused to manufacture or acquire nuclear weapons, or to station them on their territory.

The reference is therefore to determine opponents of the proliferation of lethal nuclear systems. The contributions by these countries to international security is worth giving them the best guarantees against a nuclear strike.

But did not the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain guarantee their support for a victim of a nuclear attack in 1968? Anyone familiar with well-known resolution No. 255 of the UN Security Council to this effect is entitled to ask this question.

The reply to it can be wishes of the non-nuclear countries themselves which are convinced that it is time to go further. They can be understood. Mankind continues to stamp nuclear warheads probably at a faster

rate than it plants apple trees. Speaking at a Moscow symposium in 1975, E. Barhop, President of the World Federation of Scientific Workers, gave a warning: there are already four tons of TNT per earthling if all stocks of nuclear weapons are expressed in terms of conventional explosives. It seems quite enough. But since then there have been three more years of the 'feverish nuclear arms race.

Perhaps the most disturbing element is that not without western help nuclear weapons get spread to the hottest points of the planet. There are sufficient grounds for suspecting that nuclear reactors in South Africa and Israel are transforming the uranium so lavishly supplied by the West not only into radioactive waste.

Even regardless of the fact whether Pretoria or Tel Aviv has a couple of bombs in secret, nuclear blackmail has already become an ingredient of policies followed by these irresponsible and aggressive regimes.

While the world is hypnotised by the secret of the threeparty meeting of Egyptian, Israeli and US leaders at Camp David, S. Aronson, of Jerusalem University, is offering the following answer in a bulletin issued by the Arms Control Centre at the University of California.

Under a separate agreement with Egypt, Israel vacates only part of the occupied territories. And then immediately proclaims itself a sixth nuclear power and threatens to use nuclear weapons if the Arabs insist on some other demands.

What must be the feeling of people of peace-loving non-nuclear countries when confronted with such patterns of nuclear "settle-

ment?" Moreover, offered for regions which have long had bickford fuse burning to produce a new explosion? Only that of their own defencelessness.

Traditional response to that may be in one of two ways. Either to creep under the "umbrella" of a nuclear power, or by fair means or foul to press for the possession of one's own nuclear arsenal.

The former ends up as a rule badly for the national sovereignty of the recipient. The latter is a luxury that cannot be afforded by non-nuclear developing countries where 650 million people live in misery and the majority of the population is illiterate. Far from, every leader is prepared to advise his fellow-countrymen to "eat grass" for the sake of a nuclear status, as Z. Bhutto, Ex-President of Pakistan, was going to do, in his own words.

The Soviet Union is proposing a third and the only rational way allowing the threat of a nuclear disaster to be obviated. Its idea about greater security guarantees for non-nuclear countries enables this important matter to be put on a practical plane already at the September session of the UN General Assembly.

A new Convention would oblige its signatories from among "nuclear club" powers not to use or threaten the use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries. Is such a gesture of peace-loving political will possible in the present days of great tension in Africa and the middle East? Not only possible, but necessary, as Moscow's own example shows. It already assumed such obligations unilaterally a year ago.

Issued by the Information Dept. of the
USSR Consulate General in Calcutta

FLOODS

The floods which came to West Bengal at the end of September turned October into a month of disaster and gloom, but it became

also a time of truly selfless effort especially by our youth to bring some relief to the stricken. Vast areas of Birbhum were under water. Statistics are admittedly inhuman but they direct our imagination. In the Bolpur Block alone, consisting of some 200 villages, 15,368 people were among the rescued. Many were homeless; 4,000 houses had been washed away, 2,000 houses had collapsed. Countless others were just partially standing. One would have thought that in those who have suffered so, there would be little wish left to start living again and promptly too. Yet that too has happened. The people most seriously hit in the area were those living by the side of the Ajoy near Srichandrapur. They had lost everything they possessed. But before long they were found busy preparing their lands for cropping. All they needed was seeds. A group from Sriniketan decided on the spot to supply them with some vegetable seeds which could be directly sown, and which could earn them an income in about three weeks' time.

Santiniketan and Sriniketan were not flooded but marooned with both road and rail links cut off. Resident school children ready to go home for the Pujas remained behind. The Visva-Bharati community set aside other preoccupations and came together with rare energy to help organise relief. A brief report of the kind of work done is published in the NEWS section. For the university this was an elevating experience and one of great relevance to its setting. Rabindranath Tagore was worried when he founded Visva-Bharati that village which surrounded the academic institution that was Santiniketan were in a state of decay. "Can we find out the cause of this decay?" he had asked Leonard Elmhirst. What he wanted most of all was a relationship with the village based on a genuine attempt to understand its problems whether in every instance successful or not. The calamity showed that Visva-Bharati still lives with her villages,

in true feeling. Relief must be followed by rehabilitation and Visva-Bharati has started thinking on these lines. A household-level schedule is being canvassed by the students among the hapless families so as to collect information not only about the extent of loss but also about the productive resources at their disposal. At a meeting of 12 October at the Rural Studies Department of the university a Flood Rehabilitation Planning Committee has been set up. Planning includes, among other things, reclamation of lands covered by sand deposits, repair of embankments, repair of canal system, clearance of debris, construction of houses along with the question of shifting existing residential sites, attention to adequate drainage, replacement of draught cattle destroyed during the flood, replacement of village poultry birds and goats which whatever their production capacity from the bulk of the marginal farmer's savings and investments, as well as the preparation of a comprehensive flood manual. The work goes on.

—("Visva Bharati News")

Indian National Science Academy Medals for Young Scientists

The following scientists have been selected for the award of Science Academy Medals for Young Scientists for the year 1978. Their respective field of activities the indicated along with their names.

Dr. Praveen Chaddah, (b. 20.12.1951), Solid State Physics Section, Nuclear Physics Division, Bhabha Atomic Research Centre, Bombay—400085 : Electron Momentum Density in Condensed Media.

Dr. (Mrs) Renu Khanna Chopra, (b. 24.9.1949), School of Life Sciences, Jawahar Lal Nehru University, New Mehrauli Road, New Delhi. Photosynthesis as related to heterosis and Developmental stage in Maize, Sorghum, Wheat and Brassica.

Dr. K. C. Das, (b. 15.1.1948), Deptt. of Mathematics, Indian Institute of Technology, Kharagpur 721302 : Stationary distance vectors and their relation with Eigenvectors.

Dr. A. R. Datta, (b. 15.10.1948), Etiology & Agricultural Divn., Bhabha Atomic Research Centre, Trombay, Bombay—400085 : Pathway analysis of genetic recombination in *Escherichia coli*.

Dr. Vinay V. Deodhal, (b. 3.12.1948), School of Mathematics, Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay—400005 : Bruhat Ordering and Verma Modules.

Shri S. Easwaramoorthy, (b. 4.6.1952), Division of Entomology, Sugarcane Breeding Institute, Coimbatore—641007 : Control of green bug by the fungus *Cephalosporium lecanii*.

Dr. Chunilal Ghosh, (b. 3.1.1948), Optoelectronics Section, Bhabha Atomic Research Centre, Trombay, Bombay—400085 : Photoelectronics.

Dr. Jitendra Nath Goswami, (b. 18.11.1950), Research Associate, Physical Research Laboratory, Ahmedabad—380009. Energetic Particles and Dust Grains in Interplanetary Space : Results from Lunar and Meteorite Research.

Dr. S. Ramasesha, (b. 16.1.1950), State Solid & Structural Chemistry Unit, Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore—560012 : Theoretical Aspects of Phase Transitions

Dr. H. A. Ranganath, (b. 16.6.1948) Dept. of Post-Graduate Studies & Research in Zoology, University of Mysore, Manasagangotri, Mysore-570006 : Population of *Drosophila*.

Dr. Kalidas Sen, (b. 9.6.1948), School of Chemistry, University of Hyderabad. Hyderabad-500001 : Antishielding Effects in Atoms and Molecules.

It may be added that in 1974 the Indian National Science Academy instituted Science Academy Medals for young scientists to give

recognition to the scientific achievements of scientists below the age of 30, in any branch of science and technology within the purview of the Academy.

A cash award of Rs. 1,500 is awarded with the medal. The award also carried a research grant of Rs. 5,000/—each from the Kothari Scientific and Research Institute, Calcutta to enable the selected scientists to pursue research in their respective fields of specialization.

The presentation of the awards will be made at the time of the Anniversary General Meeting of the Academy, during the 66th Session of the Indian Science Congress to be held in January 1979.

Moral Revolution and Rammohun Roy
Calcutta Review. (July-December, 1845, p 385) says about Rammohun Roy: "His name is inseparably connected with a great moral resolution. It is, therefore, interesting to trace the history of this extraordinary man for it is in a great measure the history of the Revolution." Revd C. F. Andrews says in an article in the *Modern Review* on Rammohun (reprinted in the *Indian Messenger*, May 21, 1962, pp. 56-57) that Rammohun Roy "held a *unique* position at the head of one of the supreme *moral* revolutions in the history of Man." The world and the Brahmo Samaj have, till now, entirely missed the significance of the greatest mission of the far-sighted World Teacher, Rammohun Roy.

International value of moral Revolution. The words of Andrews, namely, "in the history of Man" bears a significance of no little value. So far as India is concerned one of the social implications of the Vedanta *vis-a-vis* idolatry is that the former is free from social immorality and injustices, whereas the popular customs and observances in the Hindu Society all over India in connection with the latter were and still are closely interwoven with immoral beliefs and practices. Rammohun did not neglect the

Christian world either. He tried to reform Christianity by broadbasing it on the moral *Precepts of Jesus* and not on miracles, blind faith or rituals which do not provide security to a Christian from immoral activities. The history of Papacy was a remarkable example which called for a 'Protestant' religion and a 'Reformations'. The entire Christian world of the colonial period, particularly in India, was bent upon gaining and amassing wealth and exploiting the weaker nations by any means, fair or foul, throwing away honesty and morality to the four winds. The far-sighted Rammohun's "Moral Revolution" was directed to entire humanity including the Hindu as well as the Christian.

Moral Revolution and the Brahmo Samaj

The moral revolution started by Rammohun Roy steadily developed in the Brahmo Samaj movement, reaching its apex in Keshub and the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. But the entire Brahmo Samaj movement after Rammohun Roy—including Keshub and his followers—has entirely missed the *international* aspect of the "Revolution" but confined its moral activities within the framework of the Hindu society in India only.

Keshub the Great. Keshub the greatest moral revolutionary in the Brahmo movement opened up a new chapter in its history when he laid the strongest emphasis on conscience and social justice. He tried to reform the *Hindu* Society morally but entirely neglected the world wide Christians who were ruling over a large part of the world. He wanted to popularise Jesus Christ in a new way acceptable to Asia, but totally overlooked vast importance of the Rammohun's moral *Precepts of Jesus*. That invaluable book by Rammohun Roy remains still neglected by the Brahmo Samaj. It is Christian England and Christian America that once appreciated that book highly when it first appeared, and those Christian themselves reprint-

ted it repeatedly at their own cost. Even the unitarian missionary from America, Revd. Dall who called himself a "Rammohun Roy Brahmo" distributed free at his own cost while he was in Calcutta, copies of *Jeesur Upadesh* in Bengali to the inmates of the orphanage founded here by Miss Mary Carpenter. But the Brahmo Samaj could not recognise its importance and failed to popularise it in colleges whether in India or abroad wherever the Bible was taught. The Christian world consequently stuck to the miracles and rituals and remained ignorant of the moral basis of Christianity as pointed out by that World Teacher, Rammohun Roy.

The Result. The result has been as it should be. It is the *Christian Powers* that ruled not only in Europe and America but also over their world wide empires and colonies for the last few centuries. The Christian population in the colonies and empires have rapidly increased in size—thanks to the proselytising zeal of the Christian Missionaries with the backing of the Christian rulers—but Jesus Christ *with his moral precepts* has totally disappeared from Christendom. What remains there is an insatiable greed for more and more money and power reinforced by technology. And this greedy virus of money and power without the vestige of a moral conscience of the erstwhile Christian rulers have thoroughly infected the *ruled* all over the world wherever the Christians went. The result has naturally been that from power-politics to relief work for the distressed, dishonesty, immorality and corruption rule supreme. 'Religion' is now confined to rituals and talks about seeing God, hearing God and "realising" God. There is plenty of talk about God with plentier of miseries for the human world. We claim to be *with* God but are actually *away* from Man left alone in the Wilderness of Greed and Corruption of a 'Technoculture' without a conscience. The Brahmo Samaj has failed to teach the Christian world their *moral* duties, their *true* Christianity as pointed

out long ago by Raja Rammohun Roy. The result we are now witnessing everywhere around us, from America to Southeast Asia wherever the greedy Western Christians had penetrated deep with their swords in Land, the fat purse or the Bible with its miracles, with emphasis on the "divinity" (not the moral precepts) and the nightmare of an eternal hell for the non-Christians. The Christianity of the Christ has now been converted to a political Christianity.

—The Indian Messenger

Scientists Combat Blindness

Among the chief causes of blindness one should mention pigmented dystrophy or retinitis pigmentosa. A new preparation—*erkad*—has been designed at the Laboratory of Cytochemistry and Molecular Biology of the Research Institute of the Morphology of Man attached to the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences. The laboratory is headed by Professor Boris Fuks, D. Sc. (Medicine). The preparation makes it possible to effectively combat some forms of the disease. A symposium on the pathogenesis and treatment of hereditary pigmented dystrophies of the retina has recently been held in Moscow. It was attended by prominent scientists from the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain and the German Democratic Republic.

At the request of Igor Tverskoi, a Novosti Press Agency correspondent, Professor Fuks describes the results of the studies and treatment of hereditary retinitis pigmentosa, and assesses the importance of the international conference of ophthalmologists.

Professor Fuks: Many hereditary diseases are caused by the injury of the gene which controls this or that link of metabolism in cells. The defective gene is inherited by children from parents, from generation to generation. The difficulty is that in each case it is necessary

to determine which gene (or several genes) is injured.

The studies have shown that in case of retinitis pigmentosa the photoreceptor cells responsible for the reception of light and the cells of pigmented epithelium adjacent to them are injured first. The retina degenerates, a pigment penetrates it, and the patient loses eyesight. The disease may manifest itself in childhood or develop gradually for decades. It seems that man sees the world through a gradually narrowing pipe. Doctors tried to empirically employ various vitamins, biostimulants and physioprocedures. However, all these attempts proved to be unsuccessful. Direct biochemical studies of the human retina are impossible, and it is unclear which link of metabolism suffers first in the cells. The succession of events leading to the disturbance of metabolism in the retina is on the whole unclear too. In other words the pathogenesis of these diseases is unknown.

Correspondent : What explains the efficiency of the enkad—the preparation you have designed ?

Professor Fuks : Several years ago we put forward the hypothesis that in case of some diseases, including hereditary ones, natural quantitative ratios between various nucleotides are violated in cells. These low-molecular substances, having the same plan of structure, control the functioning of many enzymes, play a prominent role in the energetics of the cell and are predecessors during the synthesis of carriers of heredity—nucleinic acids.

As a result of experiments conducted in a number of laboratories with animals suffering from similar diseases violations of the content of some nucleotides were found in photoreceptor cells. We supposed that the injection of additional numbers of some nucleotides into the organism can restore the functions of injured

cells. According to preliminary data the exchange of nucleotides is violated in some other diseases too, in particular, the brain's nerve cells in case of such a serious disease as amyotrophic lateral sclerosis. After many years of investigations our laboratory created a new preparation--enkad consisting of a mixture of some nucleotides.

Correspondent : "How effective was the use of this preparation ?"

Professor Fuks : Hundreds of patients suffering from hereditary retinitis pigmentosa have been treated by the enkad. Observations have shown that after several sessions of the intramuscular injection of the preparation the pathological process was stabilized. When the disease did not advance too far, especially among children, the acuteness of vision considerably improved, the visual field was expanded and, which is of particular importance, the retina became electrophysiologically active.

At present a Soviet factory has begun preparations for the commercial manufacture of the enkad which will be widely used in the USSR's eye clinics.

Correspondent : "According to statistics hundreds of thousands of people in many countries suffer from hereditary pigmented dystrophy of the retina. How do you assess the significance of the Moscow symposium ?"

Professor Fuks : The symposium was the first international conference to bring together clinicians engaged in the diagnosis and treatment of hereditary retinitis pigmentosa among people and scientists studying the mechanisms of the development of diseases on experimental animals. Among them there were representatives of the major ophthalmological centres of the Soviet Union, the US National Institute of Ophthalmology (Professor E. Balantyne), leading eye clinics of Britain (Professor A. Byrd and GDR (Professor M. Tost) and other medical and research institutions.

The paper submitted to the symposium by Professor A. Lolley from California aroused keen interest. He believes that these diseases are caused in animals by the disturbance of the metabolism of cyclic nucleotides. Leningrad researchers V. Govardovsky and A. Berman presented data to the effect that cyclic nucleotides play a major role in the transfer and transformation of the light signal in the cells of the retina. Thus, our hypothesis on the role of nucleotides in the pathogenesis of hereditary retinitis pigmentosa was supported at the

symposium. Of great importance here were the papers by Soviet clinicians Professors L. Katsnelson and S. Shereshevskaya in which the experience in testing the preparation for many years was summed up.

The symposium has graphically shown the fruitfulness of the pooling of efforts of clinicians and theorists from different countries in combating the serious hereditary eye disease—pigmented dystrophy of the retina

—“Science and Engineering”

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

Tarasankar Bandyopadhyay by Mahasveta Devi, illust. Paper cover and end papers, demy Oct, pp. 68. Published by Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi in their makers of Indian Literature Series, Price Rs. 2.50. The book is an analytical study of the literary art of the eminent Bengali novelist. Students of literature will find it worth studying.

N. C. Kelkar by R. M. Gole, illust. paper cover, demy. Oct. pp. 90, Published by Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi in their makers of Indian Literature Series, Price Rs. 2.50. N. C. Kelkar

(1872-1947) was an all rounder in the field of literature. He was also an eminent journalist and platform speaker. His close association with Bal Gangadhar Tilak created a place for him in the political history of India. This small but very ably written book will, be found to be of documentary value by students of Indian politics and political history.

Fakirmohun Senapati by Mayadhar Mahasirha, illust. paper cover, demy oct pp. 85, Published by Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, in their makers of Indian Literature Series, Price

Rs. 2.50 Fakirmohan Senapati is considered to be the father of modern Oriya literature and nationalism. Fakirmohan Senapati's autobiography has greatly helped the author to write this short introduction to the life and activities of the founder of modern Oriya literature.

Zinda Kaul by A. N. Raina, illust. Paper cover demy Oct. pp. 51, Published by Sahitya Akademi in their Makers of Indian Literature Series, price Rs. 2.50. Pandit Zinda Kaul was a Kashmiri Poet who wrote poems in Kashmiri; Urdu, Persian and Hindi. He was a teacher by profession. His book of poems *Sumrah* won Sahitya Akademi award in 1956.

Nanalal by U. M. Maniar, illust. Paper cover demy Oct. pp. 88, published by Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi in their Makers of Indian Literature Series, price Rs. 2.50. Nanalal (1877-1946) and his father Dalpatram were very important figures in the development of modern Gujarati Poetry. Between them they made significant contributions to modern Gujarati literature. Nanalal wrote various types of poetry and also a dozen or so of plays. He was a well educated man and was an M. A. of Bombay University. In his working life he held high posts in different fields of work. His literary fame came mainly from his poetry but he was also a playwright, novelist, short story writer and a talented literary man in the general sense.

Meghani by V. J. Trivedi, illust. Paper cover, demy Oct. pp. 56 published by Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi in their Makers of Indian Literature Series, Price Rs. 2.50. Zaverchand Meghani (1897-1947) was a novelist, a short story writer and a collector and editor of folk

literature. He did remarkably good work in this line of investigation and research.

Vedam Venkataraya Sastry by Vedam Venkataraya Sastry. (gr.) illust Paper cover, demy oct. pp. 72, published by Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi in their Makers of Indian Literature Series, price Rs. 2.50, Vedam Venkataraya Sastry (1853-1929) was a great Telegu writer. He was also a Sanskrit scholar and translated many Sanskrit texts into the Telegu.

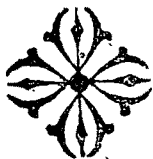
Chandu Menon by T. C. Sankara Menon, illust. Paper Cover and end paper, demy Oct. pp. 84, Published by Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi in their Makers of Indian Literature Series, Price Rs. 2.50. Chandu Menon was a pioneer in the field of modern Malayalam literature. His novel *Indulekha* was the first original Malayalam novel in so far as before this all other novels in that language were translations or adaptations of novels in other languages. The great Malayalam writer was born in 1847 and he passed away in 1899. He was not a politic writer but was a creative stylist who showed the way to others who succeeded him.

Vallathol by B. Hridayikumari, illust. Paper cover and end paper, demy Oct. pp. 96, Published by Sahitya Akademi in their Makers of Indian Literature Series from New Delhi, Price Rs. 2.50. Vallathol Narayana Menon (1878-1957) was a poet. He was a Sanskrit scholar and translated Valmiki *Ramayana* into the Malayalam language. He was an expert organiser of *Kathakali* dancing and his troupe was taken to Santiniketan, Russia, China and France. A Member of Sahitya Akademi, he was awarded "Padmabhusan" in 1955.

Founded by : RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

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NOTES

Presidential Prerogatives Under The Constitution

H. M. JAIN writes in the journal of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies about the above and the following quotations are worthy of notice

The relationship between the President and the Council of Ministers under the Indian Constitution has been the subject matter of continuing controversy despite several juristic opinions,¹ judicial verdicts,² and two constitutional amendments³

The Constitution originally provided that—

“There shall be a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister at the head to aid and advise the President in the exercise of his functions”. (Article 74)

It further provided that—

(1) The Prime Minister shall be appointed by the President and other ministers shall be appointed by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister.

(2) The Ministers shall hold office during the pleasure of the President.

(3) The Council of Ministers shall be collectively responsible to the House of the People. (Article 75)

What the Constitution makers had in mind was a system of government based on the British parliamentary model wherein the Crown is no more than a “convenient working hypothesis”, though not a rubber stamp, meaning thereby that the Crown always acts on the advice of the Cabinet and does not act without that advice or contrary to it, and that the role of the sovereign is “to advise, to encourage, and to warn” which, in the words of Bagehot, could lend to the sovereign as much authority and influence as his/her own personal character and capability and political situation would warrant, leaving the actual decision-making to the Cabinet.

The Founding Fathers of the Indian Constitution envisaged a similar role for the President of India who was to be the Republican version of the British constitutional monarch. Almost all prominent members of the Constituent Assembly including Nehru, Patel, Rajendra Prasad, K. T. Shah, H. V. Kamath, T. T. Krishnamachari, Ambedkar and Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar endorsed this view in unmistakable words.⁴

It may be added that some members, including the President of the Constituent Assembly,

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, had expressed misgivings as to whether the wordings of the Constitution were clear enough to bind the President to accept the Cabinet advice. Dr. Rajendra Prasad asked Dr. Ambedkar, "Where is the provision in the Draft Constitution which binds the President to act in accordance with the advice of the Ministers"? In fact there was no such provision. The Constitution simply prescribed that there shall be a Council of Ministers to aid and advise the President in the exercise of his functions. It said nowhere that the advice of the Council shall be binding or that the President "cannot act without the advice of the Council of Ministers or contrary to it"

After arguing loosely and vainly that the Constitution made the cabinet advice binding, Dr. Ambedkar had to fall back on a political (not legal) argument. He said, "If he does not accept the advice of the existing ministry, he will have to find some other body of ministers to advise him. He will never be able to act independently of ministers."⁵

This did not satisfy Dr. Rajendra Prasad who, on becoming the President of the Republic in 1950, wanted to press his point that in interpreting the powers of the President the written provisions of the Constitution should not be subjected to the conventional limitations of the British monarchy. In a note dated September 18, 1951, he expressed the desire to act solely on his own judgment, independently of the Council of Ministers, in such matters as sending messages to Parliament, giving assent to bills, and returning bills to Parliament for reconsideration. Nehru's firm opposition to the President's standpoint and the support Nehru received from jurists like Alladi and Setalvad dampened Rajendra Prasad's spirits and he agreed to play a purely constitutional role, accepting the primacy of the Prime Minister in state affairs. The state of his health, the weight of juristic opinion, the personal bond

with Nehru, and the latter's growing stature and popularity restrained him from making a public issue of his differences with government. In some trivial matters as the religious ceremony at Banaras in which the President "washed the feet of a number of pundits and priests, made them offerings and received their benedictions", or the visit to Somnath temple, or attending the funeral of Sardar Patel, he may have acted against the "wishes" of Nehru, but not against the advice of the Prime Minister. He may have remonstrated with Nehru at not being taken into confidence in the matter of Thimayya's resignation telling the Prime Minister "you are laying down bad precedents. A President who did not like you could have given you a lot of trouble". or expressed resentment over the Government's Tibet policy, or over corruption in high places, or over its food policy, or over the slow implementation of Hindi as the national language, but, on the whole, President Rajendra Prasad accepted the role of a constitutional President acting on the advice of the Cabinet in all matters. Despite his personal reservations on the principles of the Hindu Code he signed the relevant bills passed by the Parliament". He may have felt that the imposition of President's rule in Kerala in 1959 was not justified, yet he signed the proclamation under Article 356. It therefore created a sensation when in November 1960 the President in a speech at the Indian Law Institute re-iterated his view that "in equating the President of India with the British monarch, the Indian Constitution was being wrongly interpreted".⁶ Nehru treated these remarks as of not more than academic interest and later told newsmen that he had no doubt in his mind that the President was only constitutional head, and that he had functioned as such during the past ten years. The Attorney General M. C. Setalvad, whose advice Nehru formally sought once again, advised that the President "has to act in all matters on the aid and advice of the

Council of Ministers since the sovereignty lies with the people and because the people elect Parliament, from which comes the Council of Ministers, power lies with the Council of Ministers and not with the President".⁷ Speaking in the Rajya Sabha on September 30, 1962, the Minister of State for Home Affairs, B. N. Datar finally closed the controversy by declaring that the President was bound to accept the advice of the Cabinet headed by the Prime Minister and he could not take any decision on his own.

Unlike Rajendra Prasad, Radhakrishnan was Nehru's personal choice as President. He thought that a philosopher-king in the Rashtrapati Bhawan would enhance India's prestige in the world and lend dignity and glamour to the office. But Nehru had reckoned with the philosopher, not with the king, in Radhakrishnan. As C. L. Datta, his ADC records, "After resuming the Presidency Radhakrishnan freely expressed his personal views on political issues and privately sought support for them. He pursued an ambition to play an independent role in national politics. Nehru however showed little respect for opinions which went counter to his... There were growing signs of friction and their relations became stiffly formal—a yawning gulf was evident when the Chinese attacked India in the autumn of 1962."⁸ It is possible that in the wake of military debacle on the northern borders in 1962 he may have thought of cashiering Nehru but he refrained from doing any such thing. After Nehru's death the President began to feel "the way towards a more significant role for himself as well as his office."⁹ In his public addresses he became more and more critical of the Government suggesting that the words were his own. In his last Republic Day message in 1967 he openly accused the Government for "widespread incompetence and gross mismanagement of our resources" In the constitutional crisis in Rajasthan in 1967 he

seemed to sympathise with the non-Congress United Front. But Radhakrishnan who saw three prime ministers in office never disputed the right of his ministers to go wrong though he felt free to advise, to encourage and even to warn.

1. In his controversy with President Rajendra Prasad over the issue of the President's power, Prime Minister Nehru sought the opinions of Attorney General, M. C. Setalvad, and the eminent jurist, Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, in 1951. For text see H. N. Pandit, *The Prime Minister's President* appendix III, p.101.
2. See *Ram Jawaya v. State of Punjab*, AIR 1955 Supreme Court; p. 549; *Sanjevi v. State of Madras*, AIR 1970 S. C. p.1102 *Shamser v. State of Punjab*, AIR 1974 S. C. p.2192.
3. 42nd and 44th Constitutional Amendments.
4. For details see the *The Union Executive*, Chairanya Publishing House, Allahabad, 1969, pp. 132-33.
5. CAD (Constituent Assembly Debates), viii pp. 215-16.
6. *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, November 29; 1960.
7. See Granville Austin, *The Indian Constitution: Cornerstone of a Nation*, Oxford, 1966, p. 141.

Eternal and incurable

There are certain things which are incurable, permanently linked up with our life and irremovable. Such things used to be the diseases like malaria, bubonic plague, small pox or epidemic dropsy. But with developments of medical science and discoveries in the sphere of highly effective drugs like the sulphas and the anti-biotics, these diseases progressively stopped being dangerously widespread and eventually ceased to be a menace to human life in the

under-developed and undeveloped countries of the world. Along with the diseases people had to protect themselves against wild animals, snakes, thugis, bargis, pindaris, confidence tricksters and black magicians. But with the progress of civilisation, things improved greatly and society came out of the dark alleys in which men floundered and suffered untold misery for centuries. But civilisation has not been any cure for all the ills that mankind suffer from. Malaria and snakes could be eliminated but in their place came the growing threat of cancer and nutritional imbalance. Great cities were built, roads, railways, air liners, electronics and an endless chain of aids to comfortable living enriched human existence; but with those grew unemployment, industrial diseases, accidents, occupational hazards, air and water pollution, water logging, vitamin deficiency, rising prices and a host of all kinds new attacks on human health and happiness. Over crowding, long journeys to and from places of work, Queuing up and waiting for hours to obtain milk, kerosene, rice or wheat, lack of supplies of many essential commodities, drugs and medicines—and one could draw up long schedules of things not available or in short supply. If one has gas, electricity, telephone, radio, television or other modern appendages of good living; one has to face the great inconvenience of sudden stoppage of supply. Gas is not supplied most of the time and people who have gas cooking ranges also have to keep handy electric or kerosene stoves, coal *chulas* so that when the gas fails (which it does all the time) they can still boil their pots and make their tea. When the telephones work one spends much time in unwinding cross connections, straightening out wild mazes of wrong numbers or making complaints about this or that. Trunk calls take hours to come through if they at all mature and other services also excel by their failures. Electricity is a very important aid to

modern living in so far as all lights, fans, refrigerators, air conditioners and various gadgets work by electricity. If electric power supply fails people have to look for kerosene lanterns, candles, dry cell battery torches etc. etc. to secure illumination. The refrigerators, air conditioners etc. one has to do without for the periods during which the power failure or load shedding continues. It is not unusual for this sort of stoppage of electric supply to continue for long hours. There have been cases where there had been no supply of electric current for as long as twelve hours. During these long hours food materials perish in "cold" storage, electrically operated gadgets cease functioning, machinery and plant stand idle and operatives earn wages for staying unproductive in a costly fashion; for expenses are incurred on account of rent, taxes, attendance, interest and so on and so forth whether or not machinery function. The nation suffers losses which can be calculated in hundreds of above of rupees not counting the losses which pile up in various indirect manners. But such things are allowed to go on and no serious efforts are made to stop such failures of power supply for reasons which people say are political. Whatever name one may give to the action of the human element associated with the production, distribution and maintenance of plants which are organisationally integrated with power supply, if any enquiries are carried out the enquirers will discover many acts of omission and commission that cause stoppages or short supply of electric power; and one will be able to fix the responsibility for all that on individuals who are employed in the work of generation and supply of electricity to the people who are the consumers of the same. Although not many reports are published of such enquiries one may take it that there are reliable persons who can point out the incumbents who are directly or indirectly

tly guilty of lapses which cause breaks in electric power generation and distribution. But do we find any cases in which punitive action is taken against persons who cause losses and suffering to the people of the country by not doing their duty in a proper and responsible manner. Persons will not be proved guiltless by providing evidence of flaws in machinery, undue wear and tear and acts of god; for if proper investigations are made a good number of human beings will be discovered who could have prevented the losses and sufferings referred to, had they been more careful and had done their work more dutifully. Even people who made the plans, selected the plant and machinery, placed orders, arranged erection of power houses, organised the laying of cables and carrying the high tension lines from tower to tower and did all kinds of preliminary work that always have to be arranged for when large scale arrangements have to be made for extensive power generation for national electrification schemes; should not be left out when investigations are made; for they also could have made mistakes in their work, which bore poisonous fruits after many years. There had been British managers of India's affairs not so very long ago and many highly placed British officers in the thirties and forties did things more for the advantage of the English traders than for the benefit of the Indian nation. This sort of exploitation had been going on in India since the Eighteen hundred fifties and it presented to the world one of the worst aspects of imperialistic overlordship and colonialism. After independence Indian public life developed certain characteristics which were not so clean nor healthy from the point of view of economic progress. The greatest good of the greatest number was more a high sounding fiction than a multidimensional reality. As far as the poorest of the poor were concerned Indian capitalism developed many traits which

were as bad as what one found in the corrupt practices that the British imperialists indulged in during the long period of their domination of the Indian subcontinent. The British had their "cut" in whatever they did in India. If they built railways the costs were at least 25% higher than what prevailed in the open international market. If they raised a loan of a hundred million pounds sterling in London the rate of interest was just a little too high and the British underwriters made an extra profit because of that unnecessary addition to the interest. All purchases, sales, contracts, etc. etc. were arranged for in a manner which had provision for some unearned profits for some British organisation in some part of the Empire. The British claimed they had invested thousands of crores of rupees in Indian industries, plantations, railways, shipping lines and all kinds of economic institutions. But the British "earned" all those thousands of crores in India. They did not bring any funds from the British islands for investment here. Our leaders who now rule India, all have their own friends and followers who have business organisations befriending them. At election time money flows freely from this to that group and settlements are made somehow somewhere to the satisfaction of the political parties, their supporters and all those who render assistance to the parties and the party leaders. No one has attempted to discover the ways by which adjustments are made between givers and takers; but one knows that political parties and party members are aided by businessmen and organisations. These people naturally have a pull with government departments if their "friendly" parties can succeed in winning elections and forming governments. Friendship is asked for and offered for a consideration and, no doubt, in such a setting things cannot remain sweet and clean, nor fair and square as far as the general public are concerned. Bribery

and corruption are rather strong terms ; but what goes on in the way of aiding and assisting political party men creates an atmosphere which makes people think of such terms and epithets. In fact people openly say that there are privileged classes of businessmen who get their special facilities from government departments by virtue of rendering service to political parties.

All these above described arrangements go to show that even after India broke the bonds of imperialism all did not become well with the state of India (and Pakistan). Things continued to be done for favours shown and privileges secured and these advantages given and taken were generally speaking for monies given and taken. One cannot give proof of such transactions ; but public opinion is something which always rests at least largely on facts. People do not talk entirely on the basis of things imagined or maliciously concocted. And no properly conducted enquiries are ever made to disprove the accusations that are made about favouritism and other unfair practices.

Right People Securing Proper Recognition

We have written time and again about persons who manage to get credit for achievements which are not really theirs. This is done by managing things in an unfair manner and occasionally by methods which are not quite so sinful. One man's thesis for a degree or diploma is often given to educational authorities and undeserving persons are granted doctorates for being the author of learned dissertations which they have got from scholars who were friendly or accommodating. Sometimes theses come into the hands of unscrupulous persons who pass them on as their own, thus depriving the real author of the credit that is due to him. There are many cases of taking bits and pieces out of other people's academic work without any acknowledgement, also of making use of discoveries or inventions which others have made and passing them as one's own. There

are many writers, painters, sculptors and talented persons of other fields of work who do things for persons for a consideration and the paymasters earn the right to claim the authorship of what they get done in this manner. This is nothing new and has been going on since the days of the ancient Greeks, Romans and the great artists of the European Renaissance. Probably some artists of the Gandhara, Gupta, Pal, Pollava and Chola periods in India also accepted commissions of that sort, but, as artists' names were not so conspicuously displayed in India we cannot say much about the sale of artistic fame and credit in India. In modern times however the Indians have caught up with Europe and America in this field and the sale of scholarship, talent and skill has become an important business in India too. We have however not much criticism to engage in where purchase of credit as described above comes to take place purely as a business deal. What we strongly disapprove of are the cases where undue advantage is taken of persons by some means or other and due credit for work done is usurped by persons who abuse their power and privilege to seek fame by exploiting others. In many organisations subordinates are exploited by their superior officers and work done by the juniors are passed off as the work of the senior men. A very famous case is the discovery of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa. Rakhaldas Banerjee who discovered these ancient sites was not given proper credit for his marvelous findings for a long time, though eventually that was rectified. Such things happened in the archaeological department quite often and the wrong people obtained credit which was not due to them. Other cases that come to our mind are in connecting with the discovery of Mount Everest and the measurement of its real height. This peak was fully known to Indians long before Everest saw it and a Bengali officer of the Survey of India had measured it correctly long before the official reports gave it publicity.

Many discoveries thus are rediscoveries and many discoveries are only reporters.

Going back to the theme of credit snatching we have to do some fact finding here and there in Universities, learned societies, high level associations, science institutes and such like organisations. Unless one is adept at blowing one's own trumpet, not only does one not get full credit for the work that one does, but quite often, credit snatchers get away with their evil designs in an easy and unhampered manner. Credit snatching is a business which some individuals and their family members as well as their associates understand very thoroughly. Some quite well known Vice-chancellors of prominent Universities have thus claimed and obtained credit for work which they have never done and have in the process deprived due recognition of the work that their friends, well wishers and collaborators did for them. A good example can be found in the sphere of development of science studies in the Calcutta University which owed much more to the efforts that Sir Nilratan Sircar made than to any other person or group of persons. It was amazing that in 1974 the University college of science celebrated its diamond jubilee and in the brochure that the University people brought out they made no mention of their debt to Sir Nilratan Sircar. The Science College developed academically and financially in a noticeable manner during the years 1919-1942. Sir Nilratan Sircar was Vice-chancellor during the year's 1919-1922 and he was chairman of the post graduate council of science studies for eighteen years ending in 1942 when Sir Nilratan fell seriously ill. It was Sir Nilratan who secured very substantial donations from Sir Rash Behari Ghosh and Sir Tarak Nath Palit which enabled the University to build up the science college of the Calcutta University and to organise science studies in a proper manner. In that brochure every effort was made to ignore what Sir Nilratan Sircar had done for the science

faculty of the Calcutta University. Sir Asutosh Mukherjee who died in 1924, that is nineteen years before the death of Sir Nilratan and was physically out of all connection with University work for the reason that he was no longer there after 1924; was subject of great eulogium in the pages of the brochure referred to, as if it was Sir Asutosh who had done all the work in the field of development of science studies in the Calcutta University. Sir Asutosh was a person who had great achievements to his credit and he had no need to borrow fame from other persons. But his admirers of later years apparently thought differently and tried to belittle the achievements of Sir Nilratan Sircar with a view to make Sir Asutosh Mukherjee's glory more glorious. There are many persons still on this earth who have first hand knowledge of what Sir Nilratan Sircar had done in the field of medical studies and in developing the Jacabpur and Calcutta Universities. His work in the sphere of developing national industries, tea gardens and coal mines are also well known. His activities in the cultural and ethical fields have also been worth remembering. He was an extra-ordinarily capable and talented person and his country should be proud of a son like him.

About Afghanistan

Afghanistan has had cultural, political, economic and neighbourly contact with India since the days of the Mahabharata and the relations have been generally speaking friendly and accommodating most of the time. It is a smallish state and does not normally indulge in political adventures. The people of Afghanistan are simple and straight forward and they are not tricky and fond of double dealing like the citizens of more sophisticated countries. Diplomacy and low cunning being rarely found in the Afghans they have never harboured any tolerance for such traits if found in the behaviour of any top ranking Afghans. The result has

been that high level *coups*, palace revolution and intrigues etc. have been fairly common in Afghan history. In very recent times we find King Zahir Shah being overthrown by a military *coup* in July 1973. Mahammad Daoud who organised the *coup* was a relation of King Zahir Shah. He declared a Republic which continued to function for a few years. But in April 1978 another *coup* took place and the President of the republic Mahammad Daoud was killed. President Daoud had framed a new constitution in Feb. 1977. After the *coup* of 1978 Nur Mahammad Tarakki became the President of Afghanistan. All these incidents go to show that the court of Afghanistan is not at all stable and the people being not very shrewd, nor astute accept things as they come and for all they are worth. Over 90% of the people are illiterate and the few who have some knowledge are rarely highly educated. There are two Universities founded in 1932 and 1962, but very few students study in these institutions. As we have said before the people of Afghanistan are very simple and the court intrigues do not usually disturb their simple and naive outlook. Upto 1965 the government of Afghanistan ran according to the principles laid down in the Islamic traditions, the Shariat. Afghans are not yet very modern in their outlook.

The frontiers of Afghanistan touch the USSR and China. There have been high level examination of the frontiers and proper survey and demarcation. The area of Afghanistan is 2,50,000 sq. miles. The population is 19.58 million. The capital Kabul has a population of nearly 4,00,000 persons. Other cities are Kandahar, Herat, Gardez, Jalalabad and Mazar-i-Sharif. Temperamentally the city

dwellers are not very different from the villagers and the *coups* and palace intrigues have not much to do with the general public. High ranking army officers and the members of the noble families are the people who are usually involved in king making and government creating.

The normal strength of the Afghanistan army is about 1,00,000 and about 1,50,000 reservists. There are training centres for cadets and officers. The Afghanistan air force is small but well equipped with about 300 planes and 10,000 persons of various ranks. Army and air force men of the Afghan military establishment go for training to USSR, USA, U.K., France, India and other countries. The Afghanistan government has been trying to boost the economy of the country but not with great success. Afghanistan has Coal, Iron ore, natural gas and many other minerals, and the annual production of wool comes to about 10,000 tons. The Afghans cultivate about 14 million hectares of land and produce all that is needed in the way of food. They also produce much fruit and large quantities are exported. Cotton production is about 1,50,000 tonnes and a good deal of cotton cloth is produced by the cotton mills of the country. There are no railways in the country though plans are afoot to open a line which will link up Kabul, Kandahar and Herat. Aviation is developing. Afghanistan is progressing and is receiving assistance from USSR and other countries. Her economy is not very modern but is healthy in its own way. And there are no grounds for thinking that Afghanistan will not succeed in modernising her economic, cultural and political institutions once she takes up the work seriously.

ADULT EDUCATION AND UNIVERSITIES

V. T. PATIL AND B. C. PATIL

Indian Universities have the most important task of initiating and developing effective programmes of adult education for all those who have entered their life's occupation. Indian society is undergoing socio-economic change of vast dimensions and in such a process the role of an 'educated adult' assumes enormous significance. An adult who is educated and well-informed will be in a position to contribute more to societal progress than an adult who is ignorant and illiterate. The problem of adult education has assumed serious proportions. To tackle this grave problem a dispassionate and scientific approach are the need of the hour. The process of national improvement depends to a large extent on the quality and effectiveness of its people. In a society which is experiencing the phenomena of population explosion, the inadequacy of educational institutions to cope with this problem becomes an onerous burden. Educational facilities have to be expanded at a tremendous pace to match the high rate of population growth. If the educational system is incapable of absorbing the additional number of persons joining the population stream every year it will add to the number of adult illiterates from year to year. When the educational system is put under such a heavy burden it leads to a number of other serious consequences. Vast numbers of school going children become drop-outs and develop into illiterate adults. In other instances, when children stagnate in a said class there is a strong tendency for them to drop out of the school. This twin problems of drop-outs and stagnation lead to educational wastage on a large scale. This eventually is a result of an

ineffective and faulty school system that in turn leads to the spread of mass illiteracy. The magnitude of the problem and its seriousness make it imperative for Universities to devise bold, innovative and dynamic measures.

Adult education is used, synonymously with such statements as 'learning to live' and 'education for responsible citizenship'. It is based on the assumption that education is a life-long process. For the development and enrichment of human personality through intellectual growth and social responsibility of the individual to the community at large, all the citizens in a country must acquire knowledge on a continuing basis. Aristotle rightly said that 'all men by nature desire to know'. This is an intrinsic part of the human instinct. It may be unconscious or it may manifest 'itself in many ways through conscious efforts.

Adult education can bring about an equalitarian social order in which the weaker and oppressed sections become aware of their strength through direct political mobilization. It can also assist the poor in the creation of institutions which give them self-confidence and an ability to improve their lot through self-effort. The object of adult education is to enable such sections of the community to positively assert their rights by collective efforts. Psychologically speaking, an attitude of conformity and resignation must be eliminated by using adult education as a tool for educating the people in right directions.

Adult education is no longer confined to the underprivileged masses. Today it is still to be provided to all adult illiterates as a part of the educational system. Any learning activity that

increases the quantum of knowledge of adults and also if it involves changing the attitudes and opinions by enlarging their mental horizon may be considered as adult education.²

We are living in a age of continuous change the resultant effect of the predominance of science and technology. To enable individuals to take appropriate decisions for a more efficient management of human affairs in a technocratic society, adult education has a definite place. Adult education which emphasises learning as a life long activity enables individuals to comprehend and regulate their environment for a happy and prosperous life.

Every year a great amount of knowledge is added to the existing knowledge. In terms of the quality and quantity of knowledge generated every year, it can be pointed out that University degrees which are supposed to be valid for the life time of individuals are no longer so. All this means that there must be periodic reorientation or refresher courses to make individuals

-to-date with new knowledge and also to avoid stagnation or obsolescence of the mind.

The primary function of universities is to serve the community as a matter of social responsibility. Indian universities perform the role of discovering and spreading new knowledge by encouraging research and carrying such knowledge to the community which supports these higher institutions of learning.

The viability of Indian democracy and the changing social order depend upon the intellect and political consciousness of the masses, both rural and urban. In our society major decisions are mostly taken by adult members as gerontocracy is the prevailing norm. It is the adults who occupy top positions of responsibility and they are the ones who set the pace and pattern for decisions on different issues. So the adult leaders must be aware of the extant needs of the society as also of individual hopes and aspirations. Adult education in

such a social set-up enables individuals to make appropriate choices that foster individual interests encourage social progress and help modernization in all spheres. The everchanging environment creates the problem of finding out suitable ways of adjustments for individuals. At different stages of their lives, individuals have to adjust with their family, social groups and even with the emerging forces of international life. These persistent and pervasive demands of adjustment on the individuals can be successfully met only by well-conceived and well-organized programmes of adult education. In sum, individuals must possess adequate knowledge and wisdom to take appropriate decisions. They must also develop a capacity to adjust to the changing social, political, economic and cultural environments. They must grow to their fullest potential by developing social awareness and social responsibility.³

Indian Universities have realised their responsibility to the community around them only in recent years. In an earlier period these universities were merely regarded as citadels of learning and educationists were opposed to the idea of 'edification of the unlearned'. Thus the role of the universities in adult education has come to be accepted in recent years only after a great deal of controversy. Generally, universities in India are characterized by rigidity and aloofness from the moving currents of community and national life. It is necessary for them to cast their net wider by going beyond the traditional functions of teaching and research. Universities must emphasise their usefulness to society by applying the fruits of knowledge for the solution of human problems.⁴

Literacy being a powerful catalytic agent for change and progress, Indian universities have the major function of educating adult illiterates. In this task Indian universities have many possible avenues of action before them. National service of some kind must be made

compulsory so that students can actively participate in the developmental activities of the rural areas. They can also utilize their talents to make up the work of adult education in the villages. The objective conditions in the society as well as the eagerness of the people for radical measures are very favourable and the universities must utilize student power to eradicate illiteracy. Student power has almost an unlimited potential in India and our universities must formulate pragmatic plans to utilize the services of the students during vacations. Universities are usually located in urban centres or in places which are district headquarters. They must mobilize human and material resources with a view to conduct adult literacy classes in areas around their jurisdiction. In recent years it has become fashionable to talk of the 'Open University' and Indian universities can use these new techniques to serve the needs of adult illiterates and neo literates.

Universities must also cover other sections of the community such as school drop-outs, unsuccessful college entrants, occupational and professional groups, special groups etc. These areas can be covered by universities through suitable adjustments with local or regional uniqueness. Universities must also evolve comprehensive programmes of adult education and they must find a specific place as an area of study in universities. Apart from this, adult education programmes must be functional in import and significance so as to be in conformity with Indian society which is undergoing rapid change. In this context, a systematic campaign of publicity about adult education programmes will make them more acceptable to the people.⁵

In comparison with universities in the advanced countries of the west, Indian universities have taken concrete measures only recently in opening departments of adult education. The Union Education Ministry and the

University Grants Commission have earmarked funds for speeding up the drive towards universal literacy. However, it must be mentioned that the universities have not received sufficient support from governmental agencies by way of adequate financial grants for this valuable function. Our universities can become more innovative, by offering post-graduate, degree, diploma, certificate and short term courses in Andragogy. Even courses leading towards research degrees in this field may eventually be considered depending upon the need, facilities and resources of the respective universities. The course content in the department of adult education must lay stress on the acquisition of literacy by the uneducated people and it must also make education functional so that the learners can participate in the socio-economic regeneration of the country. The programmes must include a course content that has an appropriate mix of a variety of courses. The course content must provide for vocational education of different types to different people to increase their earning capacity. Short courses can be organised to impart training in public health, family planning and civic matters. Courses must also have a cultural thrust by disseminating knowledge about liberal arts, literature, music, dance, drama etc. Physical education and sports also come under this category. Courses must enable the learners to make a through study of the developmental problems facing the country. These programmes have to be flexible from the perspective of duration, location, timing etc. Planning and formulation of the course content must be the prerogative of the individual course teachers rather than imposed from above by a central authority. Adult education departments in the universities must train a cadre of dynamic workers who are in a position to demonstrate a thorough grasp of the social-objectives underlying such programmes. The organization, pattern of staffing, financial requirements, and

the structure of administration of the Adult Education Departments of various universities require a clarity of thought about their social utility. These departments must establish a creative relationship with other disciplines in the universities. Such a course of action will enable the programmes of adult education to draw meaningfully from the insights of other disciplines. It is always advantageous to begin on a modest scale and to eventually cover all the felt needs of the community at large. Educationists need to think in a systematic manner on the theory and practice of adult education as a discipline and as an instrument for bringing about change of various types.

On the organisational side, the discipline of adult education throws up a number of complex problems. The question of instilling a reasonable degree of motivation among the adults to participate in the learning programmes has to be given serious attention. Motivation of adults is possible through full-scale involvement in the on-going programmes but this can feru- tify only through the handiwork of good and dedicated workers in the multi-faceted programmes of adult education. The potent instrumentalities are those that relate to the development of programmes that suit the interests of the learners, by establishing a proper rapport between the teachers and the educand.

In the Indian context, adult education as a programme in the universities has to choose between the qualitative and the quantitative aspects. In a country where there is mass illiteracy only a well-co-ordinated mass campaign can meet the requirements of the people. It has to be a nation-wide movement of adult education wherein the universities strike a golden mean between the qualitative and the quantitative aspects of the problem. Given this dimension of the problem, there can be no either or solutions. Universities through

formal and non-formal methods can evolve viable adult education programmes.

Indian universities could take the lead in organising vacation camps wherein a sustained campaign for eradication of illiteracy can be launched with the co-operation of university teachers and students. Production of suitable literature in a simple language for the use of neo-literates must be taken up by the universities on a priority basis. Through extensive programmes of lectures, demonstrations, visits etc. higher education must be promoted on a massive scale. Correspondence courses for the sake of those who are employed and living in distant places from the seats of learning have to be started in every university in the country. The Extension Service or the Extra-Mural Departments of universities have to become prime instrument for translating these ideas into concrete action.⁶

It is heartening to note that the Government of India is aware of the gravity of the problem of mass illiteracy. The National Adult Education Programme (1978-83) envisages a target of covering 100 million illiterate persons in the age group of 15 to 35 in the next five years. This programme is dependent upon the use of a number of innovative techniques and procedures. The action component of the plan is more functional as compared to the earlier plans. Such a new strategy implies a major assault on the problems of adult illiteracy. Care must be taken to see that such an elaborate and impressive plan does not degenerate into mere platitudes incapable of realistic implementation. The whole question of making the learners self-dependent through self directed learning is a contentious one. Does this goal mean a mere acquisition of the three R's which is integral to the formal school system? What is necessary is to link up the learning process with what the learners do to earn their living, thereby making education

relevant to the realities of a modernizing society. The National Adult Education Programme will be implemented by the State governments though mostly funded by the Central Government. All this calls for a suitable machinery with adequate powers to act as a watchdog on the implementation of the programme. This programme need not rely only on governmental or official agencies, but non-official or voluntary organizations must be given a prominent role in creating the conditions for successful implementation of the programme. In such a programme our universities have a decisive role in eradicating mass adult illiteracy. Nations of the west have achieved almost universal literacy in about a generation. It should not be beyond the capacities of our governmental institutions and universities to bring about a high rate of literacy that is conducive for rapid economic advancement.

Since independence India has not been able to solve its problems of poverty, hunger and disease in a satisfactory manner because of mass illiteracy and lack of proper adult education. It must be recognised that any investment in adult education, specially for the weaker sections of the community, will be fully justified by the rate of socio-economic progress. A massive programme of adult education was not undertaken along with the inauguration of the 1950 constitution which opted for adult franchise. Adult franchise in an atmosphere of mass illiteracy will not create a responsible citizenry aware of its social responsibilities. This lacuna is now being removed through a massive attack on the problems of adult illiteracy. It must be realized that an equitable social order can be established only through constructive programmes of adult education.

Indian universities have moral, social and intellectual obligations to prepare the people to

meet the challenges of the world around them. The needs of the Indian people are changing rapidly in response to a society undergoing the stresses and strains of multi-dimensional change. Universities through dedicated and visionary leadership must grapple with the fundamental problems of adult education. New values and new ideas have to be generated by the universities with a view to make the people psychologically prepared to accept fundamental socio-economic changes.

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INDIAN PRESIDENT AND THE AMENDED CONSTITUTION

NIRMALENDU BIKASH RAKSHIT

There has been a lot of controversy as to the position occupied by the President on the constitution. Some writers, taking the juristic view, argue that the President can, if he so desires, become an autocrat even within the constitutional structure. But the other school, with an optimistic view of human nature, interpret the constitution in a loose manner and concludes that the President was intended to be, and actually is, a nominal head and that powers vested in him are to be exercised by the Cabinet.

The controversy, primarily, centres round the pivotal Article 74 of the constitution.

According to Article 74 (1), there shall be a Council of Ministers with the P. M. at the head to aid and advise the President in the exercise of his functions.

And, under 74 (2), the question whether any and if so what advice was tendered to the President shall not be inquired into in any Court of law.

Thus, prima facie, clause (1) of the Article only authorises the Council of Minister to aid and advise the President, but it does not say that the President shall be required to discharge his functions only upon the advice of the Council of Ministers. And moreover, the Judiciary is not entitled to quash any act of the President on the alleged ground that he has not accepted the ministerial advice.

Original Framework

D. Basul opines that, legally, the President cannot be compelled to act only upon the advice of the minister. He is, however, expected to accept ministerial advice. Otherwise, there might be some difficulties for him, both

during his term of office and also thereafter. So, there are some obvious sanctions.

1. He is required to act in accordance with the constitution under Art. 53(1).

2. The constitution empowers our Parliament to impeach the President on the ground of 'violation of the constitution' (Art, 61). This article acts, as Dr. Mahajan² puts it, as the 'Damocles sword' by which the ambition of a President is bound to be curbed.

3. An ambitious President, in his frantic disregard of ministerial advice, would automatically violate some of the mandatory provisions of the constitution.

4. It is also to be remembered that some provisions of our constitution indirectly prevents the President from being an autocrat. Thus, the constitution, under Art. 52, provides for a President and it is couched by the Art. 74(1) which says that there shall be a Council of Ministers.

Thus, the President cannot do without a Council of Ministers and it is unthinkable even for a single moment that the President is functioning without a Cabinet.

Now, if the President acts against the advice of his Cabinet, it will presumably resign. The President would have to form another Cabinet; but the new one also would have to resign as it would fail to command the majority in the lower House. Thus, each time the President would form a Cabinet, the original ministry, now sitting in the opposition side, would topple it by a vote of no-confidence, for, Art 75(3) requires that the Council of Ministers shall be collectively responsible to the Lok Sabha.

5. The expression 'aid and advise' occurs in

all constitutions in the Dominions. 'Aid and advise, is a familiar phrase of English constitutional convention and political practice. It is a constitutional phrase which has historically acquired a special meaning, namely, that the constitutional Head of the state can only act on the advice of his Ministers.

The above interpretation has, in fact, been accepted by the highest judiciary of our country which has constitutionally been ascribed the position of final interpreter of the constitution. Thus, observed Mukherjee, C. J., 'under Art 53(1) of our constitution, the executive power of the Union is vested in the President. But under Art. 74 there is to be a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister at the head to aid and advice the President in the exercise of his functions. The President has thus been made a formal or constitutional head of the executive and the real executive powers are vested in the Ministers or the Cabinet. (Ram Jawaya Kapoor V. State of Punjab).

6. The conventions which have reduced the absolute king of England into a nominal head, are supposed to be prevalent also in India. As Sir Jennings³ put it, 'the machinery of government is essentially British and the whole collection of British constitutional conventions has apparently been incorporated as conventions.' Similarly Pannikkar⁴ writes: 'The written constitution of India has to be read, interpreted and understood not in terms of its own express text, but in terms of unwritten conventions as expounded in English constitutional law.'

7. The makers intended for formal head and hence the President has been invested with tremendous powers but, actually, they have passed away to the Cabinet. To quote Dr. Ambedkar: 'Under the draft constitution the President occupies the same position as the king under the English constitution. He is the

head of the State but not of the Executive; He represents the nation, but he does not rule the nation' Dr. Munshi points out that with one or two dissident votes, the constitution committee agreed that our model would be British rather than American Government. The makers completely copied, to quote Ailadi, 'the system of responsible government in that is function in Britain to-day'.

Thus the writers who regard that the President can be a 'thinking' person with a 'mind of his own' and that he may even be a autocrat, refuse, as D. N. Banerjee⁵ thinks, to go beyond the letter of the law of the constitution and this legalistic view is very untrue to fact. He concludes, after a learned analysis, that whatever might be the language of our constitution, the President is, and has ever since the commencement of the constitution, been 'simply the constitutional Head' of our system.⁶

Controversy Begins :

In April, 1948, less than two months after the Draft constitution had been published, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of the constituent Assembly, wrote to Sri Rau that he did not find a provision "laying down in so many terms" that the President of the ensuing Republic was bound to act upon the advice of his Cabinet. Rau's reply is, unfortunately, not available, but it may be conceivable that he pointed out Dr. Prasad's error to him.

Dr. Prasad, however, again raised the matter and wrote to Rau on August and, it seems, his interests in the extent of Presidential power was certainly more than academic. Meanwhile A. K. Ayyar submitted a memorandum to the C. A. suggesting that there must be a provisional govt. and that the President of the C. A. and the ministers should form such provisional Govt. Hence it was almost axiomatic that Dr. Prasad would sit on the Presidential chair and naturally he was interested to know the exact nature of the Indian

Presidency. But Granville Austin⁷ points out that Dr. Prasad's letter should not be misunderstood as personal aggrandizement, he was more concerned for the welfare of the nation than for his own personal power.

Perhaps Dr. Prasad's letters led the Drafting committee to recommend an Instrument of Instruction to limit presidential power. Some members of the C. A. feared that the President might abuse his power and precipitate a confrontation with the Cabinet. The Instrument obviously dispelled their suspicion. But two months later, the C. A. reversed itself and the Instrument was dropped.

Dr. Ambedkar was obviously unhappy in such a retreat of the C. A. He, however, observed that such Instrument was a mere moral code, devoid of any legal force. He further pointed out that the future functionaries would know their powers and limitations and that the executive would be bound to obey the legislature even without any binding provision.

Thus, with the Instrument gone, the protection of Parliamentary Government of India was left solely to the British conventions which have, neither directly nor indirectly, any reference to the constitution of India. Eventually, Dr. Prasad, as the first President, tried to assert himself.⁸ When the Hindu Code Bill was introduced in the Provisional Parliament, Dr. Prasad, a conservative Hindu, reacted adversely and on 18, September, 1951 he wrote to Nehru that he would act on his own judgement while he would send message, give assent to Bills and use veto-power. Nehru transmitted this view to A. K. Ayyar and Setalvad, the then Attorney General. Setalvad pointed out that all executive authority in law and in fact was vested in the PM and that the President was bound to act as a mere figurehead. Ayyar, however, replied in two letters. In his earlier letter he wrote that the President must act as a constitutional Head of England. Ayyar's

second letter, a detailed one, treated the problem from various aspects and it concluded that if Dr. Prasad's claims were conceded, they will upset the whole constitutional structure.

Apparently, the matter ended soon. But again in 1960, Dr. Prasad, reiterating his earlier view, pointed out in his speech to the Indian Law Institute, that the constitution did not expressly reduce the President to a nominal head.

Perhaps Dr. Prasad himself realised that he was fighting a lost battle and in the remaining period of his tenure, he was personally self-effacing. Naturally, the President is not, by convention, reduced to a mere figurehead, while the ministry is the real executive.⁹

Recent Amendment :

Clause 13 of the 42nd amendment of the constitution has now brought about a significant change in the wording of Art. 74(1) of the original constitution. This Article, in amended form, now reads.

"There shall be a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister at the head to aid and advise the President who shall, in the exercise of his functions, act in accordance with such advice".

Thus, it is claimed, the amendment has made it explicit that the President is bound by such advice and that he can, on no occasion, act according to his own discretion or independent judgement.¹⁰ He is now reduced to the position of a mere figurehead and a rubber-stamp for the Cabinet. M. C. Chagla thinks that the amendment has obviously downgraded the status of the President though this was not actually intended by the Founding Fathers."

D. D. Basu points out that the aforesaid amendment has only codified the existing law as interpreted by the Supreme Court.¹¹ But, he observes, so long as the matter rested on convention, it could be adjusted to exigencies

of circumstances if the President is legally bound to abide by the decision of the Cabinet, certain questions would eventually arise :

1) Would the President be bound to choose the next Prime Minister on the advice of a defeated P. M.?

2) Would the President be bound to dissolve Lok Sabha on the advice of his defeated P. M.? If he is legally obliged to do so, then the intentions of the makers, particularly those of Dr. Ambedkar and Sir Rau, would be violated, because they thought that this was a discretionary power to be reserved to the President.

Thus, if the relevant amendment can really circumscribe President's authority, some difficulties may stem from the new arrangement, and if it cannot, then a fresh attempt to improve the product of the original makers would ridiculously be baffled. Mr. Chagla correctly points out that the President was not originally intended to act as a passive ruler, but was expected to guide the Cabinet. The new amendment seeks to deprive the country of the benefit of such advisory role.

President's Oath

But it is highly doubtful whether the new amendment can really reduce the President to a mere figurehead. President's Oath is a factor which tends to make him a real personality.

The President takes an oath in the same language as that taken by the American President. He swears to 'preserve, protect and defend' the constitution and law of the country and to devote to the service and well-being of the people of India'. The Ministers, on the other hand, swear to bear true faith and allegiance to the constitution. The President is, thus, not only the Head of the State but also the guardian and protector of the constitution and law. He has to uphold the sanctity of the constitution and if the onslaught comes from the ministry with whom no such responsibility

is invested, the President has to withstand such an attempt.

Threats to the constitution from the ministry by ill-advised policy or rash decision are not rare in the world history and, so, our framers have vested in the President the effective correctives. In such cases the President would be required to take judicious measures as he is conscientiously obligated to uphold the constitution even at the cost of ministerial displeasure. Above all, he has promised to uphold the constitution and not to abide by the decision of ministry.

It may also be noted that consultation with the Cabinet is not legally binding on him. And even in some situation the President can take his own decision and act accordingly. As a matter of fact, this is, according to Dr B. M. Sharma, not tantamount to violation of the constitution.¹³ The language of the Oaths to be taken by the President and the ministers are significantly different and the difference gives the President a Superior position to that of his Ministers.¹⁴ Whether the constitution is interpreted from a broad practical or a narrow legalistic point of view, he has the power of overriding his Ministers in cases of extreme necessities. If he does not act upon ministerial advice at all, said the constitutional adviser to the constituent Assembly, the validity of his acts cannot be challenged in the law Courts.¹⁵

Problem of Impeachment :

It was originally thought that the provision of impeachment would be a deterrent to Presidential ambition and Dr. Ambedkar explained to the constituent Assembly that an undesirable President could be brought to his senses by the threat of an impeachment.

But it seems that the makers were not clear in their intentions. Perhaps they thought that through the impeachment motion an undesirable President could be removed by a popular ministry. But whether the term

'violation of the constitution' is legal or a political phenomenon is not sufficiently clear.

K. K. Basu¹⁶ has rightly observed that the President can be impeached only when an express provision of the constitution is violated. Dr. Sharma, similarly, opines that the President can constitutionally exercise some of his vital powers independent of the Cabinet. He even writes that 'Art. 53 leaves a clear scope to the President to become a real ruler and not a mere nominal executive of the Union'. Even D. N. Banerjee agrees that the President is not required to act upon the ministerial advice in all matters.¹⁷

The Draft originally contained a schedule of Instructions to the President and also an Article one of whose clauses provided that in the exercise of his functions, he must be guided by the constitution. After a lengthy discussion, the Instructions as well as the clause were, however, omitted and Dr. Ambedkar asserted that the conventions of the British constitution would be binding in India also and such instruction will be redundant. When Mr. H. V. Kamath subsequently reverted to the point and asked whether any Presidential act in disregard of ministerial decision would be tantamount to violation of the constitution, Dr. Ambedkar emphatically replied that 'there is no highest doubt about it'.

It has been pointed out earlier that a number of noted writers have differed on this issue and it can be said that Dr. Ambedkar could not substantiate his point by any sort of constitutional logic. Peculiarly enough, the doubt of the Constituent Assembly was dispelled by his reply and the original idea was abandoned.¹⁸

But while the legislature, guided by the cabinet, is the judge of the conduct of the President, the issue is sure to be a political one and an honest President may run the risk of impeachment for his political conscience. But in practice, the prescribed procedure is not

only cumbersome and protracted, but there are several catches and loop-holes which will make it ineffective and almost impossible to apply. The object, Dr. Rao believes, is thus sure to frustrate.¹⁹ The reasons are :

a) The President can prevent the move by his legislative power. It is the President alone who can summon the legislature and he may not summon it more than twice a year. When the legislature is bent upon such a drastic step, the President may refuse to summon the Houses. If the legislature is already in session, he may prorogue or even dissolve the Lok Sabha. The following mid-term poll may even send the President's favourites with a dominant majority.

b) It is very difficult to get 2/3 majority in each House against the President. After all, the President is the highest dignitary of the land and he has some influence. Secondly, being a choice of indirect election throughout India, he is obviously a dignified leader of a major political party or parties. It is quite probable that more than one-third members of either House would register their support to him. And that would frustrate even the consensus of the other House against him.

c) Impeachment is, further, an ineffective instrument as it does not mean political isolation or social punishment. If a President is impeached, he does not forfeit his claim of a future candidature. Thus, with a political change in his favour, the impeached President may be honourably returned to his office as a prize for his royal battle with his dissentient ministry.

The British Monarch acts upon the advice of his ministry not because he is afraid of personal consequences, but because he is afraid and apprehends the loss of the Throne for himself and also for his dynasty. The stakes of the Indian President are not so heavy. Moreover, the British king has no party to stand behind, but our President has ; and he takes his deci-

sion in consultation with his party, If the cabinet is formed by a party to which the Presidents belongs, it may split on the impeachment question, and if the parties are different, President's party would surely rush for his rescue.

Mixed System.

It has been further held that India has automatically accepted the office of a nominal head as it has deliberately chosen the cabinet or parliamentary form of government. One of the features of such a system is the presence of two sets of executive—nominal and real—and if India presents a cabinet government, the President is really a nominal head.

In the constituent Assembly the consensus of the members was in favour of such a system. The reasons of accepting this system were, according to Dr. Munshi, its familiarity and popularity, and (in Dr. Ambedkar's view) its stability and elasticity. It has been held by the Supreme Court in *Ram Jawaya Kapoor's* case that ours is a cabinet system modelled upon the British pattern.

But it is a moot question whether Indian constitution offers a cabinet system of government as it is understood in constitutional terminology. In India the president has been invested with tremendous powers which he is not required to exercise with ministerial advice and he is also not accountable even to the highest judiciary. Thus, our system is, as *Surdar D. K. Sen*²⁰ rightly characterises, 'a curious mixture of the essential elements of the systems of responsible government and of the Presidential regime.' Dr. V. D. Mahajan also comes to the same conclusion and observes that the new constitution provides for a parliamentary-cum-Presidential form of Government.²¹

Dr. Rao rightly observes that power in India has not been concentrated but divided between the cabinet and the president and, hence, the pattern has substantially diverged

from the Cabinet system.²² Dr. S. C. Dash in his brilliant analysis, shows that the President can act without ministerial counter-signature, can appoint and dismiss the ministry at his choice, promulgate ordinances, proclaim emergency and continue a monocratic rule at least for a time.²³ He occupies a dominating role as Art. 53 would suggest. Thus Dr. Dash concludes: 'This shows that the cabinet system in India is a cogglomeration of the principles of English, American and German parties.'

British Conventions and the Indian Constitution

Regarding the applicability of the British conventions, we must remember the following facts:

a) British conventions are the product of a historical condition and political struggle which are not common to India. Thus, the British conventions cannot claim an automatic application in India.

b) Some of the British conventions as these regarding the internal proceedings of the legislature or the Commonwealth are out of place here.

c) Conventions have a glorious role in England due to some political reasons of different nature and also to the existence of an unwritten constitution. But India has a written constitution of its own and its administration must be guided by its express terms.

d) British conventions have not been mentioned in the Indian constitution and the President is nowhere compared with the British King. Thus, the British conventions have no significance in the legal interpretation of the Indian constitution. In case of conflict between such conventions and written provision, the latter is to prevail.

e) Whenever the makers of our constitution intended to adopt some British practices they mentioned the relevant British provisions in express terms, of Arts. 105(3) and 194(3). In these Articles the makers expressed that

until our legislatures determine by law their immunities, those enjoyed by the members of the House of Commons should be available also to our legislators. Thus, it can be held that British conventions cannot have an automatic and general application to our constitutional behaviour.

f) Conventions, for an steady growth and wide acceptance, requires a time-process. Indian constitution, has hardly offered any scope so that our conventions should grow up. Moreover, it must be remembered that conventions do not grow up in an arid ground; they require favourable political climate for a happy nourishment.

g) Some conventions in England assumed different meaning in different times and the great constitutionalists often differed, and even quarreled, in their interpretation. As the interpretations are different, which would be accept as authoritative and final is not, obviously, known to us.

One may refer, in this connection, to the heated controversy among the writers regarding some of the powers of the King. It is now axiomatic that the Sovereign would not dismiss a ministry, in spite of his theoretical right, so long it is backed by a parliamentary majority. Though the ministry holds office during the pleasure of the King, it practically runs the administration till it commands the confidence of the House of Commons. Thus, no ministry has been dismissed in England since 1834. Dr. R. C. Ghosh²⁴ observes, the question of dismissal can arise in Great Britain only when the Ministry refuses to resign or advise dissolution after the House of Commons has passed a vote of no-confidence against it. Dismissal of a popular ministry, as Dr. Jennings²⁵ points out is now regarded as 'unconstitutional'. But Dr. A. B. Keith²⁶ holds that the King can exercise this power in grave circumstance. Similarly, Wade and Phillips²⁷ also write: 'Ministers may be dismissed, though dismissal

would only be justified under modern conditions by wholly abnormal circumstances'.

Controversy centres round another convention—Veto power of the King. It is well-known since the time of Queen Anne that no monarch has even exercised this power and now it is held that the power has fallen into disuse. Yet the Home Rule Bill of 1913 generated a troubled controversy and contemporary authorities sharply differed on this issue. Thus, while Balfour, Bonar Law and Lord Salisbury believed that the King could veto the bill, Lord Esher, Asquith and others repudiated the claim with equal steadiness.

The power of dissolution of the House of Commons, is, of course, no less a debatable issue. The King generally dissolves the House of Commons only on the advice of the Prime Minister. But since 1911, it has been asked whether the King could dissolve it at his own will or whether he can refuse to grant a dissolution when asked for by the prime Minister. Regarding the Home Rule Bill the great constitutionalists of England raised a storm of controversy and some of them, like Sir Anson, Lord Cecil and Prof. A. V. Dicey recognised that right of dissolution was a royal power which could be exercised without, and even against, ministerial advice. Sir Anson²⁸ opined that in order to obtain a popular mandate, the King could dissolve the House of Commons with the consent of the Cabinet. In case the cabinet differed, the King could even dismiss it and appoint a new one which agreed to bear the responsibility of royal action. Prof. Dicey²⁹ also was in complete agreement with Sir Anson's view. But Asquith emphatically maintained that in the exercise of his powers, the King was bound to accept the view of the ministry and that if the King acted otherwise, he would become the foot-ball of contending faction.

Dr. Keith³⁰ observes that—

a) the crown is normally bound to grant a

dissolution on the request of a ministry which has not recently received a dissolution ;

b) but a defeated ministry can not ask for, nor should the king grant, a second dissolution.

But Laski³¹, on the basis of the 'doctrine of automatism', asserts that the King must act upon the advice of his ministers. He observes : 'To grant a dissolution automatically is to place the responsibility for the government squarely upon the shoulders of the electorate, where, in the circumstances, it ought to, lie.' He further holds that the emphasis upon the 'automatism' was the surest way to the preservation of royal neutrality. But Wade and Phillips³² think that the King can refuse a dissolution if he is satisfied that (a) the existing Parliament is still vital and capable of doing its job, (b) a general election would be detrimental to the national economy and (c) he can form a stable government with a working majority. The King, on the other hand, twice in the present century, took initiative in dissolving the House.³³ Thus, the conclusion is inevitable that whether the British Sovereign may refuse a dissolution to a defeated ministry when an alternative government is possible, is not yet above controversy.

At the International Legal Conference held in Delhi in 1953, Patanjali Sastri, former Chief Justice of India, expressed the view that the exercise of Presidential authority is limited only to the extent specifically mentioned in our own constitution and it cannot be restrained by the application of the legal provisions or unwritten conventions of other constitutions. Sirdar D. K. Sen also thinks that in interpreting the provisions of the constitution in respect of the powers of the President, the text of the constitution must be construed by itself without importing any extraneous theory or principle.

The President is often compared with the British King. But it seems, some misunderstandings must be removed. It may be submit-

ted that royal authority assumed different significance during different periods of British Constitutional history and Kingship of England, as such does not connote a specific meaning. 'Thus, queen Victoria or George V did not rule in the same manner as did William I or George I. And this is natural in the context of the unwritten structure of the British constitution.

George V cast a heavy shadow not only on his cabinet but on the total political atmosphere of his time. He judiciously sent for Baldwin rather than Lord Curzon in 1923 and henceforth a new convention grew up that the Premier must come from the Lower House. In the same year, the ministry lost its majority and Baldwin wanted to resign. But the King advised the Prime Minister that the King ought not to accept the verdict of the poll except as expressed by the representatives of the electorate across the House of Commons. After the split of the Labour Party in 1931, the King, on his own initiative travelled from Balmoral to London and persuaded MacDonald to form a National cabinet. This was however, a subject of acrimonious controversy among the constitutional writers in general and Laski and Keith in particular. Though Laski could not endorse this palace revolution, Dr. Keith supported the King as the 'Guardian of the Constitution'. The King's action really divided Labour Party and fortunately the popular mandate had gone in his favour. In spite of controversy, however, this royal action cannot be held as unconstitutional.³⁴ The King, again, supported Asquith in the great struggle with the Lords on People's Budget by agreeing to create new peers.

Practically, the King has a wide discretion in choosing his Prime Minister and as Walter Bagehot³⁵ put it, he may choose better for his subjects than they could choose for themselves. He can, in extremely grave circumstance,

dismisses the ministry. He can exercise a decisive role in summoning and dissolving the legislature and can move public opinion in his favour. In the words of Sir David Keir³⁶, The King's prerogative however circumscribed by conventions must always retain its historic character as a residue of discretionary authority to be employed for the public good. It is the last resource provided by the constitution to guarantee his own working.

The informal rights of the King are, however, more important than his formal rights. A. Bagehot observes, the King has three important rights—the right to be consulted, the right to encourage and the right to warn. An energetic monarch can, by dint of these rights, exercise a dominant personality over the entire political system. For example, queen Victoria forced Lord Palmerston to resign for his congratulation to Louis Napoleon on his successful coup as the Prime Minister did not consult the queen. She, again, encouraged Peel to repeal the Corn Laws in 1846. In the year 1855, he rebuked Palmerston for underrating the gravity of the Sepoy Mutiny of India.

In external affairs also sometimes the Kings have made important contributions. Thus Victoria and Prince Consort prevented England from undertaking an unprofitable war with America in the Trent affair. The queen also prevented a war with France in 1840. She mediated in 1869 in the question of disestablishment of the Irish Church. Edward VII travelled widely and that ended the isolation of England and helped the formation of Entente of 1904. Sometimes the personal influence of the King cemented the ties of the allies. Thus, George V in 1914 and George VI in 1939 helped England in gaining friends and in warming mutual relations.

It is held that the King is the storehouse of political knowledge and experience. He is, moreover, widely acquainted with political forces of his time. To have such a person as

the friend, critic and counsellor, is a matter of immense benefit for the Cabinet. The ministers are, on the other hand, the temporary representatives of shifting public opinion. The King, again, is the fountain of justice, leader of the nation and an impartial umpire between contending camps. Thus, his opinion carries a great weight and if he be a man of imposing personality, even a rash minister would think many times before disregarding a warning from the King.³⁷

After a sustained struggle for centuries, democracy has triumphed over absolute monarchy in England and, through parliamentary enactments and prevailing conventions real power has passed to the Cabinet.³⁸ But as Austin Ogg³⁹ observes, 'it is erroneous to think that Kingship in England is moribund and meaningless or the King has no actual influence in the Government.' So, even Laski, who thought that an active King was unthinkable within the framework of British constitution, concluded that an energetic King, skilfully advised, could still shape the emphasis of policy.⁴⁰

Sir Jennings⁴¹ observes that the queen does not steer the ship, but she has to make it certain that there is a person at the wheel. He further asserts that 'to express a doubt is often more helpful than to formulate a criticism; to throw on a casual remark is often more helpful than to write a memorandum.' He writes⁴² in another place: 'Though personally remote from Parliament and platform, he is constantly close to the scene of great events.' His, capacity to influence, then, depends upon his personal qualities. It may also be added that sometimes political parties even tend to push royal power for some political interests. Thus, the conservatives have interpreted royal power of dismissal of the ministry and dissolution of the House of Commons on extremely legalistic notion. These powers may be exercised independent of ministerial will and as Rannay,

Carter and Herz suggest, some grave circumstances may even warrant such authority.⁴³

In fine, we may conclude with Ogg that the King not only sits enthroned ; he moves among the people and he may move his people by his own motion. All would depend on his personality, tact, judgment, knowledge and energy. His authority largely depends on the personality of the Prime Minister and if the latter is inferior to the King in political knowledge and personal qualities, the King is sure to govern the land. As Sir J. A. R. Marriot concludes. In a constitution so entirely, flexible as our own, much depend upon the personal equation.⁴⁴

Vital differences :

Although the makers intended that the President should function like the King of England, yet there are, at certain points, fundamental differences between the King and the President :

1. The oath of the office of the British King speaks nothing of the constitution. All it enjoins on him is to govern the country with the aid and advice of the Parliament and the council of Ministers. But the Indian President by the Oath, accepts the Supreme duty to 'protect, preserve and defend the constitution.' His loyalty is only to the constitution and he is to uphold it against any sort of onslaught, even if it comes from the Cabinet or Parliament.

2. The British King normally accepts the advice of the Council of Ministers, because, as Lord Esher once pronounced, any tampering with this principle will end monarchy. The King apprehends the loss of his throne for himself and for his dynasty as a result of his momentary mistake. But, while the personal ambition of the King can curb itself by devotion to his dynasty, such operative forces are not available in the case of the Indian President.

3. The King of England is expected to reign as an impartial umpire between the con-

tending factions. He accepts the decision of his ministers and this is, according to Laski, the surest way to preserve royal neutrality. But the Indian President is not an impartial functionary and that is indicated by the method of election. So his official decisions are likely to be motivated by political considerations.

4. The relationship between the British King and his ministers are determined by the age old conventions accepted widely as binding. But in India that is settled by constitutional provisions. Thus Art.53 indicates that the President may exercise his own authority because it is evident that the ministers are 'officers subordinate' to the President. Thus, the President legally enjoy a dominating superiority to his Cabinet.

5. The King, theoretically, enjoys all power in England. These powers have by conventions, gradually been transferred to the Cabinet. But the Indian constitution, by express provisions, determines the constitutional jurisdictions of both the Cabinet and the President. The Cabinet, by the terms of the constitution has been empowered only to aid, advise, and inform decisions to, the President. So, the two systems fundamentally differ from one another.

6. The British Sovereign can not be removed from office except by a Special law enacted for the purpose. The Indian President, however, can be impeached for violation of the constitution. But, the President's liability to impeachment, as Munshi observes, clearly indicates that there is a sphere of action in respect of which he is personally responsible.⁴⁵

Thus, according to Munshi, the President has the following 'Supra-ministerial power' :

1. Dismissal of a Prime Minister who does not enjoy the leadership of his party ;
2. Dismissal of a Ministry which has lost the confidence of Parliament ;
3. Dismissal of the House of People which

appears to the President to have lost the confidence of the people ;

4. Exercise of the powers of the Supreme Commander in an Emergency, where the ministry has failed to defend the country.

Conclusion :

Thus, it is sufficiently clear that the Indian President was intended to play a vital role in the governance of the country. The recent amendment has, however, sought to make him a magnificent cipher. But it is highly doubtful whether the desired goal is reached. The powers and position of the President must be determined by the harmonious interpretation of the relevant provisions. An amendment of Art. 74, in isolation, cannot make the President a rubberstamp of the cabinet. So long as the wordings of his Oath and the procedure of his impeachment remain unchanged and he has such powers as dismissal of the Cabinet, message to Parliament, reference to the Supreme Court, dissolution of Parliament, and so on, any change in Art. 74 would be insufficient to make him a passive functionary.

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Similarly, Lowell writes : The greater part of the prerogatives have remained legally vested in the crown and can be

- exercised to day (The Government of England, Vol. I, P. 96),
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AN INQUIRY INTO THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE PURANAS

(A General View)

KSHETRAMOHAN MUKHOPADHYAYA

The Puranas are held sacred among the Hindus, being regarded more as religious books than as Itihasa. Though the name of Itihasa is, however, associated with the Puranas and in them we find preserved the Hindu tradition. They are Samhitas of compilations and were composed or compiled with a devotional spirit and with five characteristics : beginning with Swarga, creation ; Pratiswarga-destruction and creation ; manwantaras dynastic matters etc. There is mention of dasalakshmana in Bhagabata Purana, Purana, in the beginning, appears to be, answering ten characteristics. As said before the devotee Puranakars did not

attach much importance to Kala or time in relation to the months and seasons. Their historical elements are only secondary. As for why this is the fact there is explanation in different Puranas and in the great epic, the Mahabharata. As quoted by Mahamohopadhyaya Kane : In the Adiparva of the Mbh. It is said : "Kala creates beings and Kala destroys people ; Kala extinguishes Kala that is engaged in destroying people ; Kala brings about good or evil states (or—things); Kala reduces all people and again sends them forth ; Kala is the only one awake when all are asleep (i. e., dead or liberated) for Kala is invincible."

Some of the Puranas contain disquisitions on Kala. The nature of time described in the Kr. is as follows: "This adorable Kala is without beginning and without end, it is ageless and immortal; it is a great Lord because it is all-embracing, it is independent and is the self of all; there may be many Brahmas, Rudras or Narayanas, and other Gods. It is declared that the divine Lord is one and is omniscient and is Kala.....". The Vy. and Kr. both say, "Time creates beings and again destroys them; all are under the rule of Time, while Time is not under the dominance of anyone"³. This is our heritage and our conception of time is different. (We have explained in the later pages why the time—the historical element is secondary in the Puranas). And the absence of clear epigraphical, numismatical, archaeological and literary evidence with regard to the chronology makes the scholars, working in this field, embark on baseless hypotheses, which we would endeavour to point out later in our dissertation.

The information available in respect of time is vague and fragmentary and to arrive at a definite view with regard to the precise antiquity of the Puranas is not, perhaps, possible, yet let us examine the materials obtainable from the Puranas, vis-a-vis the views of the Scholars in this field so that an approximate or reasonable idea may emerge.

The materials dealt with in the Puranas, some of which were redacted or written in the Gupta times represent a system of educating people and appear to be related to local environment and its bearing upon the people so that they may be made with important doctrines and worship the summum bonum of life.⁴ All this seems to be an attempt at throwing light on intimate problem of existence and lead to an understanding of nature (divine) and its laws, history, the past, and the present, making full use of the existing human knowledge. Naturally the Puranas became

popular gospels into which one could dip for guidance whenever necessary.

The question of antiquity, chronological sequence or dynastic matters are thus subservient to the study of the manwantaras listed in the Puranas.

The Puranic chronology is linked with the Magadhan dynasty. The Geographical position of Magadha is South Bihar.⁵ Magadha includes all the Gangetic provinces and is described to be the best part of the British empire in Asia.⁶ And the chronology of the Kings of Magadha belongs to the Kaliyuga which consists of, according to the Puranas, 432,000 years. This has six odd parts or divisions known as sacas or mighty illustrious Kings from whom the Hindus Originate. This is the system we get from an astronomical treatise, called Jyotirvidabharana. The whole human race is believed to have been descended from the seventh Manu. NW—the son of sun—is the first father of men (cf. Father Bacchus of the Europeans). The seven Rishis who were preserved with this Manu in the ark, are not mentioned as fathers of human race; but since his daughter Ila (7th Manu's daughter) was married to the first Budha or Mercury, the son of Chandra, or the moon, a male deity, whose father was Atri, son of Brahma, his posterity are divided into two great branches, called the children of the sun from his own supposed father, and the children of the moon, from the parent of his daughter's husband: the male descendants in both these families are supposed to have reigned in the cities of Ayodhya or Audh, Pratisthana or Vitora, respectively till the thousandth year of the Kali age.⁷

Puranic chronology presents two distinct families: one the Swambhuva bansa and the other Vaivaswata Vansa—The Swambhuba family was held to be divine—so all the Puranic dynasties, solar and lunar as well begins from MW.⁸ There is not much noti-

ceabl change in essential matters in the extant Puranas, for, from the allusions to the Puranas during the 5th and 6th Centuries (although we differ with rsgard to the dates—see below), we may conclude that the extant Puranas are in the main identical with the Original Puranas. The old lists of Kings handed down from the Vedic times are expected to have been preserved in the new Puranas.⁹

The dynastic lists of Kings given in the Puranas may differ from each other, but that does not mean that the names are fictitious. If an agreegate (total) is supported by all the Puranas it should be taken as a guide to reckon figures for individual reign, from varied and divergent data. In the Puranas minor names are sometimes omitted. The reign of the kings leftout is added either to the preceding or succeeding reign. Some times when figures for individual reigns—differ in different Puranas the agreegates of two or three successive reigns agree, which means that a certain period of time has been re-allocated to several reigns.¹⁰

“Pradhanyata prabachyayami
gahato me nibodhata”.

That the Puranika lists of kings of ancient days are not fanciful, and that old chronology can be roughly established with their help have been admitted by Pargiter¹².

As we have said before, all the religious treatises in India were written in a spirit of devotion and reverence. much importance, therefore, was not put on the Calendar, similarly absence of Index in the Puranas may be assigned to the supposed multiauthorship of the Puranas referred to hereafter. Many scholars engaged in the field have attempted to place them in an unreasonably later time, we would say, arbitrarily with the help of inadequate data. We would try to establish the antiquity of the Puranas here with whatever data available to us, rationally, and

plausibly authentic, without being led by any prejudice or bias.

The usual number of year assigned to each yuga according to the Puranas for astronomical purposes :

Krta=1,728000 years

Treta=1,296000 „

Dvapara=8,64000 „

Kali=4, 32000 „

From a study of the Puranas we get different kinds of information in respect of dynastic matters and on that score we can classify the Puranas into two groups : (A) Those in which we get the list of Kali dynasties and (B) Those in which we do not get the royal names of the Kali dynasties. According to Pargiter, Mt, Bd' Vy, Vn, Bg, Gd, and Bh, contain the dynastic matter of Kali Kings.¹³ Except Mt. and Bg all of the above Puranas give the ancient genealogies from the time of the Mbh. war to the dynasties that reigned in North India after that time. Of these two groups of Puranas those that do not give the Kali dynasties are likely to be of considerable antiquity and they are Br., Hvns, Sv., Ag., Pd., Kr., and Lg. Again; the Mt. and the Ag. while giving the lists of the Kd do not maintain a continuity from the Pre-Mbh. war solar dynasty. In the Mt. Pre-Kd stops at Srutayu and the KD starts with Brhadbala, in the Lunar line the Kd starts from Pariksit—see appendix A.

All the sources from which we get the pre-Mbh. war Ayadhyā dynasty maintain an aceord—we get lists of kings of three solar branches, of which Brhadbala and Sankhana are given as the 71st and Srutayu as 72nd of MW descent.

Taking the mean from all the Puranas listed above we can make the following table of pre-kali kings :—

M Selar : 2nd age. Treta

From Manu to Trasadasyu whose number

is the 22nd from MW according to all the Puranas except Bh, Kr., Pd, and Ag and according to the same authority from Trasadasyu to Rohita whose number in descent is 28th and in the like manner from Rohita to Vrka whose number is the 33rd King and from Vrka to Kalmaspada whose number is 48th King, and from Kalmaspada to Rama and Rama's number is 56th. The above list is in accordance with the list given by another authority.¹⁴ Barring Hvns. and Br. between Kalmaspada and Ailavila Dilipa Khatwanga there are altogether 5 stages but in the 4th stage between two brothers Anamitra and Raghu I, Anamitra went to forest.¹⁵ The name of Raghu I has neither been mentioned by Br nor by Hvns.; which we referred to before as authentic because of their antiquity; (as we are going to establish later) neither by Captain Wilford in the AR as referred to above. Besides, Ailavila is the nickname of Dilipa¹⁶ (Dilipa is Anamitra's son)

"Anamitramutee raja bidvana
duliduhu' bhabat

Dileepasta nayastasya
Ramasyaprapitamahah"¹⁷

and again

"Anamitrasya dharmatma
bidvanaduliduhu' bhabat
Dileepastanayastasya Rama-
prapitmahah"¹⁸

It is some what misleading unless we interpret it as: His learned pious son Duliduha (Dileepa, taking Duliduha as the corruption or nickname of Dileepa) [See Appendix 'X'] was the great grandfather of Rama. Pargiter accepts Ailavila as a metronymic form¹⁹.

From the evidences provided by the Puranas:—Out of the six sacas—the first Yudhisthira—his period lasted 3044 years. 2. Era of Vicramaditya, the second Saca lasted 135 years; 3. Era of Salibahana—his era will last 18000 years 4. Saca of Vijayavinanda

—his period will last 10,000 years. 5. Nagarjuna whose period will last 400,000 years. 6. Then will re-appear antediluvian Bali his period will last only 821 years.²⁰

By the above account the age of Kali is corroborated and our task ahead is to reckon the calendar. Yudhisthiras death occurred in 3176 B. C. based upon the consensus of all the Puranas, though Captain Wilford—differs the difference is minor—a matter of 10/12 years, besides, he did not base his information on his personal investigation but on the conclusion arrived at by a Pandit Radhacant who collected evidence from the Puranas.²¹ From the Puranas we get two lines of kings: (1) Solar line, and (2) Lunar Line. Both these lines continue till Mbh War which took place on 3102 B./C.²² We have already recorded a list of pre-mbh. solar Kings and for future reference we provide below the table of the pre-mbh. dynasties of kings:—

Third Age Dyapara SUN

1. Cusha
5. Pundarica
6. Kshemadhanwa
10. Ramach'haia
15. Hiranyanabha
20. Sighra
25. Mahaswar
26. Viswabahu
27. Prasenjeet
28. Taksaka
29. Vrhadbala
30. Vrhadrana

MOON

- Counted from
the 6th King.
1. Vitat'ha
 5. Ajamidha
 10. Suratha
 15. Ayevtayush
 20. Pratipa
 21. Santanu
 22. Vicitravirya
 23. Pandu
 24. Yudhisthira.
 25. Pariksit

In the above list, and in the Lunar line Pariksit's number is 25—he is the 30th King—name as the first five kings of the line of the age could not be traced. The reign lasted 54,000 years and Pariksit died at the setting in of the Kaliyuga.²³ And then the solar line

goes on for about 30 kings and finally stops. The Lunar line through its Hastinapur Branch, disappears about after 30 kings, but through its Magadhan line continues down to the end of the Andhras. About Magadhan line we will discuss later. With the death of Yudhisthira the Hindus assign, from Yudhisthira and his contemporary Vrhadbala (Jarasandha) to the time when the Solar and the Lunarline are extinct, 1,000 years.²⁴ But the Magadhan King who died in the Mbh. War was Sahadeva, son of Jarasandha, and his number, as found in different Puranas to-day, from MW downwards is between 48 and 36. 36 (Ag.), 39 (Bg.), 41 (Vn.), 44 (Hvnsn) 46 (Vy), (Bd.), and (Gd.) So we have 48 to 36 kings before Mbh. War.

Obviously here is a Puranic anomaly—viz., when Rama's number is 56 in the list of Kings of the Treta age how can Sahadeva, a Samprata (contemporary) King of Parikshita be 46th or 48th from MW? Presumably, and from the evidence available, quite a number of King-names of the 'M' list had no mundane existence they were rather, astral. In the story literature, i. e., the epics and the Puranas, they constitute the components being symbolized by human figures to be Protagonists of the works having one dominating element of heroic cult or heroworship.

To substantiate the above fact, We would refer to an astronomical convention in ancient days in northern parts of India. The Nakstra cycle instead of commencing from Krittika or Bharani (at the time of the Sam, Yaju, Tai about which we will discuss later in detail) and being 27 in number would be 13 in number and pole star or Dhruva constellation (called the fish of Dhruva—Brahmanadhikara) would be in the mouth, and Uttharapada, his father would be in the tail. The mouth is turned towards Bharani, and its revolution is the same.²⁵

We take it further, as in the Vedas the

elemental forces of nature have been deified, the creation calling for the Vedic roots "Bhoo" and "Dhr" have formed into Bharata and Mandhata—since evidences of their performances as human beings are vague and unavailable (C. f. Manu—a generic name.) That apart, Maghada line could boast of powerful chieftains even in the days of Vedic Rsis.²⁶

Now let us look for other positive evidence to compute dates. For convenience, sake we quote verbatim the part of the essay on Kali Yuga Era of B. C. 3102 by J. F. Fleet. "The Kali Yuga era is a Hindu reckoning beginning at mean sunrise, 6.0 a. m., Lanka or Ujjain time, on Friday, 18 February, B. C. 3102". He adds a note which runs thus :—

[It may be useful to note that in terms of the Julian period beginning with Monday, 1, January, B. C. 4713, and regarded as having its days running for Indian purposes from Sunrise (instead of the preceeding midnight), the first Civil day of Kali Yuga era, the Friday mentioned above, is the day 588, 467 current, or, as it is taken for purposes of calculation, the day 588, 466 elapsed.]

"In consequence of the seeming antiquity of this reckoning there has been manifested recently in certain quarters a desire to demonstrate that it is a real historical era, founded in Vedic times and actually in use from B. C. 3102"²⁷.

After the Mbh. war Yudhisthira became king of the United Kingdom of Indraprastha and Hastinapur for the second time with—Bhimasena as his Yuvaraja 20 years after the death of Krishna.²⁸

After an unknown gap Abhimannu's Posthumous son Parikshit was born.²⁹

According to a tradition, each of the mahayugas had equal number of years—1000 years—or a mahacaturyuga will have 4000 years—or in other words Krta, Treta, Dvapara, and Kali will have 4000 years. From an analysis of the Chronology of kings we find that regnal period of individual king, on an

average, ranges between 20—40 years and the grand total of regnal periods include Kingless periods or republics mentioned in ancient Hindu History.

K. P. Jaiswal in his paper Chronological Totals in Puranic Chronicles and the Kali Yuga Era speaks of two fixed points of the Puranas on which they sum up their total political Chronology. And they are the Mbh. war or the birth of Parikshit and the reign of Mahapadmananda (see Appendix B).³⁰ A period of 1050 years is covered since the birth of Parikshit to the Coronation of Mahapadma—Vy., Mt.³¹ We would also hold the same view though Pargiter is disinclined to accept the time (between the birth of Parikshit and the Coronation of Nanda—predecessor of Mahananda).³² In an attempt to reckon the date of Parikshit he was perhaps led by mistaken notion. Here, as reference, we quote a relevant portion of the Vy., (Bangabasi edition—we have, along with other South Indian and Benares edition of the Puranas, consulted available Bangabasi editions too at the instance of K. P. Jaiswal, an author of quite a number of papers on the Puranas, and Dr. R. C. Hazra, late of Sanskrit College, Calcutta, held to be one of the authorities on the Puranas).

“Saisunaka bhabisyanti rajanah

Kstrabandhabah

Etaih sardhang tabat Kalangurpapare”

“Aieekswakabashcaturbingsat pancala

Pancabingshalih

Kurabascapi sattringsadayabingsati
maisethitah”.

“Shurasenastryobingcadwiti hotrascabing-
satih

Tuiya Kalang bhabisyanti sarbratraba
maheeksitah”³³

Sisunakas the ally of the Ksatriyas will become kings (see foregoing pages for the Kingless eras or republic during the period). Other kings will reign for the same period of

time as the Sisunakas will do, and not with Sisunakas as ‘Sardhang’—the word has, perhaps, been misinterpreted in the above context by Pargiter. 24 King-names of the Ikswaku dynasty, 25 of Pancals, 24 of Kalakas, 24 Haihayas, 32 of Kalinga (region), 25 of Sakas, 36 of the Kuravas, 28 of Maithilas, 23 of Shoorasenas, and 26 of Beethotras—these King-names will reign for equal number of years. 500 years have been assigned to the reigns of Pradyotas and Sisunakas by the Puranas and as such we can infer that these two dynasties have been discussed together in the Puranas. So many tributary states cropped up during the time but they were all defeated and overthrown by Nanda. And under such notion Pargiter attempted to reduce the date of Parikshit to 900 odd B. C.³⁴

The period after Mahapadma is 836 years.

“Pramanangbai tatha baktum

mahapadmottnamca

Yat Antare tacchhata nyastwa sat

tringsattu smah smritah³⁵”.

Again in the day of Mbh. war—i.e., in the days of Parikshit and Janamenjaya (see Appendix A), the Puranas reckoned 1800 years as having elapsed since MW. In the days of Sisunaka and Mahananda (see Appendix B) the Puranas reckoned four Yugas or 4000 years as having passed since MW.

Let us examine the two data: Vy. and Mt. compute 1050 years as the total regnal periods of the Kings—from Parikshit to Nandas there are altogether four generations. In the second datum and the consensus of all the Puranas, we get in the days of Adhisimkrishna and Divakar; i. e. the 5th King from Parikshit and the 5th King from Brhadkasya; (3000-2800) 200 years or in other words 200 years in the line of Parikshit, from the 3rd King Janamejaya to the 6th King Adhisimkrishna and likewise in the line of Brhadkasya, from the 3rd King Ksayu to the 6th King Divakara.

In the line of Brhadbala generally accepted number of Kings is 30—though the last King Sumitra was 29th in descent according to Mt. and Bh., according to Bg 28. Vy. and Vn. accept him (Sumitra) as the 30th from Brhadbala and Pargiter in his Purana Text accepts him as the 30th, and now let us reckon their total regnal period. Jarasandha, (Brhadratha) founded a new line (dynasty) of princes in Magadha, or Bihar.³⁶ After the Mbh. war

the Puranas give (1) names of individual kings, (2) regnal periods of these individual kings, (3) total number of kings and total regnal period of each of the dynasties. They give twice the general computation as we have referred to before (1) from Pariksit to the Nandas and (2) from the Nandas to the end of the Andhras according to the consolidated table given below :—

NUMBER OF KINGS				Regnal periods	Total regna period of dynasties.
Dynastic Heads	autho— rity	Individual Kings.	General total according to Purana.	Acc. Indv. Autho- rity.	Consensus Gen. total given
Brhadrathas.	Pargiter	22	22	967yrs.	1000 yrs.
Contemporary	Vy.	22	22	997 „	1000 „
line with	Bd.	21	22	978 „	1000 „
Brhatksayas	Bht.	—	22	—	1000 „
andwith	Vn.	20	22	—	—
	Mt.	17 or 16	16 ; 32	717 „	723 „
Pariksit					
A	Bg.	— —	—	—	1000 „

The last King of the line of Brhadratha, according to Capt. Wilford, Puranjaya, the son of the 20th King, was murdered by his Minister, Sunaka who placed his son Pradyota

on the throne of his master. But according to other authorities : 22 Kings. See App. A37.

Pradyotas Pargiter	5	5	138	138
Vy	5	5	148	138
Bd.	5	5	138	138
Mt.	4	5	125	139
B Bg. & Vn.	5	5	—	138
Bht.	—	5	138	138
Sisunagas 38 Pargiter	10	10	329	360
Vy.	10	10	33	360
B Bd.	10	10	344	360
Mt.	12	10	344	360
Bg.	9	10	—	360
Vy.	10	10	—	360
Vn.	10	10	—	360
Bht.	10	—	—	362

ALTERNATIVE LIST :

Vy. 7, 15, p.448 edition of the Rajendra Lal Mitra

BI

	10	—	—	362
Mt.	2	2, 12, P. +14,	Bangabasi Press, Cal.1812	
				Saka
	12	—	—	360
Vn.	IV, 182,	Hall's edition of the Wilson's translation		
	10	—	—	362

Two omitted names are found in the Buddhist record :

1. Anuruddha
2. Munda

Nandas	All	2 or 9	2 or 9	100 yrs.	100 yrs.
B	Puranas				

Dynastic names	Authority.	Number of Kings.		Total regnal period of dynasties.	
		Individual.	Total.	Individual authority.	General.
Mauryas	Pargiter	12	12	240	137
C	Vy.	9	9	133	137
	Bd.	7	9	116	137
	Bg.	9	10	—	137
	Vn.	10	10	—	137
	Mt.	6	10	769	137
	Bht.	12	12	316	316
Sungas	Pargiter	10	10	120	112
	Vy.	10	10	138	112
	Bd.	10	10	142	112
	bg.	10	10	—	112
	Vn.	10	10	—	112
	Mt.	8	10	109	300
C	Bht.	10	10	300	300
Kanvas	All the Puranas	—	—	45 or 65	45
C	But.	—	—	85	84

Andhras	Pargiter	50	30	479½	456
C	Vy	17, 18, 19	30	2 5½	56
	Bd	17	30	261	456
	Bg.	23	30	—	456
	Vn.	23	30	—	456
	Mt.	21 to 28 & 30. 19 or 30		371	460
	Bht.	32	32	501	506

We will analyse the above list to compute the total regnal period to reckon date later and we take it here as our datum (A). Our datum (B) is the astronomical particular given in the Puranas. Our present task would be to see if the datum (B) squares with datum (A).

Before we enter into the details of the ancient Hindu astronomy in relation to the beginning of the Kali yuga era of the birth of Pariksit we proceed on with our datum (A).

We get from the birth of Pariksit (or the Mbh. war from 3102 B. C.)³⁹ to the end of the reign of Sisunakas or the coronation of Mahapadmananda $1000 + 138 + 362 = 1500$ years. We notice a difference here of 450 years—i.e., $500 - 1050 = 450$ years. And this has prima facie a good case. There was some interval before the birth of Pariksit,⁴⁰ this stated interval is to be deducted from the total regnal period. After the Mbh. war Yudhisthira mounted the throne for the Second time and reigned for 36 years⁴¹. So the coronation of Pariksit took place on 3102 B. C.— $35 = 3066$ B. C. As we have shown before in p. 12 under reference 33 and 34 that the line of Pradyota and Sisunaka are Yoked together by the Puranas, in their reign, or the period in which they reigned noticed existence of different Kingdoms, matrimonial and political intermingling, it was a period of social revolution and political upliftment. One of

the existent four kingdoms, the Magadha could boast of powerful chieftains even in the days of Vedic Rsis and the epic poets.⁴² Gradually Magadha had mixed population, Brahmanas and Kstrijas coming to this land were spoken of in a derisive tone as Brahmanabandhu, Kstrijabandhu. Sisunaka left his son, at this time, on the throne of Banares and started for Grivraja (Vy., Mt., Bd. 40). Saving Banares from the Ikshvakus of Kosala, one of the above Kingdoms, became a problem for the Sisunakas⁴³. The Ikshvakus of Kosala took it up 3 generations after Sisunaka, or a generation earlier than Prasenjeet (Rahula). The quarrel was ended when Banaras was recovered by Magadha under Bimbisara in consequence of a political marriage between the two houses, and the arrangement was repeated after Bimbisara's death. V. A. Smith and other historians have given prominence historically to the two Kings Bimbisara and Ajatasatru in the Sisunaga dynasty and thus, perhaps, we can take only two kings in the Sisunaga dynasty.⁴⁴ And in the Sisunaga dynasty a total regnal period of 360 years have been allotted for $10 + 2 = 12$ kings (2 Kings more according to Buddhist record as stated before) i.e. $360 \div 12 = 30$ years for each King. As we are getting only two Sisunagas and we have stated previously that the individual regnal period, in the Purana, varies between 20-40

years, so we take 35 years as individual regnal period here and thus the computation will be:—
 $360 - 25 \times 10 = 10$ years for 2 Sisunagas. So the difference of 450 years, as stated above, is reduced down to $450.350 = 100$ years. These 100 years can be taken out or deducted from the Brhadhrathas :

In the list, Mt. alternatively allots 723 years for 32 Kings or $723 \div 32 = 22.5$ years for each King, Pargiter and other authorities allot 1000 years for 22 Kings or $1300 \div 22 = 45.4$ this average, individual regnal period is unreasonably high, we alternatively compute as : The regnal periods $1000 + 723$ or $RP 1723 \div \text{Kings } (22 + 32 =) 54 =$ approximately 32 years as the average individual regnal period and the average number of kings will be $32 + 22 \div 2 = 27$. Therefore total regnal period will be $27 \times 32 = 864$ years. Thus the difference of 100 years is covered.

The period after Mahapadmananda is one of 836 years. Pargiter in his *Dynasties of Kali Age* records ;

“Pulomastutathandhrastu

Mahapadmantarepunah

Antarangtacchhatanyastow sattringsatu-

samastatha”.

This means from Mahapadma to the end of the Andhras a period of 836 years had elapsed (see Appendix C).

From the Puranas we get the following dynastic periods :—

According to Pargiter :—

Nandas	100 years
Mauryas	137 E
Sungas	112 ”
Kanvas	45 ”
Andhras	456 ”

850 years.

Let us take it as the Puranikas allot 14 years more for the Nandas (in all probability—because the King—names are uncertain in the list, ranging from 2-9). And the rest of the

period as mentioned in the Puranas are for those following Andhras.

“Etat’ Kalantarangbhabya

Andhrantadyah prakirtitah

Tabat Kalantaram bhabyamandbrantada Pariksith⁴⁵ which indicates the last date of Puranic Chronology to have been in the 836th year following the year of the death of Mahapadmananda. He died in or about 338 B.C., Calculating on the basis of Mbh. war to have taken places in 1424 B.C.⁴⁶ and according to that computation the result comes to 338 B.C.— $836 = 498$ A.C. which is the last date given by the Puranas to the Chronology of the last King who are following the Andhras.⁴⁷ (the Guptas—according to V. A. Smith as referred to before).

On this score, Jaiswal is assertive, he argues quoting Megasthenes, Arrian IX (according to him), who leaves an account which is that the Hindus counted 6,462 years before Alexander’s time (326 B.C.). In 326 B.C. the accession of Pariksit, according to the Puranas would be (1388 i. e, 1424—36 the reign of Yudhishthira = 1388—326) 1,062 years old. Against this our argument is that Jaiswal, on the basis of Mbh. war to have taken places in 1424 B.C. adduces that accession of Pariksit would be in 1388 B.C.—but we have already produced evidences in the previous pages proving the same to have taken places in 3102 B.C. (the beginning of the Kali Yuga), besides, in our investigation we never came across any such clue either epigraphical, numismatical, literary that could lead us to accept 1424 B.C. as the date of the great war. Dr. Horace Hayman Wilson in his analysis of the Vn. argues that since the birth of Pariksit to the coronation of Nanda, predecessor of Mahananda (see Pradyotas in Appendix A) 1015 years elapsed. Nanda preceded Chandra Gupta (Maurya) 100 years, and Chandra Gupta as identified

with Sanrocottas, ascended the throne in 315 B.C.48

[Note: So far, as we have observed, the evidences provided by all the scholars are mostly speculative and conjectural and we are being tempted to speculate on the above point from a new angle: The Kusanas are foreign invaders in India—how is it that only the last King of their line in India can have an absolutely Hindu name—Vis-a-Vis our heritage which teaches us to accept our kings as the representatives of god or as god-incarnate—‘Devabhuti’? And again from the Philological angle of Vision the name of “Sandrakottas”—The word itself—is a corrupted form, in a process of assimilation and dissimilation, of the word Samudra Gupta. Presently we are adducing the evidence supporting, at least obliquely, our speculation] (see Appendix X).

Against the argument of the above scholars we put forward the following evidence. We quote the great Greek traveller as the Centre round which our argument will move or as the basis of our argument.

Fragm. L. C.

Flin. Hist. Nai. VI. xxi. 4-5

“For the Indians stand almost alone among the nations in never having migrated from their own country. From the days of—Father Bacchus to Alexander the Great their Kings are reckoned at 154, whose reign extend over 6451 years and 3 months.”49

Solin 52.5

“Father Bacchus was the first who invaded India, and was the first of all who triumphed over the vanquished Indians. From him to Alexander the Great 6451 years are reckoned with 3 months additional, the calculation being made by counting the Kings who reigned in the intermediate period, to the number 153”50—See appendix-X.

On the above data let us draw an equation.

The information of Megasthenes dates 3rd century B. C. Since the limitation is the reign of Alexander the Great, we can well equate Alexander with Chandra Gupta according to the present established historical record. The limitation of time is 325 B. C. Besides, according to Arrian's Indika, Sandrocottas is the 153rd Magadhan King (Contemporary of Alexander). To equate :—Sahadeva who died in the Mbh. War is the 36th or the 46th King from MW. 36 (Ag.), 39 (Bg.),—41 (Vn.), 44 (Hvns), 46 (Bd), (Vy.), (Gd.). When post—Mbh war Magadhan dynasties listed in the Bht. coincide with that done in Pargiter's Text of Kalidynasties, and also identical lists are found in Vy., Bd., Vn, Mt :—

Pargiter—	Bht., Vy., Vn., Mt., Bd.
Brhadhrathas—22 kings ...	22
Pradhyotas— 5 „ ...	5
Sisunagas 10 „ ...	10
Nandas— 9 „ ...	9
	<hr/>
	46 46

And again the dynasties that followed the Nandas :—

Pargiter—	Bht., Vy., Vn., Mt., Bd.
Mauryas—	10 12
Sungas	10 10
Kanvas	4 4
Andhras	30 32
	<hr/>
Grand total.	100 104

(same number found in Bht.)

Given Sahadeva=46, Chandra Gupta Maurya's=S46+CM47=93. Therefore Chandra Gupta Maurya's number will be 93 from MW—held by the Hindus the first father, likewise the first father of the Europeans is Bacchus, so Bacchus=MW. Sandrocottas as identified with Alexander =153, so his equation will be with 93+9 (Mauryas)=102+10 (Sungas)=102+4. (Kanvas)=116+30 Andhras=146+7 post Andhras=153. We hope, we have been able to substantiate our

stand.^{51(a)} This makes the high antiquity even of the extant Puranas beyond dispute. That apart, there is score of other instances, which we would discuss in the following pages of our dissertation to prove the antiquity of the Puranas as the uncertainty, vagueness, and inaccuracy of the methodology followed in conjecturing dates by some of the scholars working in this field.

Rajatarangini—a history of Kashmir written in Verse in 1148 A. D. gives the date of Asoka as 1200 B. C.⁵¹ Whereas the present established date of Asoka : Accession of Asoka Vardhana as emperor of India—273 B. C. and Coronation—269 B. C.⁵² This shows a difference of about more than 900 years and naturally it raises a cloud as to the correctness of the date of Asoka. Orissa gives a record of a belief that Kalki is yet to come which dates about 9th century A. C.⁵³

This is an instance of the unreliability of even the existing epigraphical data. Such a belief is perhaps still current in Orissa and certain parts of Northern India. Mostly the Puranas use past tense while mentioning Kalki. Kalki Purana (Venkateswara press, Bombay, 1906) narrates the life of Kalki is yet to come is a recent development.⁵⁴ The great lyric poet of India, Jayadeva uses past tense in his ode in the 12th century A. D. "For the destruction of all the impure thou drawest thy cimeter like a blazing comet (how tremendous) O Cesava, assuming the body of Calci. Be Victorious, O Hari, lord of the Universe!"⁵⁵

Kali was to last for 1,200 years since 3102 B. C. the beginning of Kali (as we have stated before)—i. e., till 3102—1200=1902 B. C. according to the Vn. and Bg. "Tada prabrtascakalirdva-dashabdashatatmakah. Manu also gives the same duration to Kali.⁵⁶ Therefore Kali ends during the reign of Pradyotas (see Table IV, Appendix B), we say Pradyotas because the Pradyotas and the Sisunagas have been counted together by the Puranas.

The name Visnuyasa, a hero, is associated with Kali. This name appears in the Bg. and in the Vy. "Jasminueba Yuge Ksinesandhya shliste bhabisyati

Kalki Visnuryasanama parasharyyah pratapaban"⁵⁷.

The above leaves a scope for speculation and attempts have been made by scholars, in this field, to identify Visnuyasa mentioned in the Bg. and Vy. with Yasadharman Visnu Vardhana supposed to be an exfeudatory of the Empire, who fought the Hunas grimly, about A. D. 455 the Hunas began to enter India and Emperor Skanda Gupta of the Gupta dynasty drove them back; next in order of succession, five emperors including Narasinha Gupta Baladitya between 500 and 570 A. D., held precarious sway over parts of the empire. Taramaa's (Hun) son Mihirakula became a veritable terror in the area from Punjab to Gwalior and became by A. D. 525 the master of the Vast territory.⁵⁸ The account available is too vague and fragmentary. Yasadharman Visnuvardhana's swift victories arrested the progress of Mihirakula, Emperor Narasinha Gupta—Baladitya, the ruler of the Eastern Empire, dealt a final blow to the Huna.⁵⁹ Yasadhaman Visnuvardhan's conquests are described to have covered the territory from the Himalayas to the Ganjam district. In view of the above historical fact perhaps Jaiswal argues citing Jinasen's data (Chronology).⁶⁰ Jina Sen (Jain) Chronology places the Guptas immediately before Kalki with an interval of 42 years.

"Guptanancā shatadwayam,

Ekatringshashca barsani kalabrdhi

roodahitam

Dvicatwaringshadebatah

Kalki rajasya rajata"⁶¹.

The rule of the Guptas, said by the above noted chronologist, is for 231 years, 42 years after this is the reign of Kalki. Perhaps the argument is not tenable because : (1) Jinasen's date of Mahavira's Nirvana differs,

besides, Jaiswal takes only the date of the Svetāmbara Jainas and not of the Digambaras, though the dates given by both the sects are not reconcilable with the tradition preserved in different passages in the Pali Canon, and on this point we would like to mention that Winternitz is not inclined to accept any date from the flood of information with regard to the Mahāvira's demise.⁶² 2) Jaina chronologies assign only 40 years to the Purudhas (Mauryas).⁶³ 3) The inscription—the undated column inscription commemorating the victory gives no name of Visnuyasa. 4) Inscription informing Mihirakula's defeat is undated. 5) Line 5-6 in the stone inscription (Mandasor) give to understand that Visnu-Yasadharman had no lineage whereas Visnuyasa (Vy., Bg) was the son of an ordinary man and has a lineage. Vincent A. Smith—mentions Hiuan Tsang, in this context, who gives the sole credit for the Victory over the Huns to Baladitya, King of Magadha. The Mandasor inscription treats the subjugation of Mihirakula as an act separate from his digvijaya whose route is broadly given.⁶⁴

Visnuyasa (Bg.)⁶⁵ mentioned in the Purana was born in the village of Sakambhari, Rajputana and Visnu Vardhana was of Malava. Inscriptions on the Mandasore columns of Victory which were engraved after all the conquests, have only Yasadharman.⁶⁶ No where do we find a clue to accept Yasadharman as Visnuyasa of the Purana. Visnuyasa was born an ordinary man, son of a village leader, a Brahman of Parasara line who is called the wise Devasena and it is said that Yagna Valka was his Purohit (religious guide).⁶⁷ Whereas Yasadharman is supposed to be an ex feudatory of the empire. Tarakan's date is circa A. D. 510.⁶⁸ In the verse 68 poet Kalidasa (Raghu Vansa) refers to the customs of the Hunas who were settled in Oxus Valley and these cruel and barbarous people were conquered, according to

Mehrauli inscription, by an Indian King (named Chandra) and in all probability he was Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya⁶⁹—so Visnu-Vardhana as said by Jaiswal, had no role in the conflict. Mihirakula's date is A. D. 525, (70) Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya's reign is placed between A. D. 376 and 414.⁷¹ Besides, the Yavana Kings mentioned in the Puranas are not the Hunas—⁷²(but still) as could be collected from obscure data: their date is 3rd century A. C. as we get the echo of the Bg. in the Vy. cited above—which is that Nagas ruled in Champavati and Mathura, Abhiras, ruled in Saurashtra and Avanti. In the regions of Abu and Malwa the rulers were devoid of culture "Like unto the Mlecchha", these rulers disregarded Dharma and Truth and were "contemptible and irascible"—phalgudah manyava.⁷³ In spite of this unsettled condition, India was free from foreign attention. And Visnuyasa mentioned by Bg and Vy. as mentioned above, connected with Kalki has no connection with Yasadharman-Visnuvardhana.

As the data are shrouded in obscurity, these Yavanas may be a copy of the Yavanas mentioned in Yuga Purana or Garga Samhita—which complicate the matter further because the date of Garga is one of the pre-epic age which we would discuss later.

Now we would make an attempt; though in the later pages we would discuss the antiquity of the Puranas severally and individually; to establish the fact that the (extant) Vy. far outdates Visnu Vardhana, mentioned in the history as also the one mentioned in the "Identification of Kali or Puranic data about Kalki" by Jaiswal referred to hereinbefore, in antiquity or age.

The efficacy of Yoga and of Yoga as a doctrine mentioned in the last portion of the Upasamhara of the Vy. and in the Md. (extant) is the out come of the then intermingling of Buddhistic and Hindu culture. Yoga

cult is associated with Saivism. Saivism a popular cult long before the rise of the Gupta Empire, became a very Vigorous integrating movement and the worship of Shiva as Pasupati is as old as Mahenjodaro⁷⁴ (Pasupati—the term signifies the lord of the beast—later we will discuss while attempting to estimate the date of the individual Purana)—[Worship of beast cultus—hint of totemism as found in the Upanisad]. The Gupta Emperors were very Catholic in their religious outlook, Buddhism was not only tolerated, but like other religions, lavishly supported. The content of the Buddhism progressively approximated to Hinduism. : Dr. Win'ernitz while discussing Buddhist literature connected with Yoga, refers to the Yoga Doctrine mentioned in Md., he mentions Mahayana Sutras of the Buddhists as a School of Yogacaras⁷⁵ the authorship of which is ascribed to Nagarjuna too—according to the biography of Nagarjuna as embodied in Kalahan's Rajataragini (I,173), Nagarjuna was born in Kashmir during the—reigns of Kings, Huska, Juska, and Kaniska. Taranatha says that Nagarjuna was born in the days of Kaniska. Kaniska established Saka era—ning in A. D. 78.⁷⁶ But we have the information that Kaniska is the founder of Vikrama era in 58 B. C.⁷⁷ Fleet also accepts this, though he subsequently amends this to the 1st Century A. C. probably without assigning any reason therefor. It follows therefore that the date of the extant Vy. and Md. is 1st Century B. C. The doctrine of Yoga mentioned above is a revival of the Yoga system ; Pandit Haraprasad Sastri is of the Opinion that Yogacara is used here merely with its general meaning of "practising Yoga"⁷⁸—more or less a 'physio—spiritual' discipline.

The date of the reduction of the Vy. and the Md. is also corroborated by the fact stated here below :—

The rule of Kusana ended with Vasudeva

and the Andhras ended too alone with them, Guptas are mentioned in history at this time.⁷⁹ According to the historian K. M. Munsi, as referred to before, this age (Gupta age) saw the astronomical discoveries of Varaha Mihira—composition of the extant Vy. and Mt. And from the computation above all this took place round about 1st century B. C.

In connexion with the above, we would adduce further evidence (shedding dates mentioned therein, we would only refer to the period mentioned there reconciliation of which with date would be according to our methodology here) of a scholar, Dr. Prabodh Bagchi who mentions here the name of Bhababhuti, a scholar of the Gupta period and whose name is associated with the name of Vikramaditya of the line of Samudra Gupta. At the time of the rise of Bhababhuti, he mentions the name of one of the greatest patrons of Buddhism, Siladitya Harsavardhana and the scholar further says that sober history bears evidence of the that being a Buddhist and a votary of Nirvana, Siladitya worshipped the sun and the god Shiva (V. A. Smith, Early History of India, 3rd edition)⁸⁰ Thus when we analyse the faith professed by him (Siladitya) it becomes clear to us that it was a mixture of both Hinduism and Buddhism. Buddhism had lost its original purity by that time.

An analysis of the subsequent Pala records reveals—that though they were the patrons of the Buddhism, by faith they were Hindus strictly speaking because they had a love for Puranic religions.

But we are of the Opinion that the dates of the Puranas referred to above are of still earlier dates which we will discuss in course of analysing our datum B—or the astronomical particular given in the Puranas.

Each Hindu astronomical period consists of 2700 years because the seven Rsis (the Great Bear) passed round the Zodiac in 2700 years in

a retrograded motion—i. e. $2700 \div 27 = 100$ years in each lunar mansion—this system is yoked with chronological reckoning in the puranas—in the Varahi Samhita, the Vn. and also in the Bg., it is perhaps declared that at the birth of Parikṣita the seven Rsis had been in Magha (Naksatra).⁸¹ The author of the Garga Samhita, according to Bhottātpala, in his commentary, seems to be of that opinion, when he says that the Great Bear were in Magha in the twilight between Dvāpara and Kali Yuga.....When Nanda was born (see appendix B—the 10th Śiṣunaga king Mahanandi) the Great Bear were then in Purvasādhā⁸² (see Appendix D—for a comparative study of the Naksatra cycles).

Now we are looking into the relevant portion of the Puranas to confirm the above data...

“Yada maghato Yasyanti purvasādhā

Tada Nandat Prabhṛtyeḥ Kālībrddhim
gamisyati”

—Vn., Bg.,

and again :

“Yasmin kṛṣṇodibam Yataitasmīnneḥ
tagahani

Pratipannam Kālī Yugam”

—Garga Samhita

and further :

Kālī started when the seven Rsis were in
Magha :

“Tetu Parikṣite Kālā maghasvasan Dvijot-
tama”

—Vn.

“Tetwadiya dvijah Kālō’ dhunacasrita
maghah

Yada devarsayah sapta maghasu bicarantih
Tada prabhṛta tu ca Kālīh”—Bg.,

which mean Kālī started when the seven
Rsis had been in Magha Lunar house.

When Kṛṣṇa died Yudhiṣṭhira left the
throne for Parikṣita :—

“Tatyaja Sanujō rajyam dharmaputro
Yudhiṣṭhirah

.....Yate Kṛṣṇa cakara ya so’ bhisekam
Parikṣitah”.

We have seen in the chronological reckoning that since Parikṣita to the coronation of Mahāpadma (Appendix B—first king of the Nanda dynasty) i. e. till Mahanandi (Mahanandi—the name, according to the Bangabasi Press ed. of the Vn.—See P. 30) 1050 years had elapsed. At the time of Parikṣita the Great Bear had been in Magha Naksatra—or in other words, from the birth of Parikṣita = Mbh. war to the coronation of Mahāpadma = till the end of the reign of Mahanandi (see App. B) : 3102 (birth of Parikṣita) = 1050 — 2052 B. C.⁸³ Capt. Wilford also in his “Hindu Chronology of Kings” indicates the period of Pradyota’s reign as 2100 B. C.⁸⁴ According to the Chronological reckoning in the Puranas (discussed in the previous pages) 836 years had been allotted from Nandas to the Andhras—that is the end of Śiṣunakas had been in the period while the Great Bear had been in the 18th Naksatra (18th from Kṛittika—since Magha is the 8th) i. e., Purvasādhā and to reach 836th year the Great Bear is to be taken to have entered into the (18+9) = 27th Naksatra or Bharani. The Puranas also confirm that :—

“Saptarṣayastatha prangsu pradēpte
nagninasanam—Mt.

“Saptarṣayastada praptah pratrāye
Parikṣite shatam”—Bd.

“Saptabhis shateḥ bhābya (Saptabhis shati
bhābyena)”—Mt.

“Andharnte’ nvaya punah”—Vn., Bd.

Similarly the Great Bear being high with full Agni (fire)—(Agni being Kṛittika’s deity) the post—Andhras fall in the century beginning with Bharani—27th future century.⁸⁵

Hence we notice our datum A is corroborated with datum B. Here we have an important point to note—for our argument to establish the high antiquity of the Puranas, which is that

the ancient did count Krittika as the first Naksatra (see Appendix D) In the Yaju lists of Asterisms as recorded by Prof. Macdonell—Krittika is held to be the first in order of Naksatra.⁸⁶ We find in the Brhat' samhita of Barahamihira the order of the Naksatra from Asvini to Revati⁸⁷ but from R. C. Hazra we do not get a definite information as to the fact if that system was current at the time or established first by Baraha-Mihira. According to our calculation, recorded in the previous pages with reference to Saka era, the age of Barahamihira is the 1st Century B. C.⁸⁸ But in the astronomical system found in the Puranas, the order of Naksatras starts from Krittika. Hence, in all likelihood, they had been re-written either in the 1st Century B. C. or prior to that. In the Sukra--caradhya of Brhat samhita there is mention of Nagabee-thee consisting of a set of three Naksatras worked by Parasara and Garga—in Parasara the first in the set is Bharani and in Garga the first in the set is Krittika—"Krittika, Bharani, Swati Nagbeethee Prakirtita"—Naksatra cycle starts from Krittika and the period of currency of the system had been from 1400—500 B. C.⁸⁹ It follows therefore that some of the extant Puranas, at least, are of considerable antiquity—might have been re-written in 500 B. C. or even earlier, particularly Vy. is of high antiquity. The Puranas are the part and parcel of Vedic literature. The Puranas are of equal value with the Vedas.⁹⁰ The Purana is sometimes called the fifth Veda.⁹¹ "Yovidyaccaturo Vedansangopanisado dvijah puranam sam vidyanaiba sakhyat vicaksanah Itihasa Puranabhyam vedam Samupa brnghayet Bibhetyalpa shrutat vedo mamayam praharisyati."⁹² The same, as translated into English by Pargiter: "The Brahmin who may know the four vedas with the Angas and Upanisads, should not really be (regarded as) having attained proficiency, if he shall not

thoroughly know the Purana. He should reinforce the Veda with the Itihasa and Purana. The Veda is afraid of him who is deficient in tradition [(thinking) but "Sruta" here means tradition] he will do me hurt"—Vy. I, 200-1; Pd. V, 2, 50-2; Siv.V i, 35.

Both Pargiter and Hastings stress tradition. But the Vedas are Sruti—or the revelation to the Rsis and the Riks of the Vedas (Rgveda) have been compiled by many Rsis. So the Authorship of the Vedas had not been deliberately concealed (as alleged by Hastings).⁹³ Hastings further speaks of a rivalry of the Puranic school against the Vedic—this is not also tenable, as is indicated by the slokas; "Itihasa Puranabhyam vedam samupabrngayet" or "he should reinforce the Veda with the Itihasa and Purana".⁹⁴ Or, in other words, the Puranas preserve the Vedic norms, besides, there is mention of the Puranas in the Veda itself. Pargiter shares the same view with Macdonell in respect of the lack of historical sense of the ancient Hindus and he in his Ancient Indian Historical Tradition quotes the latter's remarks made in the History of Sanskrit Literature as "History is the one Weak spot in Indian literature. It is, in fact, non-existent. The total lack of historical sense is so characteristic that the whole course of Sanskrit literature is darkened by the show of this defect, suffering as it does from an entire absence of exact Chronology."⁹⁵

Hindu conception of history, particularly in this context is some thing else, it is not sort of a diary recording past events with dates as is a narrative of the 'eld'. According to Rgveda, after Prajapati (Brahma—the supreme progenitor) came both the Itihasa—narrative and the Puranas—the story of the old—calendar has little importance.

We are having a retrospect of what has been touched on already in the opening lines regarding time. The concept of time given by

the Puranas is contrary to what other schools of Philosophy understand by it. In the Kr, as quoted by Kane, Kala (time) has no beginning nor end, it is age-less and everlasting⁹⁶—it follows therefore that the Hindu conception of Kala is beyond the dimensions of space and cause.

In the Purana we notice that the historical sense is conceived as narration of the story of the 'eld'. The historical aspect of the Quran as well is the narration of the story of the ups and downs, the trials and vicissitudes of the human soul in terms of accounts of bygone people which were not only true about such and such people and time but were also concerned with the soul here and now⁹⁷—the soul here and now—here the space, object, and time is specified as now and not as hereafter! Purana defines Kalas : "This adorable Kala is without beginning and without end, is all embracing, it is independent and is the self of all; there may be many Brahmas, Rudras or Narayanas and other gods. It is declared that the divine Lord is one and is omniscient and is Kala."⁹⁸ The Quran, according to the author, reveals the significance of human life which begins with birth and ends with death, begins from God and returns to Him. That is the soul is something separate or at the most consubstantial with God—according to the Hindu view it is a complete identity with God. The soul has no beginning nor end (Atma—Paramatma). Jeevatma, when analysed, will give the biological body and the—*mental body* (composed of Pañcatanmatra—Mana, Buddhi, Ahankara etc. or mind, intellect, ego etc. according to Manu Samhita), *canto-II*. Throughout the 10th Chapter of the Srimad Bhagavata Geeta in the discourse held by Sri Krishna he stresses the nothingness-un-substantiality of the Jeevatma (while differentiating Atma from Anātma). According to the Christian School of Philosophy a question

arises with regard to the representation of time^e "does the objective one correspond to the subjective? Subjective representation comprises the i) idea of succession, ii) continuity; and iii) a continuous succession cannot be a continuous succession of nothing⁹⁹" here in this Christian conception—space, and cause are the relative factors of time—time is non—absolute. Plato rationally views eternity, he says God wished the created world to resemble the intelligible one as far as possible. Now, it was not possible for it to be eternal, and the nearest analogue to eternity which he could provide was to make "a moving image of eternity". This is time, and it is closely connected with the motions of the heavens; eternity "rests in unity", but the image "has a motion according to number."¹⁰⁰ As against the "moving image of eternity" our view is "Kala is only awake when all is dead".¹⁰¹ Kala is absolute—matchless-question of an analogue does not arise—Kala is complete in itself.

Prof. B. C. Mazumdar in his paper on the "Origin and Character of the Purana Literature" holds :— "Puranas are mysterious in its origin—they mean the story of 'eld—they name the gods—narrate the mantras in tune with the vedas and explain their phalasrutya or efficacy providing time, occasion, and purpose, when, how, and why they are to be chanted, and for what purpose the Yajnas are to be performed as also they impress on us the importance of the Vedic Mantras."¹⁰² All this points to their hoary antiquity. In Brhaddevata there is an elaborate account of the Phalasrutya referred to above. An example pointing to the position of the Purana connected with the Riks (the mantras): how the mantras revealed to different personalities even to a blind man, Dirghatama. On its revelation he got back his vision.¹⁰³ This mantra is to be recited to get rid of blindness.¹⁰⁴ makes the Puranas all the more important (because riks are recorded in

the Puranas) and particularly because this is the Vedic heritage as indicated before. The Puranas equally with the Vedas contain Vedic Mantras¹⁰⁵ and as such they are allied to the Vedas.¹⁰⁶ There is mention of Itihasa—Purāṇa as a subject learnt by Vedic Scholars of the Upanisads. The Itihasa-Purana is held as the fifth Veda.¹⁰⁷ "Ravedo Yajurvedah Sama veda Atharvanas-caturtha Itihasa-Puranah Vedanam Vedah"¹⁰⁸ fifth Veda in the division of the Vedas. Puranas are the Sruti of the Vedas according to the Mbh. There are many other indications which prove that the Puranas are a depository of the Vasānucaritam-genealogy and such other historical account, and their character as history not of Gods alone but of men as well as was established at the time of the compilation of the Vedic Samhitas. We have the Vedic authorities informing us of the sources of the Puranas. Rgveda begot Agni, Sv begot Surya, Yv begot Vy. on Prajapati's undergoing a spiritual discipline) Tapas)¹⁰⁹. And that is being corroborated by the other authority.¹¹⁰ It follows therefore that the names Vy. Ag., Syr. Originate from the Vedas: Yv. first refers to Kuruksetra as specially holy.¹¹¹ It is stated in the Vy. that Lomaharsana chanted this Purana to Rsis at Kuruksetra. "Since Mbh. clearly states that it incorporates all the Puranas extant at the time of its compilation, and since the extant Bh. differs in many points from the Puranic narration of events disclosed by Mbh., the Bhāvisyat of Apastamba's reference cannot be held as identical with our present Bh."¹¹² And in his paper Prof. Mazumdar concludes this section with the remark that on reference to the mythology of the Hindus, as it was by about 140 B.C., it can be stated that the modern Puranas (?), with their pantheon of new gods, could not have come into existence in the 2nd Century B.C. But on an examination and analysis of

the evidence (which we would record here) we obtained in the course of our investigation we do not agree with Prof. Mazumdar. The Puranas, by which we mean the existing ones that exist are a break through in the technique of representation, elaborated with legends, songs, rites, customs and with a and symbolism, they profess the faith and philosophy of the Vedānta—regarding the one without an equal. "In the Puranas, the one only Supreme Being is supposed to be manifest in the person of Shiva or Visnu".¹¹³ The various gods mentioned in the Puranas are but the symbolic of the different aspects of the Supreme Being. Besides, in their (Puranas) scheme of speculation with new Gods there is nothing novel, it is quite in accordance with the Vedic tradition. The RV deified the elemental forces of nature. Dr. Wilson further remarks in his treatise "Puranas" "the identity of God and nature is not a new—notion, it was very general in the speculation of antiquity"¹¹⁴ But, perhaps, he transcends the limits of speculations, when he 'gambles' with the notion to establish it as pantheism.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AE—Aiteriya Brahmana

Ag—Agni Purana

Ed.—Brahmanda Purana

Et.—Bhabisya Purana

Eht.—Bhabisyottara Purana

Chu.—Chhandojnaya Upanisad

ERE.—Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics

HVNS—Hari Vamsa

I. Ant—Indian Antiquary

AV—Atharva Veda

A. R.—Asiatic Researches

Bg.—Bhagabata Purana

Br.—Brahma Purana

BI.—Bibliothica Indika

EI.—Epigraphica Indika

Gd.—Garuda Purana

GPB—Gopatha Brahmana

IHQ.—Indian Historical Quarterly

JEORS—Journal of the Bihar & Orissa

JRAS—Journal of the Royal Asiatic
Society

Kr.—Kurma Purana
KRV—Kali Yugaraja Vrttanta
Lg+Linga Purana
MT—Matsya Purana
MW—Manu Vaivaswata
Pd—Padma Purana
Sv—Siva Purana
SPE—Sathapatha Brahmana
Tai—Taittiriya Upanisad
TA—Taittiriya Aranyaka
Vn—Visnu Purana

Research Society

JASB—Journal of the Asiatic Society
of Bengal

KD—Kalidynasty
Kt. S—Kathaka Samhita
MNU.—Mahanarayana Upansiad
Mbh—Mahabharata
Mn. S—Maitreyani Samhita
RV—Rgveda
Sv—Sama Veda
Sry.—Surya Purana
Trs—Taittiriya Samhita
VY—Vayu Purana
Yaju—Yajurveda.

NATIONALIST VIOLENCE IN INDIA AND THE POLITICAL

SECRET SOCIETY

NIRMAL CHANDRA MAITRA

The Balasore encounter, September the 9th, 1915, announced for Indian terrorism a new spirit—the passion for confrontation and clash. It was the first significant event in East India in a new category, of which those born here since the Mutiny of 1857 had no direct experience: and it shook up the country. Echoing through the ringing verses of Nazrul and Bijoylal, it has become an abiding legend. The little mound off the river, the site of decision, where the ringed-in five confronted a foe far

too numerous and gallant Chittapriya fell, and the leader, half-blind with blood and mortally wounded, formed a desperate death-defying foursome and fought on unto the last bullet—we know it well.

The Mutiny of 1857 had produced much memorable action, some of heroic and some sordid or pedestrian, and all un-coordinated on the Indian side. In a country already a paradise for over—fragmentations and petty tyrannies, where such things as the Taj Mahal and

muslin could have been produced, but the peasant's plough had remained just a bent stick through countless centuries a crisscrossed table-land ending in a precipice—the top leadership of the Mutiny had to be feudal and the popular base, as large or as small as the impenetrable, desperately poor conditions at the bottom permitted. And when it went down in rain, not a dog could bark without the victor's leave, at least for some time. The repression was so cruel and complete. Savarkar does not exaggerate.

"He who usurps the government of any state", said Machiavelli in his *Manual for the Prince*, "is to execute and put in practice all the cruelties which he thinks material at once, that he may have no occasion to renew them often". (Eng. trans. by Morley). But never the less, the embers were taking long in dying. And they glowed with every new 'causus belli': right from the Kuki revolt through the Wahabi and the Indigo Rebellions down to the Moplah Rebellion. A. O. Hume, the British-Indian bureaucrat pointed out not long after the Mutiny that the country was nearly ripe for a "national revolt". As the 'approved' historian of the Indian National Congress, says "he had unimpeachable evidence that the political discontent was going underground". (P. Sitharamiah, "History of the Indian National Congress").

Sir W. M. Wedderburn, another British-Indian bureaucrat, in an interview with W. Blunt, described the situation in India at the end of the Lytton Viceroyalty (1876-1880) "as bordering on revolution". Blunt himself, considered to be an authority on Indian affairs, visited India in 1883, "to ascertain what the true feeling of the country was towards its English masters". (W. Blunt, *India under Ripon*, a private diary, 1909). His findings converged on the conclusion that, in the event of a new mutiny, every man, woman and child, Muslim

and Hindu, would join it.

Minayev, the Russian traveller in India, wrote in 1880: "There is general discontent. But I have not met among the educated people a single revolutionary in the full sense of the word. They want to find a 'modus vivendi' with the English". (Minayev's "Diaries—A journey to India and Burma"). Evidently, by "educated people" he meant those who had English education and preferred discussions across the table to any kind of "direct action". And he was wholly unaware that even when he was observing the situation, lethal dramas were being rehearsed behind the scenes.

In the midst of this twilight of pervasive unrest, Vasudeo Balwant Phadke organised a Secret Society for politically subversive purposes some where in the valleys of the Sahayadri (date unknown); its headquarters were at Poona, perhaps on historical compulsion: "The memory of its former greatness", wrote Minayev in his diaries, "is still fresh in the land of the Marathas". This time, however, the leadership was not feudal but bourgeoisie. The modern Indian bourgeoisie, itself a British creation, had 'arrived'.

Dragon's teeth were sown an armed men rising out of them. Both terrorism as an idea and the politically subversive Secret Society as an institution, in the sense in which they met the Indian demand and we understand it, were adopted from Europe. For even if they had authentic precedents or predecessors in ancient or medieval Indian history, Indian studies just beginning at that time were inadequate. Besides, eighteenth and nineteenth century European history was a part of the education of the modern Indian middle-classes. There was, however, no lack of thinkers to provide the movement its Hindu philosophical slant and intellectual foundations-like Bankim Chandra in his *Anushilon* essays, R. C. Dutt in his economic studies and Bal Gangadhar Tilak in his

great interpretation of Gita as Karmayoga Sastra. The poets provided the exuberance and emotion. And the sacred slogan of Vande Mataram, Bankim Chandra's gift to the nation, asserted a vivid faith in the living cause. It was not for nothing that the Police used to seize upon copies of Gita and Chandi when doing house-searches during the repression. (The report of the Rowlatt Committee). It may be recalled that when Ravallac killed king Henry IV of France (1610), the Parliament of Paris formally condemned by resolution the regicidal doctrines of the Jesuit theorist Mariena, who had been writing that it was quite ethical to overthrow a tyrant, even when he was not a usurper, but a lawful king.

Terrorism in India struck in the Diamond Jubilee year of Queen Victoria's reign at Poona, with killings by the Chapekar brothers. Sports clubs, like John's Athletic Clubs in Prussia after the defeat at Jena, mushroomed into existence; and they were at once the nurseries and the operational cells of terrorism.

From Maharashtra, terrorism and the Secret Society travelled to Bengal where they flourished in conditions aggravated by Lord Curzon's Partition and developed all over North India. Bombs thrown at Viceroy Hardinge hurt the Viceroy and killed an Indian (1912). By the time that imperial arrogance culminated at Jallianwala Bagh, the Secret Society had become quite a common phenomenon every where in India.

No internal contradiction troubled this authentic nationalism, unless it was treachery with perhaps a capital T or occasional desertion. The Hindu-Muslim contradiction was a later development, disproportionately aggravated by the "quid pro quo" policy of barter and huckstering of the National Congress vis a vis the Khilafat. But that is another story. Neither the Hindu nor the Muslim terrorist expected any immediate dividend except death

or prison. A common religion of the 'maximum suffering of a minority' inspired them both.

After Balasore, a period of slackness, probably one of gestation, set in. The ding-dong battle continued between administrative terrorism or the terrorism of the Establishment on one side and the ordinary violence of the Secret Society on the other. Rashbehari and M. N. Roy were abroad and Jadugopal on whom the leader's mantle had fallen, was sporadically active from his hide-out. He came into the open a few years after.

So that was that, when the curtain rose on the most modern and significant event in Indian terrorism till then—the Chittagong Armoury Raid, April the 18th, Good Friday, 1930. In scope, method and execution, it easily left behind every thing that had preceded it in that line and linked up the politically subversive Indian Secret Society, in point of technique, with its counterparts abroad. Incidentally, it also revealed the Achilles' heel of British imperialism in India.

The nation-list Secret Society of Chittagong tore off the only railway line to the terminal port-station of Chittagong at two points sufficiently distant from each other to make quick transshipment impossible, simultaneously put out of action the Central Telegraph Office and the Central Telephone Exchange and seized two Arms Depots with all the arms and ammunition they contained. Just three key-men were killed—two at one Arms Depot and one at the other. The result was enormous, compared with the expenditure, which was slight. The whole region, including the town of 52,000 people, was at the mercy of the secret society for at least seventy-two hours, during which it could do anything it liked to do with it. A maximum was achieved with but a minimum of loss in life and blood-shed.

On the 22nd April, a pitched battle was fought a few miles off, at Jalalbad hill; troops

of the Establishment had by then arrived. After Balasore, Jalalbad was the next notable site of decision—a splendid exercise in self-sacrifice. The secret society lost eleven of its members in the battle.

More ominous or portentous than the battle however, was the choice of the over-all strategy and of the tactical targets on the might of the raid itself. The well-oiled efficiency in the execution of the plan up to a certain point and as long as there was a plan would forever remain a shining example in its own category.

The Easter Rising of 1916 in Ireland which started also on Good Friday night have served in parts as a model for the Chittagong Raid. In fact Dan Breen's "My Fight For Irish Freedom" was almost compulsory reading among certain people at this time. But whatever the model, Irish or Russian, the performance in an Indian setting with of course, Indian limitations, was quite unique. We witnessed the application of much the same methods, though naturally in magnified conditions, in 40 and '41, when the German offensive in the Second World War attacked Electricity and Water Supply points by air, besides forts and arsenals, threw cities into confusion and chaos, made organised defence impossible and cracked up whole countries in no time. We also saw some of these methods in the Viet Cong raid on Bien Hoa air base in 1964. The British bureaucracy, it may be observed in passing, sat up and took more note of the methods of the Chittagong raid than the local scholars who were supposed to be teaching History. In short, the general atmosphere the Armory Raid produced in a brief coup was one of war—on a single-town scale. And War it was, between the Secret Society and the Establishment.

At this point it is necessary to examine wider perspectives in theory, not merely to re-narrate history, perhaps already better narrated somewhere.

Realistically considered, it is as a measure of war that the politically subversive Secret Society comes into being; it is to continue the war that it exists; and it is in an atmosphere of war that it thrives and flourishes. The war it wages is ruthless; for, being weaker and knowing that it is, it overdoes. It is a sort of perpetual war, in the sense in which Hobbes used the phrase; not that there is actual, unremitting war all the time, but a disposition to fight always present, with periodical outbursts.

"Warre consisteth not in battle only or the act of fighting, but in a tract of time wherein the will to contend by battle is sufficiently known; and therefore, the motion of time is to be considered in the nature of Warre; as it is in the nature of the weather. For, as the nature of foule weather lyeth not in a shewre or a of rain, but in an inclination thereto of many days together; so the nature of warre consisteth not in actual fighting; but in the known disposition thereto, during all the time there is no assurance to the contrary".

(Thomas Hobbes' "Leviathan")

In the realm of external affairs, making war and peace is the supreme manifestation of State—Sovereignty. No organisation short of the State can do it; it is the State's highest prerogative.

But does the Secret Society also make peace? A paradoxical question, but some recent events provide the answer.

The rebel leaders of Nagaland, doubtless an anti-State Secret Society, went out from the underground, where they had been operating, on being assured of safe conduct, to confer with the Indian Prime Minister at New Delhi for peace. Negotiations started on the 18th February, 1966. Whether these negotiations succeeded or failed is not important. What is that this Secret Society made up, among themselves, the nucleus or brain—centre of a potential anti-Indian state; they signified it by describing themselves as representing the Federal

Government of Nagaland and the Government of India recognised their claim to terminate hostilities and make peace. Here is a clipping from a contemporary Press report, "Shillong, September" (1966)—The Naga underground Parliament is in session at Malongyimsen in Mokokchung district of Nagaland".

"The Session is understood to be reviewing the recent talks in New Delhi between the underground Naga leaders and the Prime Minister, according to a report from Mokokchung. Some of the leaders of the underground 'Naga Federal Government' were also present".

In 1921, the British Prime Minister invited De Valera, the President of the self-styled Irish Republic, to meet him in London; and, in the words of D. C. Somervell, "some were shocked by this invitation to a blood-stained rebel". ("British Politics since 1900"—Somervell) An Armistice with the Irish Revolutionary Cabinet was achieved and arrangements were made for a Peace Conference in London, "with a view to ascertaining how for the association of Ireland with the community of nations known as the British Empire might be reconciled with Irish aspirations". Thus the question whether Ireland was or was not already independent was left unanswered. "Only a threat of overwhelming force to be used extracted from the would be Republican delegates their signatures to the 'Treaty', by which Ireland, without the six counties, accepted the status of a completely self-governing Dominion within the British Empire".

After the introduction of the Montague—Chelmsford Reforms in India, the British Government in Bengal negotiated, in 1921, with one of the principal subversive Secret Societies, through a leading resident of Chandernagore in French India, a mutual agreement to call a truce and then the surrender of seven leading members of the Secret Society, who has been

in hiding". [Yadu Gopal Mukherjee's "Reminiscences of a Revolutionary" (Bengali).

It may be recalled that, at a certain stage in the operations for putting down the subversive Secret Society of the Mau Mau in Kenya, it was planned to make contact with the Mau Mau leaders, by assuring them of safe conduct, and then to talk them into buying the idea of surrender. The negotiations carried on along circuitous routes were slow and difficult, but finally it was arranged that "the leaders were to be picked up in the forest and brought to Nyeri where the Peace Talks would take place in the office of the Provincial Commissioner". On the date fixed, "the party was escorted by unarmed police into the Provincial Commissioner's office for the long delayed talks, and with so little fuss and police display that few who saw them going were aware that these five Africans, chatting with the unarmed Henderson, were ruthless criminals who had been hunted for months." (Fred Majdalany's State of Emergency, the full story of the Mau Mau, Longmans, 1962.)

The Subversive Secret Society manifests internal sovereignty at its highest, when it condemns a member to death for treachery and executes the sentence. Many instances of this may be offered from coetemporary and older history. But let a classic case from literature suffice. It is set forth in Sean O'Casey's "Juno and the Pay-Cock" where the 'Irregular'—the Republican section of the Irish Republican Army, the sword-arm of the Secret Society—carry off Johnny and murder him. It is the 'lex non scriptum' of treason in action. The offence, betrayal by a member; and the punishment, retaliatory and deterrent.

It also inflicts lesser, suitable punishment as and when it becomes necessary for discipline and administration. It is also, like the State, a compulsory form of association; nobody can

opt of its rules, laws and by-laws, at will—one more element of internal sovereignty. Defection is punished with death, just as, when two states are at war, a citizen of one would be, if caught in the other's camp. Nobody can partake of the rights and duties of the State or of the anti-State Secret Society without its 'imprimatur' or permission. In the State, one has to be born to citizenship or adopted; in the Secret Society the permission may be accorded verbally or sanctified with rituals. The subversive Secret Society has its own self-made laws by-laws and rules. Here is a sample, 'as evidence of a pattern of sovereign behaviour: some of the articles of the Secret Society called Young Italy.' 1. The Society is founded for the indispensable destruction of all the governments of the Peninsula, in order to form one single state with a republican government. 2. Fully aware of the horrible evils of absolute power, and the even worse results of Constitutional monarchies, we must aim at establishing a republic, one and indivisible...30. Those who refuse obedience to the orders of this Secret Society or reveal its mysteries, die by the dagger without mercy...31. The Secret tribunal pronounces sentence, and appoints one or two affiliated members for its execution. 32. Who so refuses to perform such duty assigned to him dies on the spot. 33. If the victim escapes, he shall be pursued until struck by the avenging hand, were he in the bosom of his mother or in the temple of Christ. 34. Every Secret tribunal is competent not only to judge guilty adepts, but to put to death anyone it finds it necessary to condemn. (Sd.) Mazzini."

The Secret Society, to sum up, is an "imperium in imperio", as it exercises all the essential compulsives of sovereignty and maintains itself, like the State, with the ultimate sanction of latent force and patent violence.

The State can claim plausibly enough to have an accepted monopoly on organised violence; for, on the one hand, it wields

superior public violence to rule out all private violence as crime and, on the other, it possesses the sole right and the means to organise mass-violence on the widest possible scale with the sanctity and statuts of war. It sends people to their deaths to fight people whom they had never known, not for personal animosities but for the reflected animosity of their employers or for an idea of collective gain or loss. But the Subversive Secret Society can just as plausibly dispute the monopoly. It has almost co-existed with the State in anti-thesis, also, 'as a specially organised form of force' and it claims to use violence as its legitimate tool. States eliminated in war and disappearing from the Comity of Nations sink to the level of Secret Societies in nationalism; and Secret Societies acting as a nursery for successful political insurgence, emerge as States to enter the Comity of Nations.

It is common historial knowledge that, in a certain pathological stage in the evolution of the State, also in the naturally pathological condition of the Empire, the politically Subversive Secret Society comes into existence, as a particular form of "pressure group" to organise protest. Crane Brinton defines "pressure group", in his "Anatomy of Revolution", as "men and women organised in societies with special aims, societies which bring all sorts of pressure, from propaganda and lobbying to terrorism; to the attaining of their aims".

The Subversive Secret Society as a "Pressure Group" (Crane Brinton) may be divided according to the institution to which it is the anti-thesis: that in the State; and that in the Empire. They are basically different. This would pre-suppose a conceptual differentiation between the State and the Empire. It is an inadequacy of political thinking that this has not been formally done nor fully followed up in all its implications.

The State becomes the Empire by conquest

and expansion. The Empire may become the State again by breaking up through rebellion or by amicable evolution. And characteristic differences between the Secret Society in the State and that in the Empire follow as a matter of course from the differentiation between the State and the Empire. The former is a growth; the latter, a survival. The former is a result, of political 'malaise' when 'reform' from top fails to cure it. The latter is natural and pre-ordained by the origin of the Empire itself.

The Secret Society in the State generally operates against : I. Absolutism in Government, II. Particular political personalities and III. Particular State-acts or policies. Illustrations are easily available. The Secret Society does not operate against the state so much, as it does against the Government.

On the other hand, every Empire is haunted by ghosts the shades of States that lived and have died, but are living again. They co-exist with the Empire, the killed with the killer ; and when they peer in the pools of the dead, it is History, which is just another name for the collective subconscious, the memorable and the continuity. They retain their sovereign sway over the vanquished peoples' minds and hearts, despite the competitive blandishments of the Empire ; their kingdom, not at the moment of this world, but nevertheless as real as the Empire, is a constant incentive and impetus to purposeful action. And the very first impetus they provide is to ensure the right to rebel. The subversive Secret Society, in fact, is an initial step in that direction. The 'right' to 'rebel' is a legacy which the physically expiring states bequeath to their citizens, when the Empire is born out of their remains ; it is created by the fact of State destruction. The old States, so to say, are like Hamlet's father thirsting for revenge and prodding Hamlet on. An analogy suggests itself : namely. that of the exiled Governments during War representing the conquered States. They have neither territory

nor population, but that does not prevent them from clinging tenaciously to their old status. When Paris was being liberated at the end of the Second World War and General De Gaulle was at the Hotel de Ville, Georges Bidault drew forth a piece of paper and said : "General, would you step to the balcony and solemnly proclaim the Republic before the people here assembled ?" De Gaulle answered haughtily, "No, the Republic has never ceased to exist".

By historical memory and the underground activity of the Secret Society which is the 'revenant' of the dead State, the feeling of lost Statehood is handed on from sire to son, until the whole cumulative force bursts forth in a paroxysm of rebellion. If rebellion is successful, the States which were in a state of suspended animation are ushered back into complete life again. They externally manifest themselves and declare, either actually or constructively, the retrospective legality of the rebellion. If rebellion is unsuccessful, the hang-man and the gallows may work overtime, but the political rightfulness of rebellion cannot be assailed, though it cannot be authoritatively declared.

A caveat may however, be entered upon ; and it is this. Federalism may sometimes become corrupt when it tends to lose its federal character and it may then be equated with Imperialism. The danger is before us and about us in India. Federalism which replaced Imperialism in 1950 with a new, independent constitution is already manifesting symptoms of becoming too unitary. If not checked, the unitariness may assume imperial proportions—which would again become, inevitably and invincibly, a nursery for the Subversive Secret Society and Terrorism.

* Balasore—a small, sleepy town in Orissa, near the coast of the Bay of Bengal.

* Chittagong—an important port city near the coast of the Bay of Bengal, now in Bangla Desh, then in East Bengal.

Current Affairs

The Brahmo Way Of Life

Eri G. L Chandavarkar wrote in the Indian Messenger in July 1977 :—

1. A Brahmo is he who accepts, in thought, word and deed, the essence of the teachings of Ram Mohan Roy, Founder of the Brahmo Samaj, as revealed by and in his life, his works and his personality. He is a member of the Brotherhood of God's worshippers.

2. The essence of Ram Mohan Roy's teachings is prayer and worship. Prayer has its rise in inner-most depths of a man's heart, in or without words. It seeks its fulfilment in good deeds, and in a dedicated life,—dedicated to the service of fellowmen, seeking happiness in the happiness of others along with his own.

3. The life of a Brahmo as exemplified in the life of Ram Mohan Roy, is a life of humility combined with courage and fortitude, with a readiness to fight untruth, injustice and inequality wherever and in whatever form it is found. It is a life of love and compassion.

4. To Ram Mohan Roy, worship of God was worship of Truth, and Love. Beauty and Bliss. Those are various forms in which God lives in the heart of man and in the universe around him.

5. Ram Mohan Roy's religion, which he gave to Brahmos, is a universal religion which has no barriers. It is a religion which consists of simple prayer and good deeds.

6. The religion which Ram Mohan Roy preached to Brahmos is altogether free from such practices as the worship of idols, sacrifices or offerings or oblations. It is at the same time free from all acts of ridiculing or speaking slightly about other modes of worship in which a Brahmo does not believe. A Brahmo

shows respect for the religion or religious practices of everyone else which is their faith and piety.

7. A Brahmo is honest and straightforward in his dealings. Purity of thought, word and deed is the sheet-anchor of a Brahmo's life and religion.

8. A Brahmo must observe essential norms of thought and behaviour. He may believe in individual prayer on the basis of his religion but, for the sake of fostering and developing a spirit of brotherhood, he should recognise the importance of congregational or community worship. For this purpose, he joins other worshippers in a Mandir regularly and as often as he can.

9. There is strength and power in regarding the Brahmo Samaj as a Family that prays together for the common purpose of life's fulfilment.

II

10. A Brahmo entertains no thought of renunciation but regards the life of the world as a great opportunity for fulfilment.

11. A Brahmo is essentially a man of the world, even as his patriarch, Ram Mohan Roy was. He, accordingly fashions and lives his life which he regards as worthwhile, worth-living, not only in its piety, in its dedication, but also in its plenty, exuberance, usefulness, delight and happiness,

12. He loves life and makes it worth-living for himself and his neighbours. He meets his life and accepts it, with its opportunities and difficulties, its pleasures and sorrows with a balanced mind.

Like the *Muni*, described by Shri Shankaracharya with his mind unruffled, he derives

delight from living in a palace and is also content to live in a hermitage, he is neither overwhelmed by pleasures nor is overpowered by dejection or sorrow at times, he is found in the company of children, clapping his hands and dancing round with them, he loves the company of charming young women, indulging in sparkling wit and humour, men bent with age and sorrow, will find in him a friend who identifies himself with their woes and worries.

13. For the purpose of enjoying life which he loves, a Brahmo must have some days marked as days of festivity, which he celebrates with the loved ones of his family, his friends and his neighbours. By common agreement, such days should be marked and enjoyed like the Maghotsava, the Bhadrotsava, jayantis of the Buddha, Mahavira, Prophet Mahomed and Zarathushtra and Ram Mohan Roy, Dassera and Deepavali.

14. He also has days set apart for meditation and introspection which may be marked with observance of austerity such as fasting, at least sparing and simple food, without any exciting pastimes such as cinemas, and special moments of prayer. The pass-over of the Jews or Good Friday of the Christians may serve as a model.

Salyut 6—A Year in Space

—By Academician I. Obraztsov (In "Science and Engineering")

A year has elapsed since a scientific spacecraft Salyut 6 was launched into a round-the earth orbit.

The mere fact of such a longevity of the spaceship is an ordinary phenomenon in Soviet space science.

However, in this case, a greater intensity of research operations and experiments carried out on board Salyut 6 as well as a strenuous exploitation of the space lab have to be pointed out. Thus the scientific equipment exploitation time is far superior to that of Salyut 4 which

has been orbiting space for two years. At present the second major expedition of V. Kovalvonok and A. Ivanchenkov has surpassed a hundred days boundary and carries on its space effort successfully. Four visiting space ventures, three of them manned by international crews, made it possible to vary the duration of a number of experiments and to increase the operational versatility of the orbital complex.

Salyut 6 is a new generation space craft. All the preceeding Salyut flights and the experience gained in manned and polotless space flights have paved the way for its creation.

Salyut 6 is much more sophisticated than the first spacecraft of this make. If the first of them were designed on the base of an elementary single docking principle, Salyut 6's pretention to dock with manned transport ships and cargo craft has required more than a mere introduction of the second docking device. The designers have modified the layout of the craft's systems, requipped onboard systems and introduced new ones. Thus an air-tightness provision system for fuel delivery tubes during the fuel transfer from the docked Progress cargo ship to the lab's tanks has proved twice as reliable as usual. The orientation and guidance system ungraded from an experimental stage to become an onboard system is now also quite reliable. It enables a 30 meters long, 33 tons heavy spacecraft to manoeuvre.

When describing the Salyut 6 design the following catches the eye. It is a typical casing assembly containing three cylinders of different diameters linked up by cone units. The first section of the ship is passageway of 2 meters in diameter and 3 meters long. It owes its name to the fact that the cosmonauts pass through it from the transport ship into the orbital craft. An air-tight hatch separates it from the spacecraft's main operational quarters. On its opposite side there is a docking unit also equipped with an air-tight hatch. Despite its comparatively modest size scientific experiments

can be conducted there. It can also serve as an air lock when the cosmonauts take a walk into outer space. The outer part of the passageway section houses radiotechnical and radioalemetrical systems antenna, flashing beacons, orientation and stabilization systems' sensors, micrometeorite sensors, sunseekers, continuous action air release nozzles of the air lock, back up cooling and heating system units, compressed air bottles. There are space suits for an outer space walk, photo equipment fitted to the craft's portholes, guidance handle and scientific equipment panels in this section.

Out of the seven equipped control posts two are situated in the passageway and are made use of when working with photo equipment and astronomy hardware.

The command module, the spacecraft's main section, is more than nine meters long. It is built of two cylinders of different diameters (2.9 and 4.15 meters) linked up by a cone element. There is a recess in the superior diameter cylinder that houses a coneshaped scientific equipment section. Its inner room is not air-tight but cover screened.

The spaceship's central command post, commander's and board engineer's principal working quarters, is situated in the command module inferior diameter zone. The outer side of this part of the spacecraft carries three solar batteries totalling 60 square meters and producing 4 kilowatts of electric power. Each panel is equipped with an independent electric drive and is activated by sun-seekers irrespectively of the others. Two small waste disposal air locks are mounted on the command module's ceiling.

The rear end of the command section broders a passage way chamber leading to the second docking unit. A drum-shaped non air-tight engine section is fixed to the rear bottom of the command module. It houses engine assembly units,

refuelling system, fuel components tanks, blow-through ball-shaped containers. Solar batteries, sun-seekers, orbit adjustment rockets and orientation and stabilisation systems are mounted on the outer side of the engine section. A manual docking sight, television indexes, board signal lights, antenna are installed here the way they are on a passageway.

Salyut 6 portholes are made of two air-tight quartz glasses fixed in a cylindric collar. The space between the glasses is filled with dry air.

It is not by coincidence that a stage design comprising different diameter cylinders has been adopted. It takes into account the obligatory requirements of the critical zone, covering the above mentioned elements of the radio system, orientation and stabilisation systems, solar batteries with a fairing and thus protecting them from the crushing air pressure. If the spaceship were designed in a single diameter cylinder shape the booster's speed loss to fight air dynamic resistance would be very important and this would result in bringing down the useful weight of the launched craft.

The rigidity of the spaceship, that is of an assembly comprising cylindrical and cone-shaped fairings, is calculated with an assumption that the maximum load factor takes place during a lift-off. At this stage in addition to an overload caused by rocket engine thrust and air resistance the vibrations are taken into account just as well. Moreover the designers have paid attention to the specific conditions of the space flight, that is the space deep vacuum and a considerable temperature gap ranging up to 300 degrees between a sunlit and a dark part of the orbit and also to the rendezvousing and docking regimes of spaceships.

While carrying out the Resonance experiment the cosmonauts made a certain number of leaps, ran and walked on a complex training device responding to calibrated sounds. They both moved a nearly 30 meters long assembly

composed of Salyut 6 and two docked Soyuz-ships whereas the sensors fitted to the critical points of the spacecraft and ships' units transmitted to the earth the assembly deformation and load data. After a number of such tests the assembly was said to be definitely rigid and reliable.

The flight continuing in a near-earth orbit is interesting in many other ways. The spacecraft's advanced possibilities such as the two Progress cargo ships, constituting a part of the space complex and a new capacity to dock simultaneously with two ships bringing over into the orbit men, equipment, disposable materials and spare parts make it possible to use the research equipment more effectively. In this way its longevity is prolonged, the uninterrupted work of the crews assured and recuperation of the space experimentation research materials back to the earth made possible.

The research and experimental programme embracing various fields of knowledge is being successfully realized.

USSR: A Major Achievement of Agriculture

By Lev Voskresensky,

Novosti Press Agency Commentator writes in a Press Release by the USSR Consulate, Calcutta:

The Soviet state and collective farms produced more than 230 million tons of grain in 1978, informed A. Kosygin, Soviet Premier. This is a new achievement of Soviet agriculture for a third year running cereal crops, essential for the country, have been at a high level.

Two circumstances stand out this year, compared with the previous ones.

First, the bumper harvest was grown and taken in despite bad weather conditions: there were long rain spells in many parts of the country, the spring and summer were cold, putting the sowing campaign and grain ripening back a couple of weeks. The autumn, however,

came at its normal time. The harvesting was difficult, the rains had lodged the grain crops and, worse still, the harvesting overlapped with other major operations—soil cultivation for next year's crops and preparation of fodder for livestock. Nevertheless the Soviet farmers surmounted the difficulties successfully: they were helped by the high quality of work and large numbers of machines available in the countryside which made it possible to cope with the task in a short period of time. Since 1965, when the Soviet state increased sharply its investments in agriculture, the number of tractors has increased from 1,613,000 to 2,470,000 (their total horsepower more than doubling), that of grain harvesters from 520,000 to 692,000 (with an addition of units of a new generation), and that of lorries from 945,000 to 1,593,000 (their total carrying capacity doubling).

On the agrochemical side, there has been progress, too: in 1965 the farms received 27 million tons of mineral fertilisers, while now they get almost three times as much.

True, although more and more machines and chemicals are used on the fields and there is intensive land reclamation work under way (reclaimed lands in the USSR now account for more than one-quarter of all crop farming), it is still too soon to say that Soviet farming does not depend on weather whims. Yet this dependence is diminishing—and quickly. Confirmation of that is the steady growth of the average annual grain crops:

1961-1965	—	130.3 million tons
1966-1970	—	167.6 million tons
1971-1975	—	181.6 million tons
1976-1978	—	more than 216 million tons

Second, equally indicative is the changed break-down of the crops. More wheat of stronger varieties has been harvested this year—the state put in store twice as much of this high-quality cereal as it planned.

More than half of that wheat has come

from Kazakhstan, especially those of its regions whose virgin and new lands were brought under the plough 25 years ago. Over the past three years the state and collective farms of Kazakhstan have sold to the state more of strong wheats that has been planned for the entire five-year period 1976-1980.

Soviet agriculture, despite complicated natural and climatic conditions, has great potentialities. There is no doubt that by the end of the 1976-1990 period grain production in the USSR will reach 2.5 million tons, while in the next five years, according to last July's guidelines laid down by the plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the average annual harvest will rise to 238 to 243 million tons.

The Cousins

Dr. and Mrs. Cousins, originally from Ireland (it is her Centenary in November—Dr. Cousins was a few years older) were among those who came to India during the period of the First World War to assist Dr. Besant in the vast field of her many undertakings. A distinguished career already lay behind each of them, in theosophical, educational and social work—Margaret Cousins was imprisoned for her support of the Women's Suffrage Movement—James Cousins will be remembered as one of that splendid group of Irishmen which included 'A. E.' and W. B. Yeats, who did so

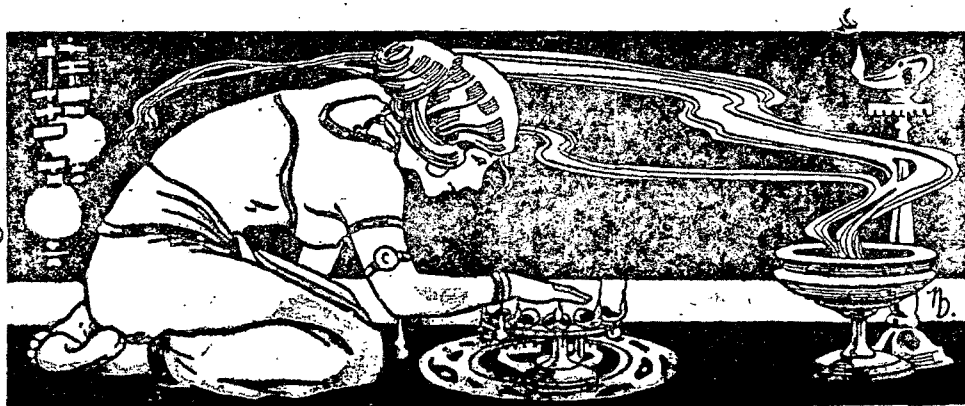
much to bring about the Irish Literary Revival at the turn of the century.

However it was in India especially that they gave themselves heart and soul to the regeneration of that great land. James Cousins was granted the title of *Kulapati* (Teacher of Multitudes), and presented with the *Veera Srinikhala* (bracelet of heroism) and the Pandit's Ceremonial Robe for his works, which included being Principal of The Theosophical College at Madanapalle, on the literary staff of *New India* newspaper, Senator on the Academical Council on the Board of Studies in Fine Arts at the University of Madras, and a member of the International Academy of the Arts, Adyar. Margaret Cousins served as a teacher at theosophical schools at Madanapalle and Mangalore, was a Senator at the National University and was involved with women's rights.

It is not possible to give full coverage to all the remarkable work of this fine theosophical pair, whose work both individually and together has left its mark upon the world they devoted their lives to serve.

In recognizing the few on this occasion, our thoughts will turn also towards the many whose lives have been similarly dedicated to the service of their fellow man :

'The Theosophist'



Indian and Foreign Periodicals

What Is Behind Food "AID" : Philanthropy Or Profit Considerations ?

S. Kouz (In Backgrounder)

Recently, the West earmarks increasingly greater part of its aid to the young states for agricultural development projects. For instance, this year the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has assigned twice as much money as last year to India for this. Food deliveries from developed capitalist countries to the newly-free states have become regular.

On the face of it, these are two forms of food aid. The purpose of one of them is to promote the development of agriculture in Asian, African, and Latin American countries, the aim of the other, to meet their food requirements as long as this development is going on. Needless to say, these are good intentions and Western countries have sufficient means to put them into effect. Why, then, in spite of this aid, the developing countries deficit of food grain, estimated at 15 million to 20 million tons this year, will have reached 85 million to 90 million tons by 1985, according to FAO ?

Profiting by hunger

The crux of the matter is that Western aid is not at all intended for the solution of the food problem in the developing world. This "aid" is nothing but one of the forms of business bringing profit to the West.

Much-awaited business boom has not set in the capitalist world after the 1974-1975 crisis. Businessmen became obviously unwilling to make investments into new industrial enterprises. With the plenty of offerings of low-interest loans of capital, real capital formation came to a standstill. Redundant produc-

tion capacities, not yet worn out either physically or morally, paralyzed the appearance of new production capacities in developed capitalist countries.

The developing countries were selected as capital investment spheres. But, owing to various reasons, such as lack of skilled manpower, legislative restrictions, etc., it appeared not so easy to apply capital in industry. The only thing left for Western businessmen was to use their capital in the forms of credits and loans. However, the external debt of the developing countries was 206,000 million dollars as early as 1976. In 1977 it grew by another 20,000 million dollars. By the available estimates, it will have reached 250,000 million dollars by the end of 1978.

Under such conditions it was important for Western investors to find such purposes of granting loans as would make the developing countries accept them, notwithstanding the burden of an enormous external debt. The purposes were easily found. The fact that at least 400,000,000 people suffer from hunger in the developing countries, suggested that to relieve them from hunger those countries would resort to more loans and would pay interest.

This is behind the West's financing agricultural projects in the third world.

Because of its meager scope, the commodity form of food "aid" does not increase the productive potential of the developing countries hence, cannot help do away with the food problem in Asia, Africa, or Latin America. For instance, between 1969 and 1974 EEC member-countries exported about 430,000,000 tons of cereals to the developing world annual-

ly. During the same period West-European countries used up 3,000,000 to 6,000,000 tons of wheat on feeding cattle. FAO's recommendations on bigger food deliveries to the developing countries arouse the objections of Western states. They do not want additional expenditure which can bring all gains from such deliveries to nought.

It is clear that various forms of western food "aid" are based solely on the considerations of gaining profit, disregarding the national interests of the developing countries.

The Need For A Modern Religion

By

Ven. Dr. Dickwela Piyananda Maha Thera,
M. A., Ph. D.

(Head of the Washington Vihara.)

The Problem

There is a story about a king who had a sword hanging over his throne. It could drop on his head at any moment. This illustrates the present situation in the world.

There is a great emergency overhanging the world today, which no conscious thing whether man or beast could afford to overlook. It has become a matter of life and death.

The modern world with its grand show of air-conditioned buildings, television sets and helicopters, with all the electronic computers, sputniks and satellites is faced with the fearsome and disappointing situation that its mental hospitals are overcrowding, its courts cannot keep pace with the work, and its police have no rest. In spite of the luxuries, the high standard of living, and material progress in the present world we are beginning to realise that its percentage of criminals and unhappy people is daily increasing fearfully. Not only is this so, we are even faced with a grave danger of an atomic war resulting in our annihilation unless we do something about it quickly. What could be the reason for this dangerous incongruity, sorrow, crime and fear amidst advancement? Where have we gone wrong? With all our in-

tellectual advancement are we yet children emotionally? Or has the modern world regressed into childhood? Where can we look for light?

Solution

There is a subject in the modern world which studies man in his everyday business of living. It is the subject of economics which inquires into the method by which man solves his basic problem of life. The economist finds that man's wants are unlimited. Yet the means at his disposal to satisfy these wants are pitifully limited. This is the basic problem of life. A man may want to own a fully modernised house or to go about in a luxury car or even to pay a visit to the moon and much more. Yet he does not have the money or the knowledge required to satisfy these wants. So how does he set about making these two ends, the wants and means, meet? He does the thing that comes immediately to his mind, namely, he increases his means. So he earns his money and struggles hard to make ends meet. His whole life is devoted to this struggle. What does he get for his efforts? Nothing but anxiety, made friends with a more powerful influence in science and abandoned religion altogether. This resulted in his natural bent towards materialism taking the upper hand. Science has corrupted man in a way. Yet why did man make friends with science? What made him lose friendship with good old religion?

Science gave man hope regarding mastery of the external world. This was what he was longing for and it was pleasant to him than self-mastery. In addition science appealed to his logical sense.

So hoping to gain his happiness through his natural bent, material pursuit, he made friends with science. On examination, however, we find to our surprise and shame that the hope given us by science was not altogether correct. We had made a mistake. Although we had

studied the world around us through science we had never cared to study the external world. We had rushed to mould the world to our heart's desire by making use of these laws. We had never stopped to examine whether the external world was able to satisfy us at all or whether unlimited desires could be satisfied either. Being impressed by the discoveries of science we had let ourselves be carried away by them. After a long and arduous journey on the wrong track, however, we have finally come to realise that the external world cannot satisfy us in any way. We had made a mistake by holding carouse with science which taught us how to do what we wanted to do but not anything at all about what to do or how to live our lives. (From "The Maha Bodhi")

Moral Revolution and Rammohun Roy *Calcutta Review* (July-December, 1945, p 385) says about Rammohun Roy: His name is inseparably connected with a great moral resolution. It is therefore, interesting to trace the history of this extraordinary man for it is a great measure the history of the Revolution." Revd. C. F. Andrews says in an article in the *Modern Review* on Rammohun (reprinted in the *Indian Messenger*, May 21, 1962, pp. 56-57) that Rammohun Roy "held a unique position at the head of one of the supreme moral revolutions in the history of Man." The world and the Brahmo Samaj have, till now, entirely missed the significance of the greatest mission of that far-sighted World Teacher, Rammohun Roy.

International value of moral Revolution. The words of Andrews, namely, "in the history of Man" bears a significance of no little value. So far as India is concerned one of the social implications of the Vedanta *vis-a-vis* idolatry is that the former is free from social immorality and injustices, whereas the popular customs and observances in the Hindu Society all over India in connection with the latter were and still are closely interwoven with immoral beliefs

and practices. Rammohun did not neglect the Christian world either. He tried to reform Christianity by broadbasing it on the moral *Precepts of Jesus* and not on miracles, blind faith or rituals which do not provide security to a Christian from immoral activities. The history of Papacy was a remarkable example which called for a 'Protestant' religion and a 'Reformation'. The entire Christian world of the colonial period, particularly in India, was bent upon gaining and amassing wealth and exploiting the weaker nations by any means, fair or foul, throwing away honesty and morality to the four winds. The far-sighted Rammohun's "Moral Revolution" was directed to entire humanity including the Hindu as well as the Christian.

Moral Revolution and the Brahmo Samaj The moral revolution started by Rammohun Roy steadily developed in the Brahmo Samaj movement, reaching its apex in Keshub and the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. But the entire Brahmo Samaj movement after Rammohun Roy—including Keshub and his followers—has entirely missed the *International* aspect of the "Revolution" but confined its moral activities within the framework of the Hindu Society in India only.

Keshub the Great—Keshub the greatest moral revolutionary in the Brahmo movement opened up a new chapter in its history when he laid the strongest emphasis on conscience and social justice. He tried to reform the Hindu Society morally but entirely neglected the world wide Christians who were ruling over a large part of the world. He wanted to popularise Jesus Christ in a new way acceptable to Asia, but totally overlooked vast importance of the Rammohun's moral *Precepts of Jesus*. That invaluable book by Rammohun Roy remains still neglected by the Brahmo Samaj. It is Christian England and Christian America that once appreciated that book highly when it first appeared, and those Christians themselves repri-

ted it repeatedly at their own cost. Even the unitarian missionary from America, Revd. Dall who called himself a "Rammohun Roy Brahmo" distributed free at his own cost while he was in Calcutta, copies of *Jeesur Upadesh* in Bengali to the inmates of the orphanage founded here by Miss Mary Carpenter. But the Brahmo Samaj could not recognise its importance and failed to popularise it in colleges whether in India or abroad wherever the Bible was taught. The Christian world consequently stuck to the miracles and rituals and remained ignorant of the moral basis of Christianity as pointed out by that World Teacher Rammohun Roy.

Public Sector In India (A Review)

India is a fast developing country adopting the mixed economy system. Expansion of the Public Sector is the kingpin of development policy. It has come to hold the commanding height of country's economy. Public Sector factories hold 60.1% of fixed capital and 52.4% of production capital in the country ; provides one fourth of total employment and emoluments of factory sector.

		Rs.
1950-51	5 concerns	29 cr. Investment
1955-56	21	81
1960-61	48	953
1965-66	74	2,415
1970-71	87	4,682
1974-75	124	6,700 cr.

Investment in Public Sector has grown. Phenomenally, percentage of investment in public sector enterprise to total investment for industrial investment in successive Five Year Plans shows an increasing trend :—19.41, 52.51, 59.11, 57.51, and 64.6% in V Plan Outlay (excluding investment in Railways, River Valley Projects and State Owned Concerns). Grand total would be Rs. 20,000 cr. Achievements of Public Sector are far from satisfactory. Judged by the criteria of profitability and productivity. During 72-73 these enterprises

earned a net profit of Rs. 17.74 cr. which rise to Rs. 64.42 cr. (3 times) in 73-74. Except petroleum and Agro-based Industries no other concern has run completely with profits. Hindustan Steel claims Rs. 1694 cr. investment, is running with heavy losses. Rs. 4.51 cr. in 70-71 ; Rs. 10.43 cr. in 73-74, contribution of Public Sector to Net Domestic output in 60-61 was 10.6%, 65-66 13.2%, 70-71 14%, 73-74 19%. The increase is very significant compared to huge investment made,

Public Sector must earn reasonable profits to enable achievement of economic social objective of removing Poverty and Destitution. With an investment of Rs. 6,700 cr. they are incurring losses. 1501 Private companies with an investment of Rs. 6439 cr. have earned profits of Rs. 666 cr. They were able to pay Rs. 198 cr. interest. Rs. 215 cr. Taxes and Rs. 144 cr. Dividends. Rs. 109 cr. Re-investment. In 73-74 fixed capital per employee in Private Sector was Rs. 8768, while it was 5 times this in Public sector and three times that in Joint Sector. Rate of return on capital invested is lowest in Public Sector 5% ; while it is 26% in private sector, 9% in joint sector. It is one third of the average return. This is the greatest set back to our economy.

Many of the present ills of Public Sector are traceable to un-planned projects at planning and construction stage. Size and scale should be competitive and economic under the prevailing circumstances. A great deal of preliminary investigation as to proximity to Raw material resources, availability of trained Man Power, Water supply, power sources, markets for finished products, Climate and technical process. There is slackness and irregularity in planning. Implementation is delayed unnecessarily. Trombay fertilisers took 7 years to start (3 years plan) Mathura Oil Refinery is yet to come foundation was laid in 1974. Bokaro started production in 1972, ("Mysore Economic Review")

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

B. M. Srikantayya by A. N. Moorthy Rao, illust. paper cover demy Oct. PP. 64 published by Sahitya Akademi in their Makers of Indian Literature series, Price Rs. 2.50. B. K. Srikantayya (1884-1946) was a Professor of English and Kannada and he was the initiator of a Romantic Revolt in Kannada literature. The development of Kannada literature was greatly indebted to the inspiration he provided to Kannada writers. He himself was a greatly talented writer of poems. His translations of sixty English lyrics into the Kannada language was a great achievement.

Duttakavi by Anuradha Potdar illust. Paper cover, demy oct. pp, 64 published by Sahitya Akademi New Delhi in their Makers of Indian Literature Series ; Price Rs. 2.50. Duttatraya Kondo Ghate "Dattakavi" (1875-1899) lived only 24 years. But the poems he wrote have enriched Marathi literature significantly and his name will go down in the history of Marathi literature as that of a creative composer of remarkable talent.

Narmadashankar By Gulabdas Broker. illust. Paper cover demy oct. pp. 86, Published by Sahitya Akademi in their Makers of Indian Literature series, Price Rs.2.50. Narmadashankar Lalshankar Dave (1833-1886) was born at Surat. He came to Bombay for higher studies and was drawn into the various social reform movements that Bombay people were sponsoring. He started writing both poetry and prose in Gujarati when he was about 23 years old. Narmadashankar began to run parallel establishments in Bombay and Surat and moved between the two places as suited him. He had written many poems by this time and a book of

poems was published named *Narma Kavita*. Also a prose collection with grammatical notes named *Narmoa yakaran*. In 1866 he wrote his autobiography *Mari Hakikat* or "My Story". Altogether his publications were many but the above account deals with only the more important ones.

Rainey of Illinois : a political Biography, 1903-34 by Robert A. Waller Royel 8, 272 pages Art canvas binding gilt lettering : A University of Illinois Publication (No.60) University of Illinois Press, Urbana, Illinois 61801 USA. Price \$12.50 The contents of the book as summarised by the Publishers tell the readers about "Henry T. Rainey's importance as a politician during the progressive periods in both national and Illinois history".

"The book chronicles Rainey's successful rise in Congress from representative of a traditionally one-term district through his election as speaker of the House in 1933. Waller shows how through devotion to duty, oratorical skills, party loyalty and service to constituents this intensely partisan son of the Illinois prairie made a name for himself even during the years of Republican ascendancy,

"The biography interprets Rainey's thirty years of public service and provides a significant review of Illinois politics and history, especially the development of the Illinois waterway. Its valuable discussion of Rainey's place in public life makes the book a complementary source of information about the nature of reform ideals during the period from 1903 to 1934 and about the relationship of Illinois's heritage to national events."

Robert A. Waller the author of the biography

is highly placed in the academic sphere of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. The book is No. 60 in the Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences series.

The Tribal Women of India;—By Dr. Shyam Singh Shashi a deputy Director of the Publications Division, Government of India, New Delhi. Demy Oct. pp. 164, XVIII illustrations, cloth gilt., Art Jacket, published by Swadesh Prasad Singhal, Sundeep Prakashan, B-149 Ashok Vihar, phase-I Delhi 1100 52, Price Rs. 54, \$11. Dr. Shyam Singh Shashi, M.A., Ph. D. is a well known scholar and author of a large number of authoritative books. He is connected with several research and literary organisations. In this book the women of a number of tribes have been dealt with. The tribes are Gaddi,

Kinnaour, Gujjar, Lahuli, Lepcha, Naga, Bhil, Santal, Muria, Gonds, Oraon and others. There are Appendixes dealing with Folksongs, Marriage customs etc. Among authors who have been acknowledged we find the names of W. G. Archer, P. C. Biswas, N. K. Bose, W. Crooke, S. C. Dubey, V. Elwin, Hutchinson, D. N. Mazumdar, H. H. Risley, S. C. Roy, R. N. Saksena. The journals quoted from are *Man*, *Man in India*, *Hanyajati*, *Folklore*, *Contemporary Social Sciences*, *Tribe*. The Publishers say, "This is the first socio-anthropological study of the tribal women of India who live in the jungles, in villages, in hills and lead a nomadic life, a difficult life, observe polyandry, polygyny." or monogamy. Scholarship and literary merit go hand in hand in this remarkably well written book.



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NOTES

When Accidents are not Really Accidents

Real accidents are happenings that cannot be prevented by any human action. No one can foresee in advance what will occur accidentally after some time, and no preventive action can be taken for the reason that no one can anticipate an accident. But when an accident takes place and investigations are held to discover the causes of the accident facts usually come to light which point to somebody's carelessness or negligence somewhere. Or one finds some fault, flaw, substandard supply of something or other; bad maintenance, overstraining machinery or similar short comings. The findings usually lead to the conclusion that the accident could not have been prevented nor anticipated; but on occasions one discovers some elements of failure on the part of the human element involved; some lack of wide awakesness and caution which, had things been what they should have been like, would have reduced the chances of the accident. It has been found that where people are inclined to take things for granted, work on assumptions rather than by constant checking and tests and

depend on third parties for information about vital matters which concern safety; accidents occur with greater frequency and they are more serious and damaging. Accidents usually take place in circumstances and settings which are very similar. We find road Accidents, railway accidents, accidents in planes, steamers, the dangers that arise where industrial machinery operate, explosions where gas and steam are used, the risks of using dangerous chemicals ultraviolet rays, poisonous materials etc. etc. The risks that one takes by use of electric power for the operation of lifts, air conditioners, refrigerators, cooking ranges and so forth; all total up to increase the probability of accidents in the field of modern ways of living. In road accidents speeding, overtaking using perished tyres worn out brake linings and brake buckets; and not maintaining vehicles in proper running condition are active factors. Persons owning and using motor vehicles should be made to observe all safety needs carefully and scrupulously in order to reduce road accidents. Pedestrians and persons plying slow moving vehicles should also be made to

obey certain safety rules. If these rules and conditions are obeyed, and observed the number of road accident would surely come down. That means that many road accidents are preventable and the state can certainly do much to prevent these accidents by enforcing the safety rules that drivers of all sorts of vehicles, hand cart pushers, rickshaw pullers, pedestrians, pavement dwellers, cyclists etc. should obey. The municipalities should see to the proper maintenance and lighting of the roads in order to do their duty towards increasing road safety. Coming to railways, most railway accidents are caused by negligence, non-observance of standing orders and by taking chances. If rules are strictly obeyed accidents will surely be reduced. This applies more or less equally in the case of boat and steamer traffic where also one finds accidents taking place mainly due to ignoring the rules and regulations that are there but are not always carefully followed by the people who operate and use the boats, steamers and other craft plying in the rivers, canals and seas. In air services too, though rules are observed much more carefully than in railways, steamer services or by bus or truck drivers: things are not absolutely perfect. Pilots take chances and the planes also are not maintained as well as they should be on many occasions. When we come to look into industrial and other accidents we find that the human element is more frequently responsible for causing accidents than in air or steamer services. Short circuits, leaks defective placing of urgently needed materials or spares and a host of other mistaken organisational faults may cause accidents and usually no one ever discovers the real causes or the persons actually responsible for the mistakes which caused the accidents. Fires and explosions occur, machinery get broken, materials are badly damaged, workers injured or even killed if proper precautions are not taken to prevent the mishaps. Leakage of carbon monoxide gas, sudden discharge of

molten metal and similar happenings can cause the death of many persons. There was once a case in which a large number of persons slept in an alley in which carbon monoxide was increasingly accumulating during the night. In the morning all those who were sleeping in that alley were found dead. In the same factory molten metal was once released into a ladle while workers were still working in the ladle. Even in private houses gas cylinders are some times left loose and half open which lead to explosions at times. Some accidents are quite unique in their own way. A truck driver for instance once left a truck carrying bricks parked on a road which was stopping. He had pulled the brakes of the truck but these were not working properly. The truck slowly began to move down the road and gathering speed bumped into another truck. The driver of the offending truck had to pay a fine though he was no where near the place of the accident. There was another case in which a loaded truck skidded and went about forty feet before it hit the pillars of a verandah of a house and brought it down on a number of sleeping coolies. Some accidents therefore have a responsible human factor involved while others have no such contacts and were pure accidents.

National and Individual Achievements

A nation's resources, deeds, aspirations, characteristics and relations with its own people or with foreign countries, have a basic similarity with an individual's life, qualities and achievements in so far as the history of nations and the life of individuals are both tales of human lives and of the functioning life forces in all their complex correlations. The history of nations, to be properly understood, require detailed study of the peoples constituting the nation, their ways of behaviour, acquisitions, acquirements; preferences, outlook, weaknesses and the strong elements in their mental-physical make up, together with all such facts which are specifically their speciality. In the case of

individuals a similar study should be made of the mental-physical characteristics with special reference to facts relating to their education, other qualifications, likes, dislikes, shortcomings, friends, relations, political, professional or other peculiarities, hobbies etc. etc. In the case of nations certain facts are always there which give the nation its specific identity. The nations special characteristics such as some nations are highly musical, have extensive inventive talent, are bold and martial in their outlook, creative in the field of literature and art, turn out good sportsmen and so forth; should be particularly noted. In the case of individuals a person who is professionally an engineer may be a good singer or actor. Or he may write good poetry or may be an excellent tennis player. A professor of physics can be an expert motorist or a long distance swimmer. A brilliant scholar can be also a budding politician or a fearless leader in a secret society. Dr. Jadugopal Mukherjee was a medical student and he was also the leader of the 1917 terrorist group of Calcutta. Subhash Chandra Bose was a philosopher with distinct spiritual learnings; but he was also a fearless revolutionary whose Indian National Army did more to dissolve the British empire than anything else. Nations as well as individuals can do things which would be considered miraculous and nobody would ever be able to produce a clear cut explanation for such miracles. As we have already stated nations or individuals persons are human in their nature and any study of the characteristics of large groups of persons constituting national bodies or particular individuals would be a study of human life and conduct and as such would have many basic similarities. Nations as well as individuals can be artistic patriotic, courageous, businesslike, religious, self denying or acquisitive. Some nations as well as individuals by nature desire to do good to others; while yet other nations or persons are always seeking their own

convenience and advantage. There are persons or groups of persons who like to do good to others even by sacrificing their own convenience, while there are other persons or groups who never hesitate to exploit others. Some persons are saintly by nature and that is true of communities and large bodies of persons who may collectively adopt and follow ethical ideals which give them an outlook in the sphere of social conduct distinguishing them as superior type of persons. There could be other types of persons forming large bodies who might be by and large criminally inclined. The Thugs, the Huns or the Vandals for instance lived by robbing weaker communities. In the same manner there may be individuals who live by robbing others, like the highway men of Britain or the Pirates who operated on the high seas. All societies have some individuals who are public benefactors and the general public pick them out as the persons who help the poor, the sick, the blind and the lame. When several such good men work together to relieve the distress of the helpless, organisations grow up which come to the rescue of the handi-capped peoples of society. Great hospitals, educational institutions, deaf dumb and blind schools etc. etc. have been set up in many lands by the efforts made by the well wishers of the public and such good work goes on all the time.

The idea of the Welfare State having developed in recent times much good work is done now a days by the state and the destitute have no longer to seek help from kind hearted persons to obtain relief from suffering. But much social service is even now done by benevolent persons who respond to the call of humanity on account of their natural inclinations and do social work when there is a spiritual demand for it. That all human beings have a right to a proper way of living and general well being are ideas that have developed over the ages and the work

done by a fair number of selfless persons during recent centuries has put the hall mark of human rights on the claims that people may make for a better life. Even then such well being barely covered the barest minima, animal needs and left a wide gap between utter necessities and ideal conditions of human existence. The great men were they who helped needy and deserving persons to reach for the ideals as well as to get out of the miseries caused by lack of proper education, good health, fullest possible development of potentials in all spheres of life and work and so on and so forth. India since the Eighteen Hundred Sixties has produced many men and women who have helped their countrymen to attain higher ideals in various fields and these persons were the real nation builders of India. Many of them have also been self made men of great stature who studied and worked to earn enough money to meet the living expenses of their family members and the costs of their own education as well as the education of their juniors. About one hundred years before the coming of this age of brilliance was born the greatest man of India of modern times, Raja Rammohun Roy, whose intellectual attainments and achievements in the field of social, religious, political and economic reforms made men like Robert Owen and Jeremy Bentham compare him with Aristotle and Socrates. Raja Rammohun Roy inspired Indians who came after him to acquire the then modern education and to delve deep into the mysteries of science. He opened the gates through which succeeding generations Indians could pass into the practical fields of positive thought. Raja Rammohun Roy created contacts with the West which lifted India out of religious phantasies and magic into the heights of science, logic and clear thinking.

After Raja Rammohun Roy came men like Prince Dwaraka Nath Tagore, Meharshi Debendranath Tagore, Michael Modhusudan Dutta, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Krishnadas Pal and

some others who were modern intellectuals, each one in his one way. They were succeeded by a galaxy of talented persons, some falling in the category of genius, who brought Bengali and Indian people clearly into the assembly of modern progressive nations. Many of these people were self made men, others were persons who had their own means. Among them were scientists, literary men (poets, novelists, dramatists, song composers) actors, educationists, physicians, journalists, politicians, industrial magnets, social reformers etc. etc. Some had specific ability of a high order, while others were versatile and excelled in more than one thing in a noticeable manner. 1861 was a miracle year for in that year were born Rabin-drath Tagore who was internationally acclaimed as a poet, novelist, dramatist, actor, song composer and educationist and many other things like architect, town planner, priest of religion, musician, of producer mystery dramas and so forth. In the same year was born Nil-ratan Sircar, a wizard in the field of treatment of diseases, an educationist of remarkable ability, a great organiser of hospitals, educational institutions, industries and plantations, also mines, and a patron of the plastic and the musical arts. He was closely associated with the Universities of Calcutta and Jadavpur and was the pioneer in arranging full scale science studies in Calcutta. He was in various committees and councils from 1893 to 1942 and did much of the organisational work and planning of higher education during these fifty years. He was looked upon with great faith and confidence by Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore, Jagadish Chandra Bose, Prafulla Chandra Roy, Ramananda Chatterjee and many other persons of national standing. Nilratan Sircar was Vice-chancellor of the Calcutta University during the years 1919-1922 and went to Britain as a member of the Empire Universities Commission in 1921. He was made a D.C.L. and LL. D. of the Oxford and Edinburg

Universities. Nilratan Sircar was outstandingly instrumental in organising the R. G. Kar Medical College and Hospital and the Jadabpur Tuberculosis Hospital. In 1861 was also born Pandit Madan Mohun Malviya, the founder of the Benares Hindu University which is a great centre of learning and research. In the ten years 1860-1870 were also born Prafulla Chandra Roy the ascetic scholar and patriot. Swami Vivekananda, Ramananda Chatterjee and some other important persons whose names would appear in bold letters in the political, economic and cultural history of India. We are a forgetful nation. We do not always remember our great nation builders nor grant them proper recognition for the work they have done for us. One has also to admit in shame that party and coterie mongering sometimes induce the unscrupulous elements even in high positions to distort facts, indulge in credit snatching, give credit to wrong persons and generally twist facts to suit their false propaganda. There should be bodies of fact finders who should publish their findings from time to time to put right such falsifications.

Sub Continental Politics

The battle of Plassey was fought about one hundred years before the Mutiny of 1857. The Mutiny took place because the British rulers of India were not basically liked by the people of India with particular reference to certain groups in different parts of India and some units of the British Indian army. The Mutiny was suppressed ruthlessly by the British and relations between the peoples of India and the alien rulers became worse, though the people could do nothing about it. The British people however saw that things required to be changed and the East India Company was deprived of all political power and the governance of India came directly under the crown of Great Britain

and Ireland. Things did not however did not develop favourably for the British and the Indian intelligentsia looked for ways along which their motherland could move towards freedom from British domination. In the 1880s and ninetys many groups were formed in various parts of India to think out methods for achieving independence. Swamy Vivekananda, Sri Arabinda Ghosh, Ananda Mohun Bose, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and many others were the products of post Mutiny political conditions and when the Swadeshi Movement started after Lord Curzon Partitioned Bengal the ground was already psychologically mature for a freedom movement to become active and progressive. Along with boycott of British goods and efforts to make anti-British thoughts a part of the people's mental make up, there came into existence groups of fire brand youths who wanted to chase the British out of India by main force. Members of these groups retaliated violently against British official acts of suppression against Indian young men. They used pistols and Bombs to answer ruthlessness by terroristic acts. The British also tried to create conditions by showing undue favour to those who sided with them and certain classes of persons took advantage of this and did work for the ruling foreigners. The British, in accordance with the ancient policy of divide et impera tried to win over entire communities by offering them special privileges and rewards.

The Swadeshi Movement of 1905-06 was followed by the first World War of 1914-18 and the politics of the nineteen twenties was mainly based on plans by the British to make Hindu Moslem relations mutually antagonistic. Communal riots became quite common and many people lost their lives in the riots. The idea of a separate Moslem State by dividing India also took shape and M. A. Jinnah became the moving spirit of the demand for a Pakistan or holy state which would be Islamic in its nature

and constitutional content, Certain British elements helped the people who agitated for the establishment of a Pakistan or Moslem State in India, with money, propaganda in India and abroad. And as time passed and it became more and more clear that the British would soon relinquish their hold over India the Pakistan seekers began to be intensively active. After the second world war Moslem agitators in the Punjab, N. W. Frontier province, Sind, Bengal and in various pockets like Hyderabad, Deccan, Junagarh etc. etc. became doubly vocal and insistent in vicious ways to force a partition of India and to form a new state for the Moslems. As a result of all this communal rioting, propaganda and agitation when the Indian Independence Act 1947 was passed on the 18th July 1947, Pakistan was constituted as a Dominion. The following territories of British India were taken to give Pakistan its territorial area :—Baluchistan, East Bengal and much of the Sylhet District of Assam, N. W. F. Province, West Punjab, Sind and certain states of princely India which had expressed their wish to accede to Pakistan. This new state was proclaimed to be an Islamic Republic in 1956. About two years after this in 1958 President Mirza declared martial law in Pakistan, dismissed the central and provincial governments abolished all political parties and abrogated the constitution of 1956. Field Marshal M. Ayub Khan, C. in C. Pakistan army became the chief martial law administrator. Major General Mirza handed over all powers to Ayub Khan. This was confirmed in 1960 by ballot and a new constitution was proclaimed in 1962. In 1969 Ayub Khan resigned and handed over all power to Maj. Gen. Agha Mohamed Yahya Khan who brought Pakistan again under military rule. In 1970 it was declared that Pakistan would be a federal republic with national and provincial assemblies elected by free and periodical elections. The first election was held in Dec. 1970. In this election Sheikh

Mujibur Rehman's Awami League in East Pakistan gained 167 seats and the Peoples Party 90 seats. There were serious differences between East and West Pakistan and the Military autocrats of West Pakistan tried to force their will on the East Pakistan people. This led to a civil war which lasted nearly a year. In Dec. 1971 the West Pakistan people had to admit defeat and East Pakistan declared itself to be a separate state adopting the name of Bangladesh. After this President Yahya Khan resigned and Z. A. Bhutto assumed all powers as President and Chief Martial Law Administrator. in Jan. 1972. In 1977 Z. A. Bhutto lost power to the army chief of Staff Gen. Zia-ul-Haq who again proclaimed martial law and gave the army full charge of managing the affairs of the country. Pakistan thus passed thirty years of unstable existence mainly under military rule, secretly aided by anti Indian foreign powers to act as a thorn in India's flesh.

In Kashmir, in Hyderabad and in many other places whenever there was any trouble of a communal type the hand of Pakistan was always noticeable more or less clearly. Civil commotion had been instigated on a number of occasions by Pakistan in different places in India. Apart from that sort of provoking trouble in India Pakistan has invaded Indian territories on a number of occasions and India has always been prevented from any retaliatory counter invasion of Pakistan areas by Pakistan's friends in the United Nations Organisation. These friends render assistance to Pakistan with a view to enhance the military might of that country far in excess of what one would expect a country with Pakistan's size and population to possess. The frontiers of the Islamic Republic do not give access to any enemy country. The three powerful states adjoining it are China, India and Russia. China is a friend of Pakistan and Russia has no quarrels with it either. India has been

repeatedly invaded by Pakistan and though on each such occasion India has squashed the invaders very thoroughly she never invaded the aggressors' citadels of might, and that means that Pakistan has nothing to fear from India. Then why has that holy land built up military force in the manner that we find it carried out by the rulers of Rawalpindi. There are no needs for 15 Divisions of heavily armed troops nor for a number of submarines or a powerful air force for the defence of Pakistan. The only other reason for such a build up can be aggressive designs against some country or other. Such countries can not be China, Russia, Afghanistan or Iraq. So the inevitable conclusion is that Pakistan's martial preparedness has only one objective and that is India. This is further corroborated by facts of history which are the invasions perpetrated by that Islamic Republic against its peace loving neighbour India. Pakistan desires to snatch the whole of Kashmir from the secular republic of India. She has lawlessly occupied nearly half of that mountainous country and has never shown any inclination to vacate her aggression. Pakistan has attempted on various occasions to occupy other areas of India too in Punjab, Rajasthan, Assam, Bengal and Gujrat. Pakistan was born in violence. We have already said how the British helped Moslem agitators to organise communal riots and encouraged Hindu Moslem dissension. When the partition of India took place in 1947 thousands of people were mercilessly killed while they tried to cross the borders of the new state where Hindus were being terrorised and expropriated. In a retaliatory manner Hindus also chased some Moslems from Indian territory. Some say a million people died as a result of creating a separate *raj* for musalmans by dividing India. Things are peaceful at the present moment; but Pakistan is armed to the teeth and is ruled by military officers who are trigger happy and

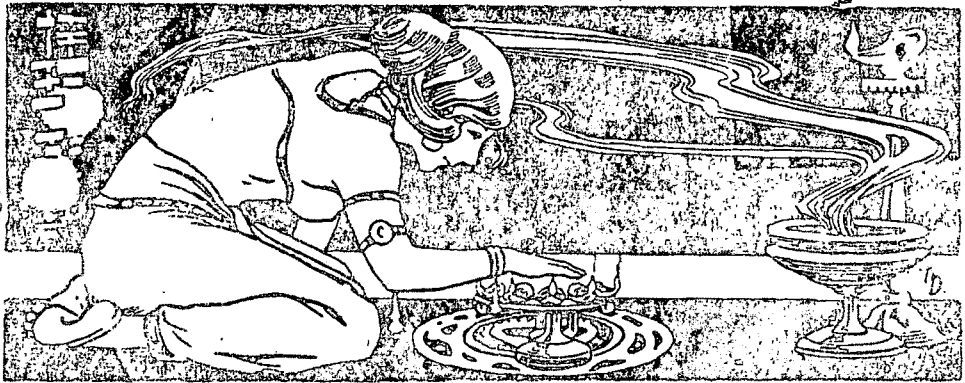
start fighting at any time if they find any excuse for following in the foot steps of Ayub Khan or Iyabha Khan. Let us not also forget the Western powers which aid, assist and provoke Pakistan to be aggressively anti-Indian. They are relatively inactive at present for political reasons but things may change at any time and these states may renew their nefarious activities in order to make things difficult for India. At home too things are difficult for Pakistan's rulers and they have to be alert at all hours to keep things going in a manner that will be propitious for the martial law administration. But when internal conditions favour the renewal of activities in keeping with the traditional policy, things will not remain peaceful any longer.

Bangladesh

When in December 1970 Pakistan held elections Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Awami League gained 167 seats out of 300. East Pakistan was at that time badly exploited by West Pakistan and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman wanted to change things and make them fair and just for the Bengali speaking Moslems of the eastern province of Pakistan. Pakistan reimposed martial law and a civil war broke out which ended in East Pakistan breaking away from the Western and Central body. This happened in March 1971. The war ended in Dec. 1971 and Bangladesh came into existence as an independent state. In 1972 December a constitution was put into force for Bangladesh which made it a parliamentary democracy. At this stage Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was the most important person in that area of Moslem majority India. He was elected President of Bangladesh on 25th January 1975. All political parties were abolished and only the Bangladesh Krishak Sramik Awami League functioned. But a secret group which was pro Pakistan in a manner of speaking worked to

remove Sheikh Mujibur Rehman. On 15th August 1975 the Sheikh was killed along with almost all his family members. After this in November 1976 Maj. Gen. Ziaur Rehman became the ruler of Bangladesh. He made this state thoroughly Islamic and he was not much of a friend to India. Neither has he been a friend of Pakistan at least in an open and clear out manner. Thus India was no better off after the formation of Bangladesh

than she was when that area was East Pakistan and openly anti-Indian. It is now a question of time before something happens to bring Pakistan and Bangladesh openly in the field to work against India. There is not much chance of open war to settle things one way or another; but India will have to be ever prepared for skirmishes along her long frontiers which separate her territories from those of the Islamic states of the subcontinent.



KAPILAVASTU AND LUMBINI IN PARK

TWO GREAT SITES OF BODDHISM PROPOSED DEVELOPMENT OF LUMBINI

BUDDHADASA P. KIRTHISINGHE

Kapilavastu was the capital of Buddhas' father, King Sudhodana of the ancient Sakya kingdom. It is significant historically, because Prince Siddhartha, as a Bodhisattva (Buddha to be) spent 29 years of his early life there. The Lumbini gardens are his birthplace. The latter is very important to the Buddhist as the Buddha himself recommended it as a place of pilgrimage, but not his father's capital.

Ever since the mid-19th century, General A. Cunningham and his associates undertook exploratory traveling, in which most of the ancient Buddhist centres along the Ganges were brought to modern recognition. It was, however, in the discovery of the Asokan inscribed pillars at Lumbini and Nigliva and of the inscribed reliquary at Piprahwa during the mid-1890ies that evidence pointed to the existence of the ruined capital of the Sakyas and it became the focus of attention. Discussions and controversies continued about the ruins of Tilaurakot and the *stupa* of Piprahwa; but in the course of a decade, from the mid-1890ies to the mid-1910's, they seemed to reach an agreement as to the site of that ancient city.

It has been, however, since the mid-60ies that a new impetus has been given to search for the site of Lumbini. This has once again fed fuel to that old guest and thus started anew the old controversy between India and Nepal, as the two nations each claim the site of Kapilavastu, one, Tilaurakot in Nepal and the other Piprahwa in India.

The earliest systematic exploration that was conducted by Cunningham's associate, A. D. L. Carlisle in 1875-6, failed to identify the region of the Sakyas in toto. The idea that Tilaurakot

might be the real site of Kapilavastu came from a man of an entirely different background, Dr. L. A. Waddell, Surgeon-Major of Calcutta Hospital, a recognized Tibetologist. It was due to his promptings that the State Government of Bengal was eventually persuaded to support the archaeological enterprise for the exploration and excavation of that region. His conviction that the Nepalese Tarai north of Gorakhpur near the foot of the Himalayas was the area to be explored was based on the narrative of a Tibetan Lama who had visited the area a century or so ago when the villages had received modern names.

In December 1895, Waddell planned to examine the assumed site of Kapilavastu with the assistance of A. S. Fuhrer, Curator of the Lucknow Museum. But being unable to leave from his duty at that time, he deputed the task to Fuhrer, who subsequently discovered the Asoka pillar and its associated *stupa* of Konakamuni at Nigliva a few miles southeast from Tilaurakot. The results of this exploration appeared in Fuhrer's *Progress Report of the Archeological Survey Circle, North-West Provinces and Oudh for the year ending June 30, 1896*, while Waddell's article appeared in July of the same year in *Maha Bodhi*. In December of that year, Fuhrer once again returned to Nigliva in order to verify the site of Kapilavastu, and then proceeded eastward to see the Rummindei pillar of which he had heard the previous year. The occasion turned out to be epoch-making, because the Asoka's pillar and its inscription marking the spot of the Buddha's birth at Rummindei absolutely fixed the region of the Sakya country. It also established the spot

where the famous Lumbini garden existed, a common park between the Sakya and Koliya Kingdoms.

It is known that Kapilavastu was devastated in the Buddha's lifetime in the 6th century B. C. It is said that when Prince Vidudabhe besieged his father's capital, He (the Buddha) sat under a withered tree, silently. When Prince Vidudabhe saw him and asked him why he was sitting under such a withered tree when there were great and beautiful green trees around, the Buddha answered that the shade of relatives was superior to that of non-relatives. This is said to have made Prince Vidudabhe desist from attacking the city, but eventually he devastated it, together with his father's kingdom. Thus the old site of Kapilavastu is buried deep in Himalayan mud. In modern times many probable sites have been excavated but they have now been narrowed down to two: Tilaurakot in Nepal and Piprahwa in Northern Uttar Pradesh, India.

According to the Chinese monk, Fa-Hien, who travelled from China to India by the overland route and returned to China by sea from Ceylon in the 4th century A. D., when he visited Kapilavastu there was neither king nor people. All was mud and desolation. On the spot were only some monks and a score or two families of common people.

Another Chinese pilgrim, Huiyen Tsang, travelled to Buddhist holy places in India from China in the 7th century A. D. He confirms the findings of Fa-Hien. "The region was already abandoned. Kapilavastu was in such a state of ruin it was impossible to determine its original extent. It is said that the Buddha visited Kapilavastu three times and on one occasion converted his father, Yosodhara, and his son Rahula, as well as many other members of his father's court, to his views. Rahula became a monk.

Kapilavastu was the capital of the Sakya's kingdom. It was there that the Buddha was

reared in his youth and where he was married to Yosodhara, his cousin, a princess of the adjoining Koliya land.

The Buddha-to-be was born in a Sal grove in Lumbini Park near the capital of the Sakyas, while his mother was on her way to her parents' home in the adjoining Koliya Kingdom for her confinement. At birth he stood upright, took seven steps and spoke thus: "This is my last birth and henceforth no more births for me."

The boy was named Siddhartha at a great ceremony on the fifth day after his birth. His family (gotra) name was Gautama. The wise men of his time prophesied of him that he would become a universal emperor or a universal teacher.

His mother, Queen Mahamaya, passed away on the seventh day after his birth and he was brought up by his foster mother and aunt, Princess Projapati Gotami. The child grew up to manhood in refinement amidst luxury and received the high education that a prince should have.

When of age he married his cousin, Princess Yasodhara. King Sudhodana bestowed on his son the luxuries of life and he lacked nothing of earthly joys and was not aware of sorrow.

As he grew older the prince began to get glimpses of the woes of life. As he rode to the various parts of his kingdom he saw four examples of human misery, sickness, old age and death. Lastly he saw a yellow clad recluse who was calm and serene. These woeful signs greatly moved him and the monk vastly impressed him, as he showed the way of renunciation.

At the age of 29 he renounced his wife, child and a crown that promised him power and glory and as the Venerable Piyadasi put it, "He set out in quest of supreme security from human bondage, Nibbana." This is known as the Great Renunciation. All these events took place from his father's capital at Kapilavastu.

Then for six years he led the life of a recluse under various teachers (gurus), Alara Kalama, Ramputto, and went through rigorous penances of ascetism such as self-mortification. At last he gave them up and followed the Middle Path (Maddiyma Pratipada) and finally at Urevela by the River of Nerangana at Gaya, now known as Buddha Gaya, he attained Supreme Enlightenment at the age of 35 years. After 49 years of public service, he passed away at Kusinara in modern Bihar in India.

According to the *Bulletin of the Indian Archeological Society* Vol. VI, 1972-73, the lost city of Kapilavastu, where the Buddha was raised and his remains have been found, is in Pipirahwa in the Basti District of Uttar Pradesh, India.

Recent excavations showed that Pipirahwa, 25 km from the Naugarh railway station in the Gorakhpur-Gonda loop line of the Northeastern Railway, indeed is Kapilavastu, the place where the Buddha spent the first 29 years of his life and where, as Prince Siddhartha, he saw the miseries of human existence that provoked him to leave his family and his kingdom in search of salvation. Pipirahwa is also just over 25 km from Tilaurakot in Nepal which many scholars believed was Kapilavastu.

Archaeologists of the Archaeological Survey of India found two beautiful soapstone caskets containing the charred bones of the Buddha. His kinsmen had built a stupa over the caskets and three dishes containing ashes.

They also found 40 terracotta seals and the lid of a pot bearing the inscription "Kapilavastu". One such seal in the Pali language (Brahmin script) was inscribed with the words : *Om devaputra vihare Kapilavastu Bhikkhu Sankhas.*

The inscription was written during the reign of the Kushan King Kanishka who used to call himself *devaputra*, or the Son of God. The inscription said that this monastery was built

by Kanishka for the order of the monks at Kapilavastu.

K. Srivastava, Superintendent Archaeologist, said that there is no doubt that this place was the residential complex of the Chief of the Sakyas, King Sudhodana, father of Buddha, based on the antiquities and the nature of the construction of these structures. Excavations are being carried out to determine the outline plan of the town.

The search for Kapilavastu at Pipirahwa began after excavations at Tilaurakot in Nepal did not yield an antiquity which could be connected with the Buddha's Kapilavastu. These excavations at Pipirahwa have been conducted since 1962. The town was chosen as the possible site of Buddha's place based on the town's record that a landlord, W. C. Peppe, had a shaft bored in 1898 in the stupa and among other valuables found five inscribed caskets.

Srivastava had the feeling that the caskets were replicas and the original ones lay on a lower level. On further exploration they found the two original caskets containing the relics of the Buddha and three dishes containing ashes, as was said above.

Nepalese archaeologists, historians and Buddhist scholars have disputed the claim of the Indian archaeologist that Pipirahwa in northern Uttar Pradesh was once Kapilavastu, domain of King Sudhodana, father of Gautama Buddha. They hold instead that Tilaurakot in Nepal was Kapilavastu.

The controversy has aroused widespread interest in Nepal, where eight per cent of the country's population is Buddhist.

The Nepalese experts drew upon evidence from excavations, Asokan pillars, diaries of the visiting Chinese scholars, Hsien Tsang and Fa-Hien, and the contemporary Pali and Buddhist literature to support their claim that Tilaurakot was Kapilavastu.

They said that Emperor Asoka had visited

the site three times while Tibetan and Chinese travellers and three rulers Nepal, Jitra Malla, Ripu Malla and Anomada Malla, had also borne out historic confirmation of the site.

The Nepalese official daily, *Gorkha Patria*, said that it would be a travesty of history if for some time doubt is cast on the universally accepted claim of Tilaurakot to be ancient Kapilavastu.

Thus it is time for Her Serene Highness Princess Pismai Diskul, President of the World Fellowship of Buddhists, to consult her Cabinet and seek the help of a panel of archaeological experts from the UNESCO to determine the exact site of Kapilavastu.

Lumbini Park lies today in the Rupandekhi district in the Kingdom of Nepal. Legends say that in these days, Lumbini was a lovely garden full of green, shady and mellow sal groves. This garden and its tranquil environs were under the common ownership of the Sakyas and Koliyas two adjoining kingdoms, ruled by two cousins, roughly lying in parts of present-day Nepal and a butting into parts of Uttar Pradesh in North India.

The monk Fa-Hien writes in his "Travels in India and Ceylon" (4th century A. D.)

"Fifty miles to the East from the City (Kapilavastu) lies Lumbini Park and when I visited it, there were few inhabitants and one had to be on guard against wild elephants and lions and one should not travel incautiously." Thus when Huien Tsang came to Lumbini Park, it must have been an area of wild forests inhabited by tigers, snakes and herds of elephants.

As stated before, Lumbini Park and the spot where the Bodhisattva Siddhartha was born, was discovered by a well-known British archaeologist. The Emperor Asoka erected a stone pillar on the spot 316 years after his birth, in the 3rd century B.C., to mark this holy spot. Asoka visited this spot in Lumbini on a pilgrimage. The inscription engraved on the

pillar in five lines consists of Asokan (brahmic) characters and states among other things, 'Hida Budha Jate Sakyamuni'—"Here was born the Buddha, the Sage of the Sakyas". This glorious and mighty pillar may still be seen, in the same condition in which the Chinese pilgrim Huien Tsang saw it in the 7th century A. D.

The Government of Nepal with the cooperation of the United Nations development program has a Rs. 650 million fund drive and a U. N. advisory panel has recommended a revised plan in great detail with a cost estimate of US \$ 12 million to rebuild the Lumbini Park area to accommodate both pilgrims and tourists. This plan calls for 3 sections—(a) sacred gardens, (b) monastic enclave and (c) a new Lumbini village. The Green Areas around the whole site would have the function of surrounding both the sacred Garden and the Monastic Enclave and separating them from the outside world.

The Monastic Enclave—Walking south from the Pilgrim Village in the direction of the Sacred Garden, the visitor would first encounter the Monastic Enclave. As proposed, this Enclave will include a site museum containing the antiquities recovered during the excavations together with other material depicting the life of the Buddha. It would also have a small library and an information centre, and a group of shrines, monasteries and places of worship to be constructed by individual states and institutions.

The Sacred Garden—The main feature of the design of the Sacred Garden would be to create an atmosphere of tranquility, universality and clarity consistent with the idea of the birth of the Buddha. All planting and landscaping would reflect this aim.

U Thant, the late U. N. Secretary General, wrote: "Lumbini, the birthplace of Buddha, is a sacred place for Buddhists all over the world and stands on an equal footing with the holy

places sacred to other world religions. When I visited Lumbini in April 1967 I was struck by its isolation and its comparative inaccessibility to ordinary pilgrims and tourists. In spite of this, however, thousands of pilgrims visit Lumbini every year out of reverence to the high spiritual and moral values that Buddha preached as a basis for achieving both inner tranquility and compassion to one's fellow men.

Prince Siddhartha was born here at Lumbini in 623 B. C. He attained enlightenment at the age of thirty-five and became Buddha (the enlightened one). Buddha was a human being endowed with deep wisdom, boundless compassion and devotion to the service of humanity. At no time in history has the message of Buddha been more relevant than it is today.

Since early 1968, various phases of development work have been carried out by the Government of Nepal and by United Nations Organizations and the project has now reached a stage where financing from voluntary contributions will be needed before it can become a pilgrimage centre with adequate facilities for pilgrims and tourists. In this connection I would like to commend the Government of Nepal for the initiatives they have taken. May I also express my sincere hope that both interested Governments and individuals and private groups will make generous contribution in cash or in kind to help in the implementation of what I consider to be a most worthy project?"

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CUSTOMER SERVICE IN BANK

NAVIN KUMAR

If today there is a single industry that plays a pivotal role in Indian economy, it is banking. Never in the economic history of India have commercial banks come to acquire such a paramountcy as they have now. One important cause of their unprecedented prominence was the metamorphosis in their philosophy following nationalisation in 1969. The colossal social responsibility that was placed upon them naturally made them an object of public attention and the latter have been watching closely how they would discharge their responsibility satisfactorily. In a sheltered employment market created by organised labour and various labour laws in favour of workers things have tended to slackening of service by employees especially in the public sector. It is a general belief that slackness, inefficiency and indifference go with nationalisation.

The public have watched these banks working for the last 9 years. Their verdict has by no means been comforting. A flood of criticism has come from the public and the press, the platform and parliament. In spite of enormous growth in their deposits, advances and branch expansion, there was an unmistakable deterioration of customer service in these banks after nationalisation. In May 1975, the then Finance Minister regretted that bulk of bank employees were obsessed with wage increase and improving their privileges despite the banking sector being a high wage island in an ocean of poverty. It was happening at the time when public criticism of poor quality of service offered by the banks was mounting and bank employees' attitude betrayed a conspicuous absence of concept of service.

Customer service in bank's parlance does not mean paying attention only to those who maintain deposit accounts and are hence 'Customers' in the legal sense, but it also stretches to the point of rendering whatever services are permissible and are essential to earn the goodwill even of those who have no account in the bank. It is obvious that bank employees who had specially clamoured for nationalisation should take steps to project a better public image by keeping up service in bank at a high level. They should launch a nation-wide movement to improve the quality of service. They should make all possible efforts to remove the causes for irritation to the customers. Let us analyse them.

Large scale expansion of branches after nationalisation has necessitated mass recruitment with respect to the methods of recruitment. The Banks lay too much emphasis on academic qualifications for new entrants. It is not so much the educational qualifications that matters which seems to have been given undue importance. The qualities of diligence, politeness, courtesy, sympathy, understanding, sincerity, devotion to duty etc. are much more important. The presence of these qualities should be ensured in a prospective candidate before final recruitment of the person. Simplicity and sincerity should be the hall mark of every employee. Moreover, neatness and legibility of hand writing too could be ensured at the time of selection. Recruitment is made outwardly on modern lines with elaborate tests and screening process laid down by the advanced nations of the west. Whether the banks have really tapped the least talents in their massive branch

expansion is a matter to be doubted. Selections have been influenced one way or the other relationwise, community-wise, friendshipwise and even politically motivated and thus the best talent is not there inspite of high remuneration paid to them. Career orientation through collective pressures has played a damaging part owing to some political monitoring, and this is one of basic reasons for failure in customer service. They quite often feel that they need not be service minded to customers to get promotion. They think that they can get it through influence.

Lack of proper training and proper knowledge of latest development in banking procedures and operations is also a handicap. Training enable the staff to have an idea of over all pattern of work they have to do and do it with full understanding and efficiency. Training in our bank is not result oriented. In the present vast sphere of banking which is so rapidly changing what can a bank employee be taught in 30-35 days in by deputing him to a training centre. Moreover, bank manual of instructions are not made upto date from time to time.

The inadequacy in enforcing the discipline among the staff members seems to be a major cause of deteriorating customers service nowadays. Rude behaviour to customers when brought to the notice of higher management is either ignored at the branch level or dealt with leniently thus creating a sense of impunity in the minds of employees. In some cases certain groups of employees, will not work at all for the entire day and the management is blind spectator to such cases. Before nationalisation staff members were afraid of charge sheets; now higher authorities are afraid of signing the charge sheets due to political pressure. The Banks, today, are very rigid in conferring the legitimate benefit to its own employees. Under a more realistic and practical approach

is taken it is futile to instil a sense of participation in employees mind. The Bank should abandon their feudalistic outlook, know how to harness the best talent of the employees.

Healthy relation among the staff and clients is essential for the smooth functioning of the branches. Communal and fissiparous tendencies, mutual suspicious and fear destroy the spirit of cooperation and service. The Managers, officers, clerks, and peans, function in their own self made, impregnable cells and in this atmosphere free intercourse of new ideas and initiative is well nigh impossible. Officials, with a sense of pride, take trivial points as their prestige issue and think they are there only to rule rather than to serve the people and discharge their duties. There is a tendency among the officers to feel superior and look down upon the subordinates. Each category of staff is complimentary to the other and one's failure to discharge one's allotted duties will disrupt the entire chain of bank work.

The worst menace causing poor customer service is absenteeism. This cancerous growth of absenteeism virtually paralyses the normal functioning of the Bank.

The working group on customers service in Bank under the convenorship of Mr. R. K. Talwar, Chairman, State Bank of India, suggested, for example, to entrust clerks with higher responsibilities "which do not entail much risk but have considerable value in improving customers service as well as employee moral through participative responsibility which is generally denied today. The Teller system which would entail a number of employees being called upon to shoulder higher responsibilities and additional work' has been suggested as one.

While giving bigger responsibilities to clerks, the group also suggests to bring about a 'definite change of culture and attitude among officers. They should shun their sense of

superiority and let go their chairmindedness'. The report points out 'where an official has to refer to a ledger for payment of cheque for large amount recording stop payment notice, etc, he should go to the ledger; the ledger should not be brought to his table. This change of attitude and culture should be persisted with till it becomes a way of work'. Junior employees should also be associated, wherever possible, in discussion with customers, aid, inspection and other business visits, with the objective of developing communication and familiarisation between them and customers.

The group commented, "Saturdays should be made 'non business' working days for all employees. At small and rural offices there are usually no arrears of works and Saturdays should be used mainly for business development consumers. Contract loan recoveries, Saturdays can also be a day of crusading for customers' good will, business expansion and loan retrievals.

One need not think twice before accepting a cheque from anybody. For if cheque comes back to cheque acceptor for want of balance, the drawer should be taken to court. The Report says, "Legislation should be enacted to make drawing of cheque by customers without sufficient fund in his accounts a penal offence with a provision that no court shall take cognizance of such offence except on a complaint made by a bank". This besides helping wider acceptance of cheques "would help smooth functioning of teller system and permit uninhibited negotiation of outstation cheques both being essential to bring about improvement in customers service." No more apologetic refusal to a customer who comes for cash after the doors are closed for business. The working group suggests, "to meet urgent requirement of customers facility for encashing personal cheque for reasonable amount presented by drawer himself should be made available even after normal business hours". Similar

facilities should be made available for travellers also who come with traveller cheques,

The report says, "Promotional policies of bank should be taken into account performance of employee in the field of customer service. A record of errors and lapse in the work committed by employees of all categories should be maintained in a suitable form, this records should be given due weightage in performance appraisal.

It is however regretted that working group did not touch several important issues of customers service.

A significant point to be borne in mind, as far as troublesome staff is concerned, is that most of them have become troublesome gradually and were not so at the start of their career. This paradox is a sad reflection of management defects. Favouritism nepotism, and victimisation are some of the illustrative examples of this point. Removal of favouritism and nepotism will be essential if proper atmosphere of customers service of a high standard is to be maintained unless management officers and clerks work like a well-oiled machine, all talk of good customer service will be empty platitude.

All employees of the Bank should have proper outlook and proper training to achieve this end should begin at the very start of their career in the bank. The emphasis of customer service should be stressed. After training these individuals should be posted to any one of the rural branches where it will be easier for the branch manager to pay individual attention to each employee and inculcate the proper spirit of customer service. Posting to the city areas will be detrimental as the fresh hand will be caught up in the web of established traditions and it will be difficult, if not well high impossible, to change their outlook. During the training stage, the importance of quick and efficient service should be brought home to

them so that it would always be green in their mind.

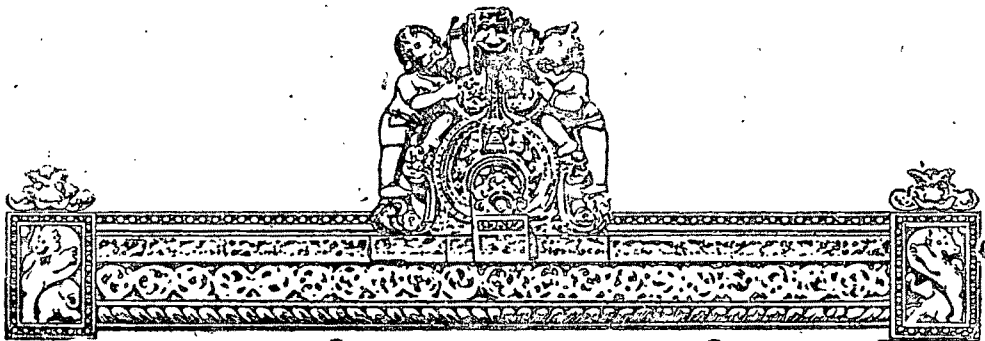
In our opinion, every customer should be issued notes properly sorted when the cash is paid across the counter. Moreover arrangement should be made for the acceptance of soiled and mutilated notes. The problem of soiled and mutilated notes crops up daily and it is a sore point in the day to day relation between customer and bank.

Customer service is disturbed generally when a branch manager is transferred. The incoming branch manager should try to meet customers of the branch in person with the help of subordinate staff.

Most of the bank officers and other employees now feel the necessity for more

satisfaction and greater challenge in their assignment. It is for this reason that, more often than not, employees in routine, repetitive jobs fail to achieve the expected productivity. The time has, therefore come when more attention has to be paid on proper redesigning of jobs to provide the best result. And, in this may be the solution of improving productivity resulting in better customer service.

The efficiency and capability of the management should be synchronised with that of the staff and both working in harmony will create an ideal environment for exemplary customer service. Being an instrument of socio-economic change casts a responsibility on bank and to identify the needs of the community and work to the maximum possible extent in furtherance their economic development.



AN INQUIRY INTO THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE PURANAS

(Studied individually)

(Continued from the previous issue)

KSHETRAMOHAN MUKHOPADHYAYA

The number and order of the Puranas recorded by Dr. Wilson : 1. Brahma, 2. Padma, 3. Visnu, 4. Saiva—Vayu, 5. Bhagavata, 6. Narada, 7. Markanda, 8. Agni, 9. Bhavisya, 10. Brahma—Vaivarta, 11. Linga, 12. Varaha, 13. Skanda, 14. Vamana, 15. Kurma, 16. Matsya, 17. Garuda, 18. Brahmanda. (132)

(1) Brahma Purana :

According to Balambhatta, in his commentary on the Mitaksara, it is known by the name of Adi or the first Purana. (133) In the order of significance, antiquity, and philosophical views etc., of the Puranas,—Brahma Purana comes first. This estimate has been accepted by all the authorities. Besides, other Puranas give the contents of the Brahma Purana—which comprises the basic elements, such as the five Characteristics (principal ones atleast),—creation, an account of Manvantaras, and the history of the solar and lunar dynasties—Vansanucarita to the time of Kṛṣṇa—it gives the genealogy until the time of Kṛṣṇa, before accession of Yudhisthira for the second time and not beyond unlike some of the later Puranas. All this points to its heavy antiquity apart of course from interpolations. It might have gained bulk in Orissa later, as a number of its Chapters relate to the holiness of Orissa, with its temples and sacred groves, dedicated to sun and Siva, and Jagannatha, the last especially and the compilation terminates with the instruction of practising Yoga—the object of which is still Viṣṇu. The Purana is absolutely free from sectarian bias and is catholic in its approach. But the mention of Jagannath of Orissa and of the

Yoga system go, apparently, to reduce its date of redaction against which we would argue that although the portions dealing with them are clearly interpolations yet they are not of a very recent date, even after the grafting of the Jagannath and Lingaraj episodes it retains the Vedic purity. The first redaction of the Purana seems to have been in the 5th Century B. C. or earlier still. But the grafting spoken of probably belongs to the 1st Century B. C. or to the 1st Century A. C., during the reign of the Kaniskas-Guptas as stated previously. The deity Jagannath symbolises the Supreme Being. "The Hindus of Orissa endeavour, though with vastly little foundation, to ascribe to the worship of Jagannath a more spiritual character than is generally claimed for their superstition elsewhere. They refer to the common title of the divinity of the place, which implies the Brahma or Divine spirit that pervades and sustains the universe." (134) The symbol of the wheel in Sanchi suggests the form of the Wooden images of Jagannath, Balaram, and Subhadra. It could be possible that when Hinduism supplanted Buddhism a Hindu shrine was built on the site of the old Buddhist temple. The devotees at Sriksetra recognise no caste and an orthodox Hindu, whatever be his caste, may discard in Puri all restrictions and eat the consecrated food with Hindus of other castes and perhaps with any one of any religious faith and belief; this relaxation of caste rigidity may be traced to the influence of Buddhism (135) As stated previously, Buddhism was on the wane during the reign of the Kaniska-Gupta in the 1st Century B. C. or 1st Century A. D.—the grafting seems to be of a date not later than

1st Century A. D.

(2) **Padma Purana**

We ascribe the same date, 5th-4th Century B. C. to the Padma Purana. The Swarga Khanda of the Purana deals with the relative positions of the Lokas or spheres abode the earth and holds Vaikuntha, the abode of Visnu, to be the highest. In the Purana the Supreme Being has been made a personal God and a Vakti cult ;—faith in Visnu or hold Him as one who is pre-eminently worshipful ; springs up and Dr. Wilson in his 'Analysis of the Padma Purana' argues for the above reason as also for the mention of Shrines of Srirangam in it, for its intolerably Vaisnavite Uttara Khanda, for its enjoining the Veneration of Salagrama stone and Tulasi plant, that the Purana is Modern—it is clearly a deviation from the norm of the strictly a Pancalaksmāna Purana. Besides, there is in the Purana the mention of the KRIYAYOGA, which, according to Wilson, has apparently a Bengali Origin(136)—but Kriya Yoga has been mentioned in the Vedas of which we shall discuss presently. We notice in the Vedas, mostly, the elemental forces of nature personified as Gods. The Upanisads express the same view in other shape or from : an impersonal Absolute with which the human soul is to ultimately realize its identity—gradually this idea became a popular cult—an increasing tendency to regard some one God as supreme among the many (not of course to the denial of others)—as an adorable or worshipful being—its interpretation is a God—a bhagavat; his devotee is a bhagavata, and the personal love or devotion which he has elicited is bhakti.(137)

The two great Gods Visnu and Siva attained the highest importance and around each a large sectarian movement grew up—their respective sects were those of Vaisnavism and Saivism each having—fragmented multifariously.(138) Both the deities had already been known in the Vedas and we would discuss them later. In

the West (Western India), a theistic cult with a god who had come to dwell among men arose—these various cults (systems) and Superstitions prevailed in the fourth Century B. C. 139 A vāisnavite shrine is known to us from Archaeological evidence at about that time which was devoted to the worship of God Vasudeva. (140) The site is at Nagari, eight miles north of Chitor in the region of Rajputana. There is a village named Ghosundi about four miles north-east of Nagari, where a number of stone caves have been found which probably were brought from Nagari, one of which was an inscribed slab which had been put up at the entrance to the village well at Ghosundi, and which now has been transferred to the Victoria Museum at Udaipur and is thought to be the earliest extant inscription in the Sanskrit language (141) It records the erection of a stone enclosure in connection with the worship of Vasudeva and another divinity called Sankarshana. The site of this shrine is referred to as Narayanavata, suggesting that Vasudeva already identified with Narayana, known later as an incarnation of Visnu.(142) Here the medium is objective but the reckoning of date is perhaps speculative and hence the date ascribed is tentative and conjectural, but the deities are associated with the name of Panini. George Foot Moore opines, with regard to the two sects ; the Vaisnavas and the Saivas referred to above, that they “are thus actually vast amorphous conglomerates of the most heterogeneous elements, monotheistic in essence, multifarious and grotesque polytheisms in semblance with pantheism for a harmonising principle”(143).

In fact the principle is, in essence, Vedic, the deities being symbolical representation of the Supreme Being. The language of the inscription, referred to above, is nearest to the Vedic Sanskrit—Brahmanic and is perhaps, free from Buddhist influence—(Pali remained a distinctly separate language). In his comment

on Panini-IV, 3,98 Patanjali distinctly states that the "Vasudeva" mentioned in the Sutra is the name of the worshipful, i. e. of one who is pre-eminently worthy of worship or God—the Supreme Being. The worship of Vasudeva, Prof. Bhandarkar says, must be regarded as old as Panini, here he refers to the Lader's list of Brahmanical inscriptions No.6 and of another recently discovered at Besnagar—Ibid no.669.(144) In the passage in the Mahavasya in which Patanjali says ; to account for the appearance of the name of Vasudeva in Panini-IV, 3, 98 ; that this is not the name of a Ksatriya, but that of the worshipful one.(145)

In connexion with the Worship of Salagrama stone as personal God, we refer to further authorities. Before the advent of the full-bodied image worship—the people of India first started with the symbol of Sivalinga—in the like manner the Salagrama stone came into use which does not require much artistic skill in its construction, this symbol worship goes back to our Vedic age.(146) The references found in the early Vedic and post Vedic Sanskrit Texts testify to the antiquity of the Siva Linga worship in our country. Referring to the Hath bada inscription, the date of which, according to Dr. Chowdhury (as quoted by Prof. Siddhanta Sastri), is 450 B. C., which Siddhanta Sastri does not accept—he contends that it is too late—it must be before Mahapadmananda, the text of the inscription runs thus : "This compound wall of stone has been erected round the garden of Narayana (Narayana Vatiṭa) for the worship of the divinities Sankarsana and Vasudeva, the unconquerable lord of all, by King Sarvatata, a Gajayana, son of (the queen) Parasari, who is devoted to Bhagwan (Viṣṇu) and has performed a horse sacrifice (Asvamedha).(147) This is referred to in a book Sadvimsabrahmana, a part of the SV. It is one of the oldest Brahmanas.(148) This book is proved pre-

paninian on linguistic ground. (149) In this Sadvimsa Brahmana different descriptions of images and references to the temples in which they were established are found. (Here is an evidence of the images being made and worshipped in temples even at the time when the Brahmanic literature was composed). The following extract from the said Brahmana (2.5.10) may be quoted in this connection :—

"devatayatanani Kampante daivata,
pratima
hasanti rūdanti nrityanti, khidyanty
unmilanti
nimilanti prapantanti."

The English rendering of the above extract, as given by Prof. Siddhanta Shastri :—

"The temples of the deities quiver and the images of the deities smile, weep, dance, rejoice, lament, some times open and on other occasions shut their eyes, and some times they are shown in a moving condition.....".

This is a perfect example of a God formed by heart's devotion and from the above it is clear that the Vakticult connected with a personal God Salagrama-stone is not modern as is argued by Dr. Wilson in his analysis. Further with regard to the Kriya Yoga-Sara, we adduce the following :—

In Brhaddevata there is a mention of Kriya Yoga :

"Upasargastu Vijneyah Kriya Yogenā
Vimshatih
Bibecayanti te hyar tham namakhyata
bibhaktisu—
Brhaddevata II. 94
Achha shradantaritye tanacaryyah
shakatayanah
Upasargat Kriya Yoganmene tetu cayo'
dhikah.

—Brhaddevata II. 95 (150)

Brhaddevata is the Rgvedic Mantras.

Pancarata doctrines are indeed very old and are associated with Purusa—sukta of the

Rgveda which is at it were, the foundation stone of all Vaisnava Philosophy. It is said in the SB that Narayana, the great being wishing to transcend all other beings and becoming one with them all, saw the form of sacrifice known as Pancaratra, and by performing that sacrifice attained his purpose—SB, XIII.6.I(151) Justice Woodroffe in an attempt to define Tantra refers to Vaisnavism. He expresses the View that “Tantra Sastra does not mean simply the Shakta-Tantra. The latter is only one division of Agama which has to-day three main schools, Shakta, Saiva, and Vaisnava. There are certain things common to all.....There are some ancient schools of Vaisnava Agama such as Pancaratra”.¹⁵² It follows therefore that Vaisnavism Originates with the Rgveda. The mention of the Jains and the Mlechchhas in the Pd. is interpolation of Ist Century B. C. or Ist Century A. C. The Magadhan Period closed with the invasion of the Yueh-chis. The break up of the Kushana Empire actuated the disintegration in northern India and Western India—the process of re-integration was hampered by Buddhistic antagonism, (153) and perhaps more by the Vigorous upsurge of the Jainism at this time and hence the Jains are mentioned !^[153(a)] And we have already noticed that the cult of vaisnavism is one of great antiquity. Marking of the name of Visnu on the skin is an ancient tradition adopted by Ramanuja School (as Dr. Wilson has justified his stand with regard to the date of the Pd.—he associates Pd. with Ramanuja). We notice mention of Vaisnava markings in Katho Upanisad.

“Dhrtordhwa pundram krta cakradhari
Visnuparam dhyati jo mahatma
Swarena Mandrena Sada hrdistham
Paratparam Yam Mahato mahantam”
—Kathopanisad.

As said by Munshi the Nagas, and Abhiras, the then rulers of Mathura and Saurashtra respectively were called the Mlechchhas (154)

referred to by the Puranas and not the Muslims as suggested by Dr. Wilson while attempting to bring the date down by some centuries.

We hope, we have been able to refute Dr. Wilson and to establish our stand with regard to the antiquity of the Purana under discussion.

(3) Visnupuran

Perhaps it is one of the oldest Puranas. According to the Puranic tradition Vn. specifies Kings and dynasties of the Kali age clearly and gives political and chronological particulars plausibly and rationally that go a long way in helping to make reasonable assumption about its date of chronology; it deals with the places (sacred) and materials that are of considerable antiquity—not within known limit and it does not cite any work or treatise of any recent origin.⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ The Vedas, the Puranas, other works, forming the body of Sanskrit literature, are named. From its contents it is evident that it is free from the Buddhist or Jain influence. Hence its date is perhaps before 5th Century B. C.

But in the current recension there is mention of the Gupta Rajas and Andhra Rajas. We have referred to the authorities before to show that the Andhras are the contemporary of the Kusanas and Kusanas are of the first century B. C. and the Guptas flourished at the close of the Kusana dynasty—since the time of Devavuti, the last king of Kusana. So the current recension also dates not later than 1st Century B. C. It is interesting to note here, as evidence of the truth of our contention, that Alexander-Sandra-cottahs was a contemporary of Gupta King—either Samudra Gupta or Chandra Gupta. Guptas are named here along with Andhra Rajas and therefore it is obvious that Chandra Gupta of Maurya dynasty was not meant. According to James Prinsep's Verification, as referred to by Dr. Wilson in his Preface to the Vn. (156) (See consolidated lists of dynasties). Alexander is the contemporary of

Chandira Gupta associated with the names of the Andhra Rajas, i. e., Chandra Gupta of the Gupta Dynasty.

(4) VAYU PURANA :

This is perhaps the oldest even among the extant versions. The Vy. is narrated by Suta to the Rsis in the Naimisaranya, as it was formerly stated at the same place to similar audience. It has four parts or Padas namely, Prakriya, Upadgatha, Anushanga, and Upasamhara. And they all precede an index : heads of Chapters—this is perhaps the speciality of the Purana—otherwise in respect of style it follows the Vi. It maintains Puranic Tradition : it constitutes Pancalaksmana Principle as stated before in an earlier section.

In the Vy. the Hindu astronomy is discussed, but it is unlike that in the other Puranas where Hindus astronomy is also discussed. Its novelty is that it mentions a Yuga consisting of five years.¹⁵⁷ Other Puranas simply refer to a Nakshatra Cycle beginning from Krittika. Bensley refers, in connection with the Vy., a graha manjari, or a construction of a cycle of five years to what, according to him, is the first period of the Hindu astronomy.⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ This cycle begins when the sun is in Sravana (month) and Sravana is the first of the Nakshatra and Magha the first of the months.⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ This system is older than the cycle system from Krittika (Yajurveda tradition) as referred to by Prof. Macdonell (reference has been given above in an earlier section and also consult Appendix D). In the first and the second Suktas of the Rgveda astronomy there is the statement "Saluting to the principal of the authors of the five-year-cycle let me be pure and thereafter saluting the deities of the Kala (time) and Vidya (learning) I propose to express the conception of Kala of the Rsi Lagadha.⁽¹⁶⁰⁾ Here, although, there is mention of 5-year-cycle no names have been specified for the individual year. But in the gleanings of the slokas by Somakar from Garga-Samhita mention is made

of each individual year of the 5-year-cycle. There is mention of the names of the five years too in the Brhat-Sambhita of Baraha-Mihira—8,10. In TB there is mention of the names of 4 years ; Samvatsara, Parivatsara, Idavatsara and Anuvatsara. In the 5-year-based cycle the name of the 5th year is Idvatsara. The date of Garga is Ca 1400-500 B. C.^{160(a)} It follows therefore that this Purana is the oldest among the existing Puranas.¹⁶¹ Dr. Wilson is of the Opinion that this Purana may be considered the oldest among the Puranas. We hold that its date may be anywhere between 1400-500 B. C. or earlier because the date of Garga is earlier still a fact which we will try to establish later. The Purana satisfies all the conditions of the Pancalaksmana Purana. The Worship of Rama and Krsna as personal Gods is mentioned in the Purana, the antiquity of this cult has been already discussed while analysing Pd. There is a smack of Saivism in the Purana connected with Yogis. The Upasamhara of the Purana stresses the importance of Yoga and glorifies Sivapura, the dwelling of Siva with whom the Yogi aspires to be united—identified. Here tho Yoga does not mean the Yogacara as pointed out by Pt. Haraprasad Sastri (this has already been discussed, as a system current in the 1st Century B. C, or 1st Century A. C.), but a Sadhana or the development of the Supra-mental or intuitional faculty and not merely a spiritual discipline—a routine practice As discussed before, Pancaratra begot three schools—the Saivism referred to in this Purana is of the Vedic Origin. In connection with the Sakta Tantra, Justice Woodroffe dispels the darkness of misconception of the sectarianism—what he means to say perhaps is that the goal is the same Monistic (Advaita Vada) Vedanta—manifestation of the Divine Consciousness itself (Siva).⁽¹⁶²⁾ Yoga here means spiritual intuition common to all the three systems.

In the Upasamhara of the Vy. Shiva is referred to as a personal God. But there is mention of Shiva as Icana in the Vedas : "(Om) icanamdevam tarpayami"—Bandhayana Dharma Shastra-2, 5, 9, 6.(163) and again "Icanam asya Jagatah Svardrcam"—RV. 7. 32. 22/c ; AV, 20, 121. 1/c, SV, 1.233/c, 2.230/c164. Rudra and Mahadeva have been accepted as Vedic Gods and Shiva can be identified with Rudra Sasheva who is a compassionate God.165 Mahadeva (Soma) is clad in a tiger skin as found in Vedic literature.166 Thus the Vy. is part and parcel of the Vedic literature and even the current Version which dates from not earlier than 1st Century A. C. maintains the spirit of the antiquity.

(5) Shrivagabata Purana :

It is noted for its excellence of language and approach though on the whole it contains what is found in the Vn. and other Puranas. It derives its tone more from Vedanta than the Sankhya Philosophy. It is less rigid or catholic in its temper. It mentions of Vasudeva (Vide Pd.) and invites even the outcastes to learn to have faith in Vasudeva. The Greek and some other people who came to India at this time embraced Vaisnavism.167 Mention is made of Kapila, the author of Sankhya Philosophy, as an incarnation of Visnu in this Purana and Kapila is a Muni (Sage) of a consideration antiquity. The Purana's date is 3rd to 2nd Century B. C. since the theistic culture was developed in India from the 6th to the 3rd Century B. C. as we have tried to establish above and here we come across a geneology of Rulers down to Krsna. Dr. S. N. Das Gupta in his A History of the Indian Philosophy, Vol. III refers to the known oldest Vaisnava sect Alvar ; whose date, according to modern research is 8th Century A. D. ; mentioned in this Purana. But the name of Alvars could not have been traced out in the Purana Index by Rama Chandra Dikshitar published by the

Madras University, and hence we hold it to be an interpolation.

(6) Narada Purana :

The Purana is in accord with the Bhagavata Purana professing as it does the Bhakti cult. As we noted above while analysing Pd., the Bhakticult is as old as of 6th to the 5th Century B. C. or may belong to an even earlier date. Besides, the Bhakti cult introduced (perhaps revived) by the Alvars the traditional date of whom is 4203 B. C. (168) (See Appendix B). Though modern research has put the date as much later. This Purana is of moderate antiquity-3rd-2nd Century B. C. but some interested sect might have interpolated in it, later, certain Vaisnava observances like the day of fasting in the name of Visnu (Ekadasi) which is the eleventh day in a fortnight but that also might have been borrowed from Alvar Tradition. So the date of interpolation is not much later than that of the early recension. (interpolation—see Appendix E). The mention of Mlechchha in this Purana does not refer to the Muslims but to those that have been referred to before : Aviras, Nagas.

(7) Markanda Purana :

Jaimini, the pupil of Vyasa, appeals to Markandeya to throw some light on to the nature of Vasudeva.169 This has already been discussed above ; its date being around the 6th to 5th Century B. C. or earlier according to Prof. Siddhanta Shastri who holds that Vasudeva belonged to the same age as Mahapadma nanda (Vide Appendix C), and for explanation of some of the incidents described in Mbh, with the ambrosia of which divine poem, Vyasa, he declares, has watered the whole world.

Why Vasudeva has the mundane existence now ? What is the cause of Draupadi's being wife of five Pandavas ? etc.—some of the Chapters embody the answers to these questions and form a sort of supplement to Mbh. Therefore it does away with the assumption

that it was compiled posterior to the Mbh. according to Dr. Wilson. The date of the compilation of the Mbh. is unknown but some of the modern historians take the middle of the 5th Century B. C. as its date.¹⁷⁰ While pointing out the effect of performing Sraddhas (obsequial rites) in different Tithis and Nakshatras the Mark mentions of the Nakshatras in the order from Krittika to Bharani (Vide Mark 33, 3ff).¹⁷¹

And from the evidence provided by Yajñavalkya-Smṛiti we know that this system of Nakṣatra Cycle was in vogue atleast sometime after the beginning of the 3rd century A. D.—but its upper limit is any where between 14th 5th century B. C. as we have shown above—¹⁷² To reckon date, the matter dealt with in the Purana plays a vital role. It is not easy to conjecture a date for this Purana : it is subsequent to the Mahabharata (?), but how long is the time-gap between them is uncertain. It is unquestionably more ancient than such works as the Brahma, Padma, and Naradiya Puranas, and its freedom from sectarian bias is a reason for supposing it anterior to the Bhagavata.¹⁷³ But we differ from Dr. Wilson on the point that the Purana is subsequent to the Mbh. Dr. Wilson takes the events narrated in the Mbh. as Mbh. itself—history records past events and the date of compilation of the historical facts cannot be the same as with the date or time when the events actually took place : The Mbh. speaks of the Puranas. It is the Yajurveda which first declares the land of Kuruksetra to be specially holy.¹⁷⁴ It is stated in the Vy. that Lamaharsana narrated this Purana to the Rsis at Kuruksetra :

“dharmaksetre Kuruksetre dirghastramtu
ijire etc.”

So it can be anterior to the Mbh. Further, it has been argued by many scholars that the Purana is of the later date since it contains the long episodic narrative of the actions of the

God^{ess} Durga, which is the special boast of this Purana, and the Purana is the text book of the worshippers of Kali, Chandi, or Durga in Bengal. Prof. Majumdar contends that neither the Vedas nor the old Vedic literature knew the name of this mighty Goddess (Durga). Dr. A. A. Macdonell in his edition of the Brhaddevata says that one solitary meaningless mention of her name in that book (II,77) is an interpolation (the name Durga does not occur either in the Ramayana (?) or in Manu). The author further contends that we do not get any trace of her in any literature or epigraph down to atleast the 2nd century A. D. Against the above we would state the following case :

We find the worship of Devi Durga was in vogue in the Vedic age from the following slokas occurring in the Vedas and the Vedic literature. The slokas beginning with :-

“durga tasma adhisthane”

AV. 12, 4. 23c

“durga durgesu sthanesu”

-RV. 10. 127.13a

“durgam devam caranam aham prapadye”

Khilas of the RV. 10. 127. 12/c ; TA. 10/2/c 1/c ;
MNU. 6. 3/c

“durgesu Visamesutvam”-Khilas of the RV.

10. 127. 10/a

“durgesu Visame ghore”-Khilas of RV. 10.

127.9/a

“durge durone kratvana yatam”-RV. 4. 28.

3/c

“durge cinnah sugam krdhi”-RV 8. 93] 10/a
175

As said by Prof. Majumdar in his paper, referred to above, that Durga is a non-aryan goddess worshipped by the tribal (Southern Indian) women, wearing turmeric leaves as their dress, with the offerings of blood and flesh and wine, etc. We quote here a journal claiming to have followed the following methodology :- collected from Tamil works—classical, devotional, and Sastrik and Sastrik works in Sanskrit like Sixadvaita of Srikanta Agamas; Paddhati,

and Silpa texts were studied-an analysis of epigraphical material was also made./176, And the journal records its findings as :—

The worship of Devi is of considerable antiquity in Tamil Nadu. There are two different trends traceable. One is the folk or what may be called the tribal element reflected in the worship of the goddess by hunters, hill-dwellers, and other people who are essentially food-gatherers. The description of such worship occurs in Silappadhikaram and in the Kannapan story of Periya Puranam. The second is the Vedic tradition which have flowed freely into Tamil Nadu much before the advent of the Mauryas. The aspect of the Saktic cult of the later Vedic period in Northern India have taken deep roots in Tamil Nadu before the Christian era—Devi as Kanyakumari, as one who does penance and as embodiment of knowledge was known to the Tamils, and Kanyakumari, mentioned by the Paripulus (first century A. D.) is a standing witness to such a fusion. That the village or city is said to have been presided over by a deity called grama-Devata or Nagara-Devata was well known in the Tamil country even from the beginning of the Christian era : This deity was invariably the goddess identical with Durga. We get the parallel information from the Vedas with regard to the Shakti cult and Durga. In the Yajnas, the Vaidik people mainly worshipped, along with other gods, Saraswati/177 to whom animals were sacrificed/178 and who is the same as Vak or Vagdevi who became a lioness and went over to the Devatas, on their undertaking that to her offerings should be made before they were made to Agni./179 This goddess also bestows food.180 The Vedic people worshipped Ratridevi as well for the purpose of attaining eternal bliss/181 (the worship of darkness also is in vogue in England—*Bonds between the East and the West*, Dorothea Chaplain). And this Ratri Devi is described as a girl growing into womanhood who bestows

happiness. She has longflowing hair, and has in her hand a noose, if she is pleased, then all other Devatas are pleased ; and she being pleased offers boons, but the worshippers must reject the same in order to gain freedom, in lieu thereof, from re-birth.182 The mantras to be recited is the Ratri Sukta and at the end of the worship there will be aratrik parthivam rajas. Ratri is basically the same as, but in form different from Vagdevi, and they are sometimes worshipped as one and the same deity.183 The Ratrisukta describes her as black.184 In the Ratri Sukta she (Ratri Devi) is also addressed as Durga.185 And we notice the mantras with which to worship her in TA.186 She is mentioned here as the bearer of oblations, therefore she is the same as Agni (fire)—she has long tongues which are named as : Kali, Karali, Manojaba, Sulohita, Sudhumravarana, sphulingini, suchismita and these tongues lollout and by these tongues offerings are received.187 Aditi, Vak, Saraswati, and Durga are the same.188

Thus from all accounts it appears that Markanda Purana is of a considerable antiquity and in our view it dates anywhere between 6th and 5th century B. C. and there has been hardly any interpolation in the Purana. (8) *Agni Purana* :

The Purana in its inception gives an account of the Avatars, speaks of Rama and Krsna and then follows, mostly, instructions for the performance of religious ceremonies, many of which belong to the Tantrika ritual. Interspersed with these, chapters descriptive of the earth and of the universe in tune with Veda, and mahatmyas or glories of holy places, particularly of Gaya. Then follows a chapter on the codes of conduct (constitutional, and judicial along the line of the text Mitaksara), the usual genealogical chapter—thereafter the subject dealt with is medicine, The last but one chapter is on the mystic worship of Siva and Devi, And the last chapter is on the grammar along line

of Panini. The Purana also consists of a chapter on archery and arms. This Purana is of the Vaishnava class: at the same time it favours the worship of Shiva, as the Linga, and is full of Tantrika ceremonies in honour of the form of the deity.¹⁸⁹ It was perhaps compiled anterior to the time when a wide separation had set in between Saiva and Vaisnava sect, and it was undoubtedly prior to the modification of the Vaisnava faith, with its infinite veneration for Kṛṣṇa as Gopala (Batsalya), or Govinda, or Balagopala, the cowherd or the infant god; no allusion to whose worship has been found (we have already discussed the probable date of this form of worship), nor has the name of his favourite mistress (love philosophy) Radha once been encountered.

Niti (polity or the art of government) mentioned in this Purana is a system wholly Indian in origin—unmixed with foreign notions and is purely Hindu.¹⁹⁰ The materials of the Agni Purana are, however, no doubt of some antiquity—the medical science of Susruta is considerably older.....and the grammar of Panini probably precedes Christianity; the chapters on archery and arms, and on monarchical system are also distinguished by an entirely Hindu character.¹⁹¹

That the Purana under discussion is a part and parcel of the Vedic literature is manifest from the gods and goddesses and their worship mentioned in it—particularly the Linga worship with the observances of the rites described in the Tantra. It is very difficult to ascertain the date of Tantra Shastra (origin) but this much is certain that this is a sort of modification of Vedanta and the rites directed by the Shastra are almost identical with those enjoined by the Vedas. In defining the Shaktas, the followers of Tantra, Woodroffe says "that is those who adore the Divine Power (Mahasakti) as Mahadevi, the great Mother (Magna Mater) of the universe. As this religious community

shares in common with others certain principles and practices, the work is also necessarily an account of the worship and spiritual disciplines called Sadhana which, in varying forms, are adopted by all communities of Indian worshippers (Sadhakas) governed by the Agama and its numerous scriptures called Tantras."¹⁹² The range of the Tantra Shastra is comprehensive—it covers even the Vaisnava Agama, the Pancaratra. "Tantra shastra does not simply mean the Shakta Tantra. The latter is only one division of Agama which has to-day three main schools, Shakta, Saiva and Vaisnava. There are certain things common to all. There are some ancient school of Vaisnava Agama such as the Pancaratra."¹⁹³

On a comparative study of the Vedas, Vedic literature and the Tantra, we find that most of the rites and deities are common to all of them. The Principal god of the Tantra is Mahadeva—Shiva or Rudra to be identified with Rudra Susheva, who is a compassionate god.¹⁹⁴ We find Mahadeva (Soma) is clad in a tiger skin in the SV.¹⁹⁵ He is the same as Manu with a Devi on either side of him.¹⁹⁶ We find in the Vedas the mention of a terrible Devi called Nirriti who is black and angry and punishes those who do not offer her soma (wine); she is the deity of misfortune and likes to be in the burial ground or in the cemetery.¹⁹⁷ Mahadeva or Mahesha is identical with Agni (fire) in all his eight names.¹⁹⁸

Principally the gods and goddesses the Vedic people worshipped were—Saraswati, Mahadeva or Mahesha;¹⁹⁹ Rudra, Vishnu Vinayaka, (Ganesha), Skanda (Kartikaya);²⁰⁰ the Lingam or Phallus²⁰¹ (all of those have been discussed above); on Him the Vedic people meditated during their daily Sandhya (in the worships during daily twilights) and he is the same as Swambhu (self-born) riding on a bull etc.²⁰² Besides, from the rites and observances prescribed in the Vedic Literature and in the Vedas

we learn that the Maithuna (Sexual intercourse) is a part of religious rite.²⁰³

Dr. Wilson refers to mysterious monosyllables of Tantra as a special point in his preface to "Visnu Purana" but they too are in accord with the vedic practices. Tantrik system of worship also holds that 'Om' is the supreme 'Beeja' (seed)—a supreme prefix²⁰⁴ and as well as 'Hnkara' of the Vedas pronounced as 'Hum' in the Tantrik worship.²⁰⁵

From the above facts, we can safely infer that the Purana is of a considerable antiquity—5th-4th Century B. C. Although we do not notice the mention of Rama as personal god in the Vedas and in the subsequent Vedic Literature, the name of Rama is associated with Krisna, mentioned in the Vedas :-

"Krisnam niyanam haray h suparnati"

—RV I. 164-47/a, AV 6. 2. 1/a 10. 22a,

13. 3. 9/a, Mn. S. 12. 15 206

Designated as "Krsna-Mantra"

—Vrddha-Harita-Samhita. 5. 481, 6. 536 etc.²⁰⁷

Subsequent additions to this Purana were perhaps made at Gaya.

(continued)

113. H. H. Wilson, *Puranas*, (London, 1840), p.13.
114. *ibid*.
115. See table III, note (ii).
116. Named as Bhumi in the MS of Mt. Pargiter.
117. A. R. Vol. II, op. cit., p. 132.
118. *ibid*, p.138.
119. *ibid*.
120. *ibid*, p. 139.
121. *ibid*.
122. *ibid*.
123. *ibid*, pp. 138-40.
124. *ibid*, pp 139.
125. *ibid*.
126. *ibid*.
127. *The Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, op. cit., pp 413.
128. J. W. McCrindle, English translation of "Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian" collected by Dr. Schwanbeck's Introduction, (Calcutta, 1935), pp. 1-3.
129. Dr. Heinz Mode, *Harappa Culture and the West*, Calcutta, 1961), pp. 3-5.
130. Mrs. Freda Bedi, English translation of "Fragments of India" by Voltaire, [Lahore, India—(now Pakistan), February, 1937,] p. 3.
131. *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, op.cit., p. 5n.
132. H. H. Wilson : Analysis of Puran : JRAS Vol.V, p.65.
133. H. H. Wilson, *Preface to Visnu Purana*, (London, 1840), p.12
134. H. H. Wilson, *Analysis of the Purana* : AR, Vol. XV, pp.318,
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136. H. H. Wilson, *Analysis of Padma Purana*. JRAS, Vol. V, p.280.
137. Nicol Mamicol, *The Living Religions of the Indian People*, (London, 1934), pp. 39f.
138. Alfred Bertholet and Edvard Leiman *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, begründet Von Chantepie de la Saussaye, Vol.II, 4th ed ; (1925), translated into English by Sten Konow, pp. 154f, 174f,
139. R. G. Vandarkar *Vaisnavism, Saivism, and Minor Religious systems*, (Varanasi, India, 1918 p. .
140. A. Eustance Haydon, *Biography of the Gods*, (London, 1941), pp. 105f.
141. *Lehrbuch der Religions geschichte*, op. cit., p. 149.
142. *ibid*.
143. George Foot-Moore, *History of Religions*, International Theological Library, Vol.I, pp 329.
144. *Vaisnavism, Saivism, and Minor Religious*

- Systems, op.cit. pp. 3-4.
145. *ibid.*
146. Prof. Rabindra Kumar Siddhanta Sastri, *Salvism through Ages*, (New Delhi, 1975), pp. 52ff.
147. *ibid.*
148. Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, 904) p.167
149. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, op.cit., p. 151.
150. Arthur A. Macdonell, *Brhaddevata*, (Harvard University, 1904).
151. S. N. Das Gupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vols. I-III, (Cambridge University Press), Vol.III, pp.12f.
152. Sir John Woodroffe, *Shakti and Shaktā*; (Madras, London, 1920) p. X.
153. K. M. Munshi, Foreword, op.cit., pp. VIII-XX.
- 153 (a) In this context, would like to adduce another evidence provided by Pt. a prasad Shast in his *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscript in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* Calcutta, 1930), Vol.V (Purana MSS), p.cvi, that the Jains hold that their religion is of hoary antiquity because Bena, the remotest forefather of the Aryan race and the grandson of the sage Atri persecuted the Brahmins under the guidance of the Jainas; for this crime he was deposed and his son made King by the Brahmins. This goes to prove the existence of the Jainas since almost the time of MW. (See earlier Section).
- 154 *ibid.*
155. H.H. Wilson, *Preface to Visnu Puran*, op. cit. pp. lxx-lxxii.
156. Note : James Prinsep, as referred by Dr. Wilson, mentions Alexander' alongwith the Guptas associated with the names of Andhra Rajas. Wilson asserts that Prinsep names Alexander after careful verification of facts and dates.
157. H. H. Wilson, *Analysis of the Vy.* in JASB. Vol.I, (Dec. 1832), p. 542
158. AR Vol.VIII, (1808), p. 227.
159. Bentley, *Ancient Hindu Astronomy*, p. p271.
160. A. R. Bhattacharya, Praceen Varate Yotyr Vijyan, (Calcutta University, 1950), pp. 25-26.
- 160(a) Bentley in his 'Ancient Astronomy of the Hindus', p.59 opines that one of the oldest writers on astronomy among the Hindus is Garga, his Samhita (Garga Samhita) dates 541 B.C,
161. JASB, Vol.I, op.cit. p. 543.
162. *Shakti and Shakta*, op.cit., preface, p. X.
163. Maurice Bloomfield, *Vedic Concordance*, (Harvard University, 1906), p. 245.
164. *ibid.*
165. SV. 5.4.4.12
166. SV. V.3.5.3,V.4.1.11
167. S. N. Das Gupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol.III, op.cit., pp.63ff.
168. *ibid.*
169. Dr. Wilson, *Preface to Visnu Puran*, op.cit., pp. XXXIV-XXXV.
170. *Praceen Bharate Yotir Vijnan*, op.cit., pp. 25-26.
171. R. C. Hazra, *Puranic Rites and Customs*, op.cit., p. 11.
172. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharma Sastra*, Vol.I, p. 184.
173. H. H. Wilson, *Preface to Visnu Purana* op. cit., p.xxxvi
174. B. C. Majumdar, *Asutosh Mukherjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, Vol.III, part II, op.cit.. p.12.
175. *Vedic Concordance*, op.cit., p. 486.
176. Indian Dissertation Abstracts, a quarterly journal, Jul.—Dec., 1977, Vol.V, Nos. 3 & 4, published by Indian Council of Social Science Research Association of Indian Universities, pp. 231-233.

177. SB II. 5.4.6, III.1.4.9, III 9.17. V 2.2-14, V 3.5.8, V.4.5.7, V.5.2.7.
178. SB III 9.1.7, V 5.4.1, XII.7.2.3
179. SB III.5.1,21
180. SB XII. 8.2.16
181. Samvidhana Brahmana III.8
182. RV.X.127.1
183. TB.4.6.10 et.seq.
184. RV.X.1-7, 2-3.
185. RV Khila 25
186. TA.X.1
187. Grihya-Samgraha I.13.14
188. Brhaddevata (Sanskrit ed.) II.79
189. H. H. Wilson, Analysis of Agni Puran, AR, Vol.XVII, p.82.
190. ibid, p.84.
191. Preface to Visnu Puran, op.cit., p. XXXVIII.
192. Shakti and Shakta, op.cit., p.VII
193. ibid
194. SV. V.4.4.12;
195. SV.V.3.5.3, V.4.1.11;
196. SV.IX.1.1.6, XI.6.1.12.13;
197. SV. VII.2.1, AV. IV.2.4,
198. SB.VI.1.3.10 et.seq.;
199. SB II 5.4.6, III.9.1.7, V.2 2.14, V.3.5.8, V.4.5.7, V.5.2.7.
200. Sama Vidhana Brahmana 1.4.31 et.seq.
201. TA.X.17
202. Shiva-Sama Vidhana Brahmana I.2.2.
203. Latayana Aitareya Aranyaka 1.2.4.10, V.1.5.13, Gobhila Grihya Sutra II.5.5.9.10 Sankhyana Grihya Sutra I.19.2-6, Khadira Grihya Sutra—I.4.15, Hiranya Keshiya Grihya Sutra I.24.3, Apastamba Grihya Sutra III.8.10, Paraskara Grihya Sutra I.11.7.
204. AV.VII.3.6,II.1.2,V.5.7,Aitareya Aranyaka II.3.8 Chu.I.1.1 et.seq., TA VII 8, X 63.21 et. seq., Panini VIII. 2.87, Gobhila Brahmana IX.i.24, I.1.17.19, Mahanirvana Tantra II.32.
205. SV.I.4.1.2, IX.1.2.3.4, AV. III.2.12, Latayana Shranta Sutra I.10.25, I.1.27, II.1.4, IV.3.22.
206. Vedic Concordance, op.cit., p.333.
207. ibid

APPENDIX A KALI AGE

Table I, II, and III are contemporary dynasties
Dynasties starting from the close of the Mbh. War.

T A B L E — 1
S O L A R L I N E

Nos. Names. Authorities According to Bangabasi ed. of the Puranas.

	Vy	Vn	Mt	Bg	Bht	Gd
1.	Brhadbala—	"	"	"	"	"
2.	Brhatksaya	"	—	"	Brhadaisava- Maksapa	"
3.	Ksaya—	Umksaya	Ksaya	Umkriya	Vatsapala	Ksaya
4.	Varsavyuha	"	Vatsadroha	"	"	"
5.	Prativyuha	"	"	"	"	Brhadaiva
6.	Divakara	"	"	"	"	—
7.	Sahadeva	"	"	"	"	—
8.	Brhadasva	"	Dhrvasva	"	"	—
2 .	Sanjaya	"	"	"	"	"
23.	Sakya	"	"	"	"	"
24.	Suddhadhana115	"	Siddhartha	"	"	"
25.	Rahula	"	"	"	"	"
26.	Prasenjeet	"	"	"	"	"
27.	Ksudraka	"	"	"	"	"
28.	Ksulika	"	"	—	—	—
29.	Suratha	"	"	"	"	"
30.	Sumitra	"	"	—	"	"
<hr/>						
Total	30	30	29	28	29	25

" = Common in all the Puranas

— = not mentioned.

Form the above table we find that according to Vy. and Vn, Sumitra was the 30th from Brhadbala, according to Mt and Bht he was the 29th, according to Bg he was 28th, and according to Gd he was the 25th from Brhadbala who was killed in the Mbh war Pargiter's Text accepts 30 Kings,

General total regnal period according to the Puranas is 1000 years,

Line from the close of the Mbh war

TABLE—II

LUNAR LINE

Nos. Names and Authorities				
Vn	Mt	Gd	Bg	Vy
1 Abhimanyu	"	"	"	"
2 Pariksit	"	"	"	"
3 Janamejaya	"	"	"	"
4 Satnika-I	"	"	"	"
5 Asvamedhadatta—	"	"	Sahasranika	"
6 Adhisimakrsna	"	"	"	"
7 Ncaksu		Vivaksu Krnas	Nemicakra	"
8 Usna	Bhur(116)	Aniruddha	—	"
9 Vicitraratha	"	"	"	"
10 Suciratha	"		Kaviratha	"
11 Vraniman	"	"	"	Dhrtiman
12 Susena	"	"	"	"
13 Sunitha	"	"	"	Sutirtha, Ruca
14 Nrpacaksu	"	"	"	"
15 Sukhibala	"	"	"	"
16 Pariplava	"	—	"	"
17 Sunaya	Sutapa	"	"	"
18 Medhavi	"	"	"	"
19 Ripunjaya	Puranjaya Nrpanjaya	"	"	—
20 Mrdu	Urva	Hari	Durva	Mrdu
21 Tigma	"	"	Timi	"
22 Vasudana	"	"	"	"
24 Satanika-II	"	"	Sudasa	"
25 Udayana	"	"	Lurnamana	"
26 Ahinara	Vahinara	"	"	"
27 Dandapani	"	"	"	"
28 Naramitra	"	"	"	"
29 Ksamaka	"	"	"	"
Total—	—	—	—	—
29	28	26	27	22
				22+8=30

It will be seen from the above list that from Abhimanyu, who like Brhadbala, died in the Mdh. war ; to Ksemaka, the last of the line, we have 29 according to Vn., 28 according to Mt., 26 according to Gd., and 27 according to Bg.

„ =Common in other Puranas

— =not found

General total regnal period as assigned by the Puranas is 1000 years

TABLE-III

Beginning of the Magadha dynasty

Line founded by Jarasandha (Brhadratha), called Magadhan line, his son Sahadeva died in the Mdh war, so the line starts from Sahadeva's son Samadhi17

Authorities : Pargiter	Vy	Bd	Bg	Vn	Mt	Bht	Classical	Sanskrit
Individual								Lit
regnal Pd	IRP	IRP	IRP	IRP	IRP	IRP	Not given	
N A M E S								
1 Samadhi	58 yr	58 yrs	58 yrs			58 yrs		
2 Srtasrava	64 „	64 „	67 „			64 yrs		
3 Ayutayu	26 „	26 „	26 „			36 „		
4 Niramitra	40 „	100 „	100 „			40 „		
5 Suksatra	56 „	56 „	56 „			50 „		
6 Brhatkarma	23 „	23 „	23 „			23 „		
7 Senajeet	50 „	23 „	23 „			50 „		
8 Srtanjaya	40 „	40 „	40 2			40 „		
9 Vibhu	28 „	35 „	35 „					
10 Suci	58 „	58 „	58 „					
11 Ksema	28 „	28 „	26 „			28 „		
12 Suvrata	64 „	64 „	64 „			64 „		
13 Sunetra	35 „	5 „	5 „			25 „		

Authorities: Pargiter		By	Bd	Bg	Vn	Mt	Bht	Classical	Sanskrit
Individual									Lit
regnal	pd	IRP	IRP	IRP	IRP	IRP	IRP	Not given	
14	Nirvritti	58 "	58 "	58 "			58 "		
15	Trinetra	28 "	38 "	38 "			28 "		
16	Drdhasena	48 "	58 "	58 "			48 "		
17	Mahinetra	33 "	33 "	33 "			33 "		
18	Sucala	32 "	22 "				32 "		
19	sunetra	40 "	40 "	40 "					
20	Satyajeet	83 "	83 "	83 "					
1	Visva et	25 yrs		35 "			35 "		
22	Ripunjaya	50 "		50 "			50 "		
Individual		22	22	21	20	20	17/16	22	
total of kings									
period GI									
Total regnal		1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	723	1000	

(i) Here the Puranas also record 1000 years as the general total regnal period for 20-22 Kings which seems too high, the excess may be adjusted with the republican periods.

(ii) According to AR, Vol. II P, 133 Puranjaya, son of the 20th King was put to death by his minister, Sunaca who placed his own son Pradyota on the Throne of his master—here the author contends that according to the Bhagawata mitra this revolution occurred exactly two years before Buddha's (Siddhartha's) appearance in the same Kingdom—it is believed by the Hindus to have taken place 3888 years ago or 2100 B. C. This fact remains unexplained in history and we hold it to be a historical anomaly,

Appendix B
TABLE IV
Pradyotas

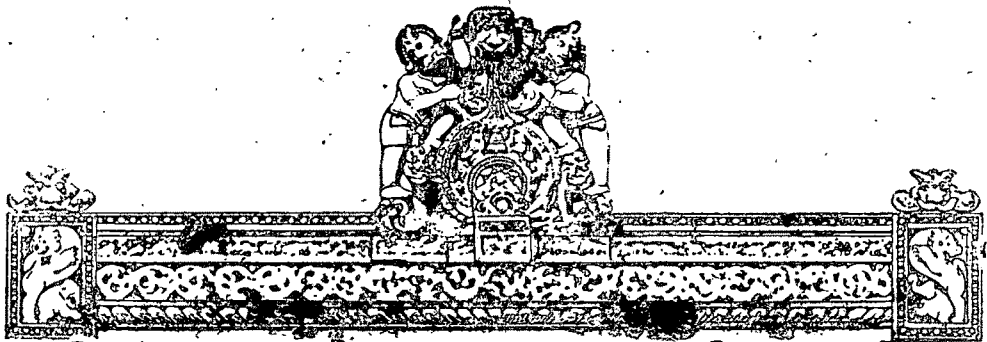
After Smitra, Ksemaka, and Ripunjaya

Authorities	Vn	Vy	Mt	Pargiter	Era	Remarks
Individual regnal pd	RP	RP	RP	RP		
Names according to the Bangabasi Ed of the Puranas :						
1 Pradyota	23 yrs	23 yrs	23 yrs	B C	2100	118
Palaka	24 "	4 "	28 "			
3 Visakhayupa	50 ,,	50 "	53 "			
4 Janaka	31 ,,	31 "	21 "			
5 Nandibardha						
-na	20)	0			
Number of Kings	5	5	5	5	These two dynasties have been counted together by the Puranas	
General total regnal period	138	138				138

TABLE—V sisUNAGAS

1	Sisunaga	40 yrs	40 yrs
2	Kakabarma	36 "	36 "
3	Ksemadharma	20 "	20 "
4	Kstrauja	25 "	25 "
5.	Biambisara	40 "	
6	Ajatasatru	28 "	
7	Darvaka	25 "	
8	Udyaswu	33 "	
9	Nandibar- dhana (nanda)	42 "	
10	Mahananda		1602BC/119

(to be continued)



PERFORMANCE BUDGETING IN INDIA

Dr. R. S. DARDA

I Introduction

India to-day is engaged in the difficult task of changing traditional social structure into a modern one within a democratic framework. And in this task of formulation implementation and control of schemes and programmes in the economic and social sphere Executive has been called upon to play its role. As the activities of the State expand in fulfilment of the objectives of a welfare State, the role of management will acquire greater significance in the years to follow. Budgetary system is the heart of the management and control of the executive branch, and as such a study of the present Budgetary system is worth the pain.

II Features of present Budget Systems

Budgetary system in India has been designed and developed from time to time mainly to facilitate financial and legal accountability of the executive to the legislature and within the executive, observance of similar accountability on the part of each subordinate agency. The chief objective sought to be achieved was to ensure that funds are raised and money is spent by the executive in accordance with and within the limits of legislative sanctions and authorisation. Accordingly, the budgets are formulated and presented with a pre-dominant bias for the objects of Expenditure and the department or organization which incurs them. The budget in its present form, therefore emphasises the financial aspects and do not properly interrelate financial outlays with physical programme and activities. This is, at present, the position at the National, States and local-self government levels.

III Deficiencies of the Present Indian Budgetary System :

In its present form, the Indian Budgetary System suffers from a number of shortcomings, of which the following four arise mainly out of the System of classification.*

(i) The classification does not serve as an adequate base for informal decision making at each level of management. It does not help the management to control and appraise performance of the various programmes, projects, activities and schemes.

(ii) It is difficult to see from the existing budget and account heads for what broad purposes and objective resources are being allocated.

(iii) The classification does not permit a proper analysis of the impact of government transaction on the total national economy.

(iv) It is not helpful as a basis for judging the progress towards the achievement of goals and objectives as envisaged in the development plans.

IV Adopted remedials

To overcome some of these short comings of the existing systems of budgeting, the Government of India has added some supplementary features in the presentation of Central Budget, such as, Explanatory Memorandum, Notes on important projects and schemes, Annual Reports, Notes on Demands for Grants etc., and Plan Volumes, Annual Reports, Explanatory Memorandum etc., at the State level. Government has also introduced, since 1967-68 an Economic-cum-Functional Classification of the central Budget and a few state governments also follow suit. All these developments, however, are in the form of suppli-

mentaries and annexures rather than in the main part of the Budget, which still remains an object-wise statement of expenditure and as such does not give any information as to the activity or performance for which money is budgetted, nor gives an indication of the economic trends in the country. What is true of the National and State Governments is also true of local Self Governing Institutions.

V Incomes the Performance Budget.

In the context of the planned economy and of the growing size and complexities of government operation a need for re-orientation of Budgeting System was felt at National, State and Local governments since long. As such a plea for the adoption of performance Budgeting was made in the Budget Session of the Lok Sabha as early as 1954. However it took a few years to recognise the merit of performance Budgeting in the Indian Context. In 1968, The ARC in its report on 'Finance Accounts and Audit' recommended the adoption of performance budgeting in all those departments and organizations of the Central and State Governments which were in direct Charge of development programmes. Laying down the procedure of Performance Budgeting, ARC stated that a programme and activity classification be made for each department or organization selected for the purpose of the performance budgeting. Besides presenting the financial needs of those programmes and activities, the expenditure should be classified in terms of 'object' (i. e. establishment). This should be followed by a narrative explanation justifying the financial requirements, relevant work load factors, comparative performance over the year etc. All this will constitute the performance budgeting." The Government of India accepted the recommendation of ARC, and decided to introduce the new technique in gradual manner to cover all developmental departments and organizations as early as

possible, without fixing any dead line for it. Need of performance budget have been also accepted for State and Local self Governments.

VI Our Approach.

It is necessary at this stage to be clear about the meaning, scope and objective of the performance budgeting in India. In India the term performance budgeting is being used in a comprehensive sense. It includes both performance and programme budgeting. The working group of ARC on performance budgeting has used the term performance budgeting to mean programme and performance budget. The group did not consider it necessary to make a fine distinction between a programme budget and a performance budget as has been made by thinkers like Jerse Burkhead. They followed the U. N. Manual on the subject. In the U. N. Manual the terms programme and performance budgeting is used as comprehensive to cover not only broad programme classification at higher levels, but also detailed performance classification and work measurement techniques at lower levels for managerial control. In India the term performance budgeting has been accepted as an inclusive in the above sense and it is in this sense the technique is being developed in India to-day,

Ordinarily cost benefit analysis, related investment planning and evolution and other system approach to management are considered as an Integral part of performance budgeting. But in India a distinction is being made between administrative planning and purely budgeting process. In the opinion of the working group of ARC on performance budget, though cost benefit analysis or other useful management techniques should be an integral part of the administrative planning process and should also form a necessary adjunct to the formulation and appraisal of programme and activities and the annual budgetary decision

making, yet these are not the part of performance budgeting. However the working group was aware of the fact, that unless these analytical techniques are developed and applied, the utility of performance budgeting will not be fully realised, and as such it expected that while moving to-wards performance budgeting in India, the tool for administration decision making will be sharpened by the increasing use of new managerial techniques gradually. In short, the introduction of performance budgeting has not been made conditional on the availability or development of these facilities. In reality in India, in the planning process and in the selection of projects and programmes, cost benefit and such other analytical studies are being made whenever they are feasible or practicable. Major schemes and project are selected by and large only after considering their costs, their benefits and the alternative available. To the extent they are wanting, steps will have to be taken to develop these techniques so that selection of programmes and projects is made on a rational basis. When once the programmes and project are decided, whether in the conventional manner or by the application of system studies, the techniques of performance budgeting, as understood and applied in India, only ensures their implementation according to the target set or plan of action laid down. In other words in India, the technique of performance budgeting is conceived more as a *device for managerial decision making and control at the stage of implementation* rather than a means for top level planning.

No system is an end by itself and keeping this in view we, in India, have tried to bring a synthesis of the virtues of the various types of budgetary system viz. conventional, programme and performance. We have retained all the virtues of the conventional budget system and is trying to improve its utility in the context are the present day development needs by

gradually imbibing the good features of the programme and performance budgeting. If we succeed in our endeavor, it will be a lasting Indian contribution in the field of financial administration. An Indian budgetary concept having the capacity to achieve all the objective of good Budgetary system.

VII Performance Budget in Practice.

Having accepted the recommendation of ARC, the Government of India acted swiftly and the Finance Ministry submitted to the Lok Sabha on April, 17, 1968, a document entitled 'Performance Budgets of Selected Organisation, 1968-69.' This document attempted to present performance Budget of 16 organizations drawn from the Department of Communication the then Ministry of Health, Family Planning and Urban Planning, Ministry of Transport and Shipping, and the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply. Gradually other organizations were added. By 1976 all the Ministries and Departments were covered under the performance Budget scheme.

Positive steps were also taken in the States to give effect to the recommendation of A.R.C. and the advice of the Government of India. In 1975-76 a good number of departments and organizations in eleven states viz. Bihar, Kerala, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan, Tamilnadu, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa and Himachal Pradesh, were covered under the performance scheme.

In Rajasthan, the Finance Department submitted to the Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha in Feb. 1970, a document entitled Performance Budgets of selected organization.

This document attempted to present performance budgets of agencies drawn from the departments of Medical and Health, PWD, Irrigation, Technical Education, Agriculture and Co-operation. In the following years more and more organizations were added to this list. 1976-77 performance Budgets of selected organisation document included per-

formance Budgets of twenty three organizations such as Rajasthan Canal Project, Mines and Zoological Department, Jawahar Sagar, Rana Pratap Sagar, Animal Husbandry Department, Sheep and Wool Department, Primary and Secondary Education Department, a few state undertaking and State Insurance Department. These performance budget are presented to the State Legislature as post-budget supplementary documents.

Some time ago, the Government of India enjoined on the State government to extend the performance budget in Local Government institutions, specially the municipal administration, a field of special usefulness. In the absence of any reliable information and lack of empirical study we are not in the position to say about the progress of performance Budget in Local self government areas.

An critical estimate of the performance budget in India reveals that the efforts of the National Government and the State Governments have so far been directed mainly to the preparation of performance budget documents by conversion of the figures in the existing demands for grants into a new format as a post budget exercise. They supplement the traditional budget. They lack data regarding targets, achievement, norms and other relevant performance indicators. To say that we have really introduced performance budgets in a number of departments etc., is a misstatement. Mere conversion of facts and figures in a new format is only the beginning of a long journey.

The performance budgets being prepared are summary documents mainly meant for the information of the Legislatures. From the point of view of a desirable budget, either as a document of utility to Legislatures for review and control, or as a means by which the management could watch the implementation and progress of the several programmes and project, the attempts made so far leave much to be desired.

VIII Prospective

In some quarters doubts have been raised as to very purpose in preparing performance budget document, which to many appears nothing more than a re-arrangement of data appearing elsewhere. 'Old wine in new bottle,' is one of the usual criticism made. Though there is some point in what the critics say, the sweeping criticism is on account of a lack of understanding of the evolutionary nature of the technique and the inevitable limitations during the initial stages. Apart from the need for educating and training the officers at various levels, the three basis inter-related considerations in the introductions of the technique can not be brought into fullplay in a short span of time. Though a meaningful classification structure in terms of programmes, activities and project with reference to the objectives could be drawn up for each department or organization with relative ease, the real difficulties arises in trying to evolve suitable units of work measurement and in developing appropriate methods for the physical measurement of work. Data generation take time : so also the developments of suitable norms and standards, physical measurement of work or service may pose problems, as not all governmental activities are susceptible of quantification in a meaningful manner. The changes in the financial management system and practices, particularly in the field of accounting and reporting, are also bound to take time,

A lot of hard work still lies ahead for making this budgetary process a success. Through of old school officials will have, to be brain washed and taught the new concept, voluminous reports and records will have to be redesigned and debugged, and legislative reviews and authorisations will need to be retailored and revamped. If we want—'render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's,' Lip service will not do.

SEARCH FOR A NEW HORIZON : A STUDY OF THREE RECENT BENGALI NOVELS

Dr. DILIP KUMAR CHAKRAVARTY

Every year a large number of novels are published in the Bengali language. Understandably most of them are conventional and stereotyped works. They do not succeed in producing any lasting impression on the mind of the readers. To a discerning reader of Bengali novels, what appears to be more disquieting is the fact that most of these novels seem to emanate from similar type of sensibility. Most of these novels have middle class people as their protagonists, the metropolitan city of Calcutta as background, and sentimental lower relationship as the staple subject. To a perceptive watcher of recent trends in Bengali fiction it is wellknown that an unhappy feature of it has been some of the successful writers' proneness to repeat their earlier successes by writing the same novel over and again. It is however heartening to find that some talented young writers are adequately aware of this disquieting feature. They try their best to introduce novelty in subject matter and technical aspects. It should however be mentioned here that the repetition of the same theme in the novels and the tendency to rely chiefly on the urban background is a recent phenomenon. The earlier generation of novelists, particularly Tarashanker, Bibhuti Bhushan and Manik Bandopadhyaya revelled in depicting the rural background of Bengal. As I have said a moment back, some talented young novelists seem to be constantly in search of varied themes and different backgrounds. Syed Mustafa Siraj and Atin Bandopadhyaya chiefly write about rural Bengal, while some others like Shirshendu Mukhopadhyaya

write about shape of things to come in future.

Sunil Gangopadhyaya has recently written a brilliant novel named 'Radha Krishna' in which the age-old story finds a new and appealing presentation. In short, it can be said that several talented writers in the field are consciously making efforts to make a significant departure from the beaten track.

Judged from this particular point of view, three novels published within a span of last three years seem to us to be of great significance, particularly from the point of view that they can never, by any stretch of imagination, be described as conventional or stereotyped works of fiction. Incidentally it may be pointed out here that the modern novelists have invariably to face a dilemma: they have sooner or later to become aware of the fact that they make use of a form whose principle characteristic is novelty, or stylistic and thematic dynamism and nearly everything possible to be achieved has already been done. Understandably few novels succeed in crossing this difficult obstacle. In the hands of very few novelists today, the novel offers unique possibilities for the enlargement of consciousness and the intensification of being. It seems that these three novels published in recent years score significantly precisely on these points. These three novels are "Na Hanyate", "Pitree Purush" and "Hungaras" written by Maitraye Debi, Nirendra Nath Chakravorty and Subhas Mukhopadhyaya, respectively.

Widely different in theme, background and stylistic content, these three novels have certain identical features, which should be empha-

sized at the very outset of this discussion. All the three writers are quite elderly people and they are respected men of letters, although these novels happen to be their very first attempts in the field of fiction. Mr. Chakravorty and Mukhopadhyaya are regarded as two great poets of our age, while Maitrayee Debi is a renowned critic of the works of Tagore in particular and Bengali poetry in general. Another identical feature of these three novels is that the writers have consciously and deliberately avoided treading on the beaten track of recent Bengali fiction in that these novels are noticeably different from the general run of novels published these days.

At this stage perhaps it would be advisable to consider the afore-mentioned novels one by one. To begin with Maitrayee Debi's novel 'Na Hanyafe,' which has been ably translated by P. Lal under the title 'It never dies?' The novel is a touching record of a love affair between a tender girl under her teens named Amrita with a young man from abroad who came to India in quest of knowledge. The young man became a pupil of the girl's father, who was an eminent philosopher. The two young things came closer and one day he tenderly kissed her. Under certain circumstances, the father came to know of this relationship. Though he had a thorough idea of the Western ways of life and values, having lived in some Western countries for a considerably long time, yet the news of his daughter's romantic entanglement with a foreigner simply outraged him. He drove the young man out from his household and hastily married off the daughter. The matter should have ended there but it did not. With the passage of time, the girl became an eminent writer. The young man, Enclid Mircha, also became a top-ranking man of letters in his country. Once it came to the knowledge of Amrita that Enclid had written a novel in which he had referred to the fact that when

he was in India, a sweet young Bengali girl used to visit him in the night. This piece of news disturbed Amrita very much. She was now a happily married lady of advanced age with a large family. There was also the question of her prestige and dignity to be considered. She however decided to meet Enclid in his country. After many difficulties, she succeeded in meeting him only to find that he had gone blind.

This synopsis unfortunately can not give one any idea of the rich texture and great human appeal of this novel. In this novel the tender love relationship between two young things has been beautifully portrayed. The novel starts from the middle of the action. We come to know of an eminent lady who had recently been informed of Enclid's novel from a reliable source. This information opens up the floodgate of sweet bitter reminiscences of the past. The writer has eminently succeeded in setting a nice pattern while presenting his memories of the things past. She has competently handled three layers of time: the first is the present when she is writing about things past; the second is the happenings of the past and finally the third consists of the events leading to the final meeting between the two. The language of the authoress is simply superb. To my mind there is nothing in modern Bengali fiction comparable to the grace and poise of her style.

In reviews of this novel, repeated references have been made of the autobiographical aspects of this novel. There is no denying that the novel is the product of a deep personal involvement. Moreover, the characters presented have affinity with persons related to the writer. But I believe that our appreciation of this wonderful novel would remain incomplete if we take such a stand. It would perhaps be wise to judge this novel as a fiction and not as an autobiographical tract. The writer seems to agree with this stand. In a letter to the

present reviewer she wrote 'the personal is ephemeral. It is like dewdrops on the leaves of a lotus, liable to vanish any moment. The events related in this novel should not be treated only as events in the lives of certain individuals. They have universal significance.'

'Na Hanyate' is one of those few novels, encountering which one's criticism falters. One cannot make up one's mind about the words of appreciation to be showered upon this. The presentation of characters, controlled depiction of the element of pathos, sheer technical excellence, the wonderful poetry that glimmers through the pages of the book, make a thoughtful reader spell bound. One feels that here is a novel which would surely be considered a landmark in the history of Indian fiction.

Narendranath Chakravorty's novel "Pitree purush" (The Forefathers) may be termed as a conventional novel stylistically as well as from the technical point of view. What differentiates this novel from the common run of novels is, however, the lyrical grace and beauty of it as well as the philosophical vision of the author. The novel gives one an impression that it has been written by one of our great living poets. The background of this novel is erstwhile East Bengal, now known as Bangla Desh. The writer has succeeded in evoking the smell, the taste and total environment of the background. This is indeed a creditable feat.

The novel starts with the description of a storm that often sweeps the delta of Bangla Desh. The cold prints of a news item can give us no idea of the ferocity of such a natural ravage. The author has given a realistic picture of this, which may be considered as unrivalled in the presentation of minute details as well as a thorough and total picture of the natural calamity. This description is however not an end in itself. It serves as a symbol of a calamity much greater in strength and ferocity that

sweeps over the members of a family spread out over three generations. The actions of the novel have been viewed through the eyes of a sensitive teenager boy who has a poet's vision of life. He knows that his grand father was a tower of strength and so was his father. They were truly and entirely devoted to the land of their birth. He was their descendant yet he had to leave his home land for good. A series of circumstances conspired against him and he found himself utterly helpless. The tragic circumstances of an expatriate has been artistically rendered in the novel. Apart from the three principal characters, some minor characters have also come to life thanks to the deft handling of the author. Among the procession of characters, particularly one never fails to draw our respectful attention. He is Jagirdada, an orphan boy of Bihar who came to a remote village of East Bengal and dedicated his whole life for the welfare of a family. The female characters have also been deftly handled. The slim novel compresses within its fold quite a long time and it records competently not only the chronicle of a family but also of the contemporary time and milieu.

Subhas Mukhopadhyaya is an eminent poet of Bengal. He is also quite well known as a progressive thinker. His poems deal with the harsh realities of day to day life. The staple of this novel is also the same. Perhaps this novel will be termed as a political novel. But it seems that it would be better to describe it as an unconventional experimental novel. The unusual title of this novel is explained by the fact that in jails 'hungras' is generally used as an abbreviation of hunger strike. It can well be imagined that the novel centres round a hunger strike in a certain jail. The narrator of the tale is also a participant in this hunger strike. He belongs to a typical middle class family. While on strike, his mind wanders back to his past and the memory of his friends and relatives. This comes handy to the author

for describing the feelings and emotions of the contemporary middle class people. In order to pass time the protagonist of this novel also sits with a backward Muslim young man and goads him to tell the story of his life. From this story an idea can be had of the people who belong to the lowest ladder of our society. Written in the stream of consciousness technique, the story element of the novel is of no particular significance. In fact the action of the novel does not proceed noticeably. It starts with the beginning of the hunger strike and ends with an oblique suggestion that the strike ends on the birthday of the author. Meanwhile we get an intimate glimpse of the inmost recesses of the mind of some people and an insight into their way of life. contrast between the middle class values of life with those of the 'havenots' has been nicely depicted in this novel. It does not seem fair to describe this novel as a political novel for the simple reason that the author does not produce any

political theory or ideology in this novel.

It would be wide off the mark to assert that 'Hungress' has no precedent in the history of Bengali fiction. The novel is strongly reminiscent of Satinath Bhaduri's "Jagari" (The Vigil) and some other novels having the prison house as their background. What distinguishes the novel from other similar works is that no other author has demonstrated an intimate insight into the lives of the working class people. The novel is singularly free from shallow sentimentality. In fact objectivity seems to be the hall mark of this novel and this explains the unique success of it.

As has been stated in the beginning of the article, some talented novelists of Bengal appear to be in quest of new pastures and it can be confidently asserted that the three novels mentioned above may very well prove as guiding light and source of inspiration to many of them.



THE REALITY AND THE SENSE OF BEING IN "THE CARETAKER"

P. D. DUBBE

When we first see a new form of painting or listen to a new kind of music, we realize that we have to make an adjustment in ourselves and our attitude if we are to get the best out of the experience. So it is with the plays of Harold Pinter and Samuel Beckett. Harold Pinter offers a different variation of modern human beings. Modernism involves both the conviction and practice that to be modern is to be, in many important ways; different from anyone who ever lived before. This does not mean that man has changed; human nature is same but man's way of looking at himself has changed in a way that is significantly new. It is this new view of man that creates the problem for the dramatist.

Pinter traces human frustration to the nature of human relationships as contingent upon independent human personalities being joined together by simple, elementary human needs and hopes common to all. He portrays the human situation as it affects individual lives in all its unflattering starker and complex terror; but he nevertheless invests the humblest and most painful of human experiences with a quality of accommodating grace, almost elegiac in its compassion.

Pinter's interest in the human problem is altogether different. He deals with the human relationships together with the failure to communicate between persons and thereby imparts a psychological depth to his portrayals of the man in a man's society struggling to recover the loss of self in a world full of unapprehended terror and impersonal menace.

When Pinter takes up the subject of the caretaker, he works once again in terms of a

private myth and he also goes a step ahead in gaining greater richness and complexity by showing the occupants of the room as real people, not only endeavouring to make their own decisions and creating their own circumstances, but also successfully driving the menace out of the room.

The Caretaker is a three act, three-character play. Mick and Aston are brothers, the younger in his late twenties, the older Aston in his early thirties and tramp Davies. The play changes the picture of the man, who has been hitherto menaced, trapped, insulted and mishandled, into that of one who bravely and successfully orders the menacer out of the room. A cunning ungrateful tramp enters the household of two brothers, in the garb of a meek, poor and needy soul. Very soon he not only gains an upper hand over the heart of the introvert brother but also proves repulsive and vicious in his comments and behaviour. The other cunning brother tempts him with the practical trick of gaining the tramp's confidence first and betraying him afterwards. It is the tramp, who has to leave the room letting the brothers continue their uneventful lives.

Aston, the idealist dreamer, performs the Good samaritan act of offering shelter to Davies only to procure for himself a good caretaker companion, Davies on the other hand agrees to stay in the junk cluttered, shabby room specifically because he has no hopes of getting better comfort and stability anywhere else. Mick plays the shabby trick of deliberate double talk on the tramp only because he does not want to share his brother with anyone else. He maintains an attitude of odd protective devotion towards him.

The caretaker is a study of the human condition, which is both tragic and funny, baffling and plausible. When Davies is left alone in the room Pinter has again succeeded in establishing out of Davies's lack of self-confidence and his nervousness about the menace of these objects, an atmosphere of threat, mystery and terror. Davies the tramp, is not only garrulous and mendacious but pitiable and humane as well. Through his grumbling and groaning he expresses the tragic condition of old age. When man has to fight for his stability, sometimes even going to the extent of using arrogance and hatred as his weapons "Why'd you invite me in here in the first place if you was going to treat me like this? You think you're better than me you got another think coming. I know enough. They had you inside one of them places before, they can have you inside again. Your brother's got his eye on you! They can put the pincers on your head again, man!" It is for this reason that Davies tries to worm his way and turn the brothers against each other. By winning the heart of the slightly in same, moody Aston, he hopes to demand kind favours in the form of shoes, food, money. And later on by turning to the laconic Mick he plans to send Aston back to the mental asylum and take his place. "He's no friend of mine. You don't know where you are with him. I mean, with a bloke like you you know where you are."

Davies has neither the necessary references nor the identity to command any attention; still he flaunts his self importance, and hankers, with a cheerful bravado, after comfort, hospitality and respectability when he keeps on referring to his trip to sideup, he vainly hopes that it may build for his some sort of status and also avoid humiliation. "If only the weather would break! then I'd be able to get down to sideup!" Davies provokes himself into

surges of comedy and sorrow, only to delude the two brothers who are his last hope of sustenance when they ultimately drive him out of their house, he pathetically asks; "where am I going to go? If you want me to go...I'll go. You just say the word. I'll tell you what though...them shoes...them shoes you give methey're working out all right.....they're all right. Listen if I.....get down if I was to get my papers would you."

Aston, who is a lonely, retarded person is for sometimes carried away by the hypnotic repetitions of Davies. Aston stands for the human need of Companionship, Mick with his laconic² pranks stands for the unnamed destructive forces of society. He acts as the caretaker of Davies only to destroy him. The way in which the characters of the two brothers complement each other also suggests, however, that ultimately Mick and Aston like Didi and Gogo in *Waiting for Godot*-could be seen as different side of the same personality. Mick could then stand for the worldly, Aston for the deeper emotional aspects of the same man.

The play offers psychological realism. It paints the eternal struggle of man to obtain peace and safety at any cost. It is a compelling study of human vulnerability in face of world's cruelty. It is also a study of three characters whose minds are fragmented. In their distinctive ways they give the account of life which is packed with frustrations and estrangements the way Davies tries to win the brothers and establish his own possession in the household is a study of the old age sensibility and the physical and psychological impoverishment it entails.

Pinter proves that sight of the tram like Davies may reopus and we may ignore his plea of having, left his references behind, but we are in no way better than he. The modern world is governed not by charity but by polites⁴

and man is also so conditioned by his one dimensional world that he tends to be Every man Anonymous, which Davies is in a sense without self reference and identity.

The solid reality of the circumstances and characters in the play, and the fact that this reality has all the indeterminacy, open endless and mystery of real life, becomes the basis for its effectiveness on a higher plane the plane of the poetic image. The metaphor for a greater and more general truth, the powerful, universal archetype.

The nebulous post of the caretaker conveys the notion of the unknown fate of man. Failures paralyse him and he lives only on the delusory hope that, if the weather clears up he can save himself from the final tragedy. The three characters of the play need one another but they are forced to deny the mutual need and fall apart into isolation only to restate man's eternal loneliness in the crowded world. The play becomes a parable of the predicament of humanity in general and the spiritual vacancy of the modern mind in particular.

TRIBUTE OF PROFOUND RESPECT

By—YE. CHELYSHEV

February 13, 1879 saw the birth of Sarojini Naidu, a remarkable poetess and public and political figure in India. Sarvapali Radhakrishnan said that she was the most outstanding woman of her generation. According to him, she stood out among others as an eminent liberal thinker, a past master of literature, a great social reformer and a political fighter.

Soviet people know Sarojini Naidu as a loyal associate and close friend of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru and one of the

leaders of the Indian national liberation movement. She devoted the whole of her life, strength, efforts and talent to the sacred cause of the liberation of the native country and to the selfless service to the Indian people.

Naidu's compatriots call her "the nightingale of India" (Bharat Kokila). Rabindra Nath Tagore rated high her talent as a poetess. Today we admire her brilliant lyric poems full of noble humanism and a golden dream of human freedom, happiness and a better future for the Indian people.

On the eve of the liberation of India in March 1947 the first Asian conference chaired by Sarojini Naidu was held in Delhi. In her speech Naidu called upon the peoples of Asia to unite in the struggle for peace and national independence. The conference the Soviet Union also participated in became one of the first steps on the way to initiating the Afro-Asian solidarity movement against colonialism and imperialism, for peace and international friendship. Sarojini Naidu was one of those who started the movement.

We also know Naidu as a great and true friend of Soviet people. One needed to have a great civic virtue in order to come out in favour of friendship with the Soviet Union way back in the thirties, in the conditions of the colonial regime. In her message on the occasion of the opening of an exhibition organized in Bombay by the city's department of the Society of Friends of the Soviet Union in November 1943 Sarojini Naidu wrote that the Indians were delighted with Soviet achievements in socialist construction and the heroic struggle by the Soviet people against fascism. The message read in part that the Soviet people were upholding not only their own freedom gained at the cost of enormous sacrifices but also the honour and security of world civilization from the threat of its barbarous destruction by fascism. Sarojini Naidu was vividly interested in the life and culture of the Soviet people and liked greatly Russian literature, especially Leo Tolstoy and Maxim Gorky.

At the beginning of June 1944 the first All-India Congress of Friends of the Soviet Union was convened in Bombay, which elected Sarojini Naidu first president of the All-India organization of Friends of the Soviet Union.

Though the colonial authorities prevented Naidu from taking part in the Congress, she was the heart and soul of the historic forum.

The Soviet public display great interest in the life and activities of Sarojini Naidu and her poetry. Her selected poems will soon go out in Moscow; a collection of her works in Lettish was published in Riga, capital of Latvia, in 1977, and some of her verses were translated into Tajik.

This writer is the author of the first publication about Naidu's creative work which was brought out in 1958. A special chapter on her verse was included into Ye. Kalinnikova's book "The English-Speaking Literature of India" published in Moscow in 1974. Sigma Ankrava, a young Indologist from Riga, defended her master's thesis on the life and creative work of Sarojini Naidu, at the Institute of Oriental Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences, in 1978.

The birth centenary of the great Indian poetess and the public figure is widely marked in the Soviet Union. An official meeting devoted to this jubilee was held in the Moscow Friendship House on February 13. These days newspapers and magazines publish new translations of her poems, articles and essays on her life and creative work and special programmes on her are broadcast.

Soviet people pay a tribute of profound respect to the great daughter of the Indian people, fighter for India's freedom, brilliant poetess and public figure who contributed greatly to friendship between the Soviet and Indian peoples.

Issued by the Information Dept. of the USSR Consulate General in Calcutta.

SOVIET PUBLIC MARKS TAGORE'S 18th BIRTHDAY

USSR Academy of Sciences to publish a two-volume monograph on Tagore

Moscow (APN) : A function devoted to the 118th birthday of Rabindranath Tagore was held recently at Moscow's Friendship House. Present at the function were Dr. J. S. Teja, India's Charged Affairs in the Soviet Union, Indian and Soviet journalists, indologists and students. The function was chaired by Vice-President of the Soviet-Indian Friendship Society Prof. Less Yevgeni Chelyshev.

Soviet indologists believe that the best way to mark the memory of the great son of the Indian people is to further study and popularise Tagore's work, said Chelyshev. A monograph by a group of authors about the life and work of the Indian poet of genius was recently completed at the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Oriental Studies in Moscow. This two-volume work will be published in anticipation of Tagore's 120th birthday. Among its authors are such leading Soviet indologists as Alexei Litman, Alexander Gnatyuk-Danilchuk, Viktor Ivbulis, Yekaterina Brosalina and Yevgenia Bykova.

Yevgeni Chelyshev said that Tagore's works are well-known in this country. They have been published 170 times in 32 Soviet languages in a total edition of nearly 7 million copies.

The Soviet Union has brought out twice his collected works—an 8-volume edition in the 50s and a 12-volume one in the 60s. Tagore's selected works in 4 volumes are to be published soon. Tagore's poems were translated into

Russian by such prominent Soviet poets as Anna Akhmatova, Boris Pasternak and Nikolai Tikhonov.

Yevgeni Chelyshev said that Tagore's works are so much appreciated by the Soviet readers because he ardently advocated the lofty ideas of peace and friendship, and understanding among nations. He remained the Soviet Union's friend till his last days. Running through his brilliant "Letters From Russia" is the admiration for the Soviet people.

The great Indian poet abhorred fascism. He called fascists the barbarians of 20th century and warned the world of the coming threat of fascist enslavement of peoples and destruction of their cultures. He regarded the Soviet Union as a force capable of stopping the Nazi hordes.

The works of the great Indian poet and his ideas are part and parcel of the internationalist Soviet culture. They formed the foundation of friendship between the people's of India and the Soviet Union, Chelyshev said in conclusion.

Alexander Gnatyuk-Danilchuk, the author of dozens of works analysing Tagore's prose and poetry, spoke at the function about the distinctive features of Tagore's creative works. Alexei Litman described Tagore's world outlook.

In his short speech at the function Dr. J. S. Teja said that Tagore was one of the founders of modern India and stood at the source of Soviet Indian friendship.

Current Affairs

Soviet Successes In Restoring Hearing

A large medical centre to restore hearing opened in Kiev, capital of the Soviet Ukraine. The centre's clinic is already open for patients and soon all its laboratories will be operational. There are extensive opportunities to apply modern methods of diagnosing and treatment.

Otolaryngologists are successfully coping now with tasks that only recently were beyond the powers of medicine. A micro-operation in case of otosclerosis, for example, fully restores hearing. The methods of surgery are gradually improving and today 98 operations out of 100 are successful. People acquire a stable hearing that does not weaken with time. Also successful are most of the operations to restore hearing that was lost as a result of chronic otitis. Even people with 30-40-year's deafness have been cured.

The new medical centre will have all service to treat deafness. Well-known and qualified specialists will always help patients under operations or providing conventional treatment. The centre will organise the audiological services in the Ukraine. Today each region has such specialists who regularly examine people suffering from deafness to choose a proper method of treatment.

There are diseases which are still incurable. Many patients however, can be provided help through aids. The Institute is inventing and designing improved aids of high standards for every individual. Incidentally, our experience shows that by applying special devices it is possible to teach deaf children to speak. What is important here is help from logopedists and parents. To see to it that there are no deaf and dumb children is an essential social task.

The centre will do a great deal to this problem.

The Institute also makes great efforts to improve diagnosing and to discover ear disease at an early stage. Applied here are many new methods with the use of electronic and other medical apparatuses. Up to now, one could measure the level of hearing among children starting from the age of 3-4 years. Electronic devices are used for testing the child's normal hearing several days after his birth.

Among the centre's staff members are otolaryngologists and also engineers, specialising themselves in electronics. The efficiently operating computers help the medical specialists to quickly interpret the data provided by machines. The surgery wards are connected with the local computing centre. Electronics, likewise modern optics and other novelties, has become a reliable ally of doctors at all stage of diagnosing and treatment.

The new centre will house special check-up rooms, surgery wards and wards for patients and with all of them having special acoustic regime. Especially carefully isolated are those rooms where specialists examine the organs of hearing. "The muffled chamber" looks like a box in a box. A door automatically opens before a person to be examined and the movable tambour will bring him into an acoustic chamber designed for diagnosing.

Operated patients are put in special wards which are also soundproof since at this time they need silence so that no sounds can irritate their ears.

Everything in this centre has been specially designed and equipped—floors in entrance hall and corridors are "floating" as they are not

connected with carrying structures ; walls and ceilings are faced with porous tiles absorbing noise ; thickened window frames and rubber porous pads do not allow noise to penetrate inside. A green barrier will also protect the centre from street sounds.

Bigger Roles Seen for Korean Women

Korean women will see a great change in their traditional norm of regarding home as the only ideal place for them. The manpower shortage now seriously affecting the country brings about the need to draw more women into economic activities.

The need was brought to public attention at forums separately organized by the Policy Study Commission of the Yujong-hoe, a major parliamentary floor group, and the Korean National Council of Women with over 60 Women's associations under its umbrella.

Rep. Yun Yo-hoon presented a comprehensive paper on women's resources for the 1980s at the Yujong-hoe meeting while Dr. Lee Han-jin, dean of the Ajou Institute of Technology, spoke on proper roles for women of the future at the national women's convention sponsored by the council.

Their discussions centered on the resources of college-educated women which can be mobilized for high-level work. "The shortage of manpower in high-level work will become more serious in the near future as the Korean economic structure will shift to a heavy and chemical industry-oriented one," said Rep. Yun. Meanwhile, Dr. Lee defined the exploration of highbrow women's resources as directly linked to the national development.

Contrary to the national need, Rep. Yun contended, female college graduates' participation in economic activities is low. Unlike in other countries where women's employment is correlated to their educational level, a large number of working women in Korea are primary school graduates.

Statistics show that working women numbered 5,680,000 as of June 1977, about 47 per cent of women eligible for economic activities. They constituted 39.5 per cent of the entire working force. The number of women workers has been increasing annually by an average 6.4 per cent from 1969 to 1976, outstripping 5.1 per cent for male workers.

However, women's participation in economic activities has grown in terms of quantity, not quality. Rep. Yun pointed out that women engaged in professional, technical and managerial jobs accounted for only 1.8 per cent of entire working women in 1976, even lower than the 2.0 per cent of 1969. A large portion of working women, 44.2 per cent, were confined to agriculture and forestry fields. They were followed by women in sales jobs with 13.2 per cent, in service jobs with 9.9 per cent and in clerical work with 4.1 per cent.

Her Excellency Madame Lyudmila Zhivkova, Visits Sri Lanka, Nepal & India In Sri Lanka

Her Excellency Madame Lyudmila Zhivkova, Chairman of the Bulgarian Committee for Culture, visited Sri Lanka, from October 30 to November 4, 1978.

In an exclusive interview with the 'SUN' at Polonnaruwa, Madame Lyudmila Zhivkova said that she was awed by the ruins she had seen in Sri Lanka.

"I am happy to visit Sri Lanka and witness the beauty of your country. The ruins that I have already seen is certain evidence that your country has a rich history and a rich cultural heritage. I hope that a visit to your country will contribute to furthering and strengthening cultural relations between the two countries. I thank the Government of Sri Lanka, the Minister of Cultural Affairs and the officials who have made our stay here very pleasant and taken us round to show your rich cultures."

Mrs. Zhivkova who is 36 years old is a

holder of the Master of Arts degree in History from Sofia University. She has worked as the senior research associate at the Institute of Balkan Studies of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and is a member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party. She is member of Parliament since 1976.

Mrs. Zhivkova who has worked on problems relating to the policies of the great powers on the Balkans in the thirties, in the field of Thracian and Medieval Bulgarian fine arts, the theory aesthetic education and the reorganisation based on the public state principle.

In Nepal

Madame Lyudmila Zhivkova, Chairman of the Bulgarian Committee for Culture arrived in Kathmandu on 4th of November on a week-long visit to Nepal.

Speaking at the Tribhuvan international Airport, Madame Zhivkova said the objective of the visit was to develop cultural relations between Nepal and Bulgaria.

Madame Zhivkova also stated that her visit has been arranged to know the people of Nepal better, forging more informal and systematic cultural ties, familiarizing themselves with the cultural heritage and history of Nepal as well as getting a closer view of modern development, taking place in Nepal.

"Cultural exchanges between the two countries will be helpful to the cause of peace and cooperation among nations" Madame Zhivkova said, this will be particularly useful for developing relations between Nepal and Bulgaria.

In Kathmandu Madame Zhivkova called on Communication Minister Mr. Hari Bahadur Basnet on November 5th. The talks which lasted for about half an hour was held in cordial atmosphere, at the meeting Madame Zhivkova extended to Minister Basnet an invitation to visit Bulgaria.

Madame Zhivkova called on also Prime

Minister Mr. Kirtinidhi Bista.

Madame Zhivkova visited places of historical importance and Patan industrial estate in Lalitpur the same day.

In India

A Fruitful Visit

On November 28, 1978, the friendly visit of the Chairman of the Bulgarian Committee for Culture Madame Lyudmila Zhivkova to India was concluded. It gave a new perspective for extending and intensifying the joint cultural collaboration in accordance with the bilateral friendly relations existing between India and Bulgaria.

New possibilities for joint mutual investigations of the rich cultural heritage of the two countries were indicated. The Indian side displayed a big interest about the experiences and successes of the Bulgarian culture and science.

This is the main result of the just concluded fruitful visit and talks of Madame Lyudmila Zhivkova with the prominent Indian government leaders, cultural workers and with many friends of Bulgaria in Delhi and some of the eastern and southern states of India. She told them about the Bulgarian foreign policy which is to strengthen the peace, security and understanding all over the world, about the successes of the Bulgarian people in their economic and cultural life.

Successful Development

A Bulgarian cultural delegation, lead by the Chairman of the Bulgarian Committee for Culture Madame Lyudmila Zhivkova, recently visited the Bulgarian Cultural and Information Centre in New Delhi. They were acquainted with its fruitful activity directed to mutual reapproachment and acquaintance between our two countries.

Madame Lyudmila Zhivkova pointed out that the successful Indo-Bulgarian cultural relations are only part of the comprehensive active and friendly connections between the

two countries. She stressed that the increased interest of Indian society in Bulgaria is the result of the entire progress and the development of international understanding of our socialist society including the sphere of culture.

The Chairman of the Bulgarian Committee for Culture made a valuable and concrete admonitions for the future work of Bulgarian Cultural & Information Centre and specially recommended further extension of the relations with the different representatives of Indian society. A particular attention has been paid to the joint Indo-Bulgarian research activity in the field of history and culture of our two countries.

In Calcutta

In Calcutta Madame Zhivkova visited the Governor of the West Bengal H. E. Mr. Tribhuvan Narain Singh. During the conversation both expressed their satisfaction regarding the development of Indo-Bulgarian friendly relations.

During the meeting between Madame Zhivkova and the Chief Minister of West Bengal Mr. Jyoti Basu opinion were exchanged about the possibilities for further extension of bilateral cultural collaboration which will take a more concrete form specially in this state. H. E. Mr. Basu showed great interest in the successes and the experiences of our country in different fields and particularly in the sphere of culture and science.

The state Minister of Information and Culture H. E. Mr. B. Bhattacharya acquainted the Chairman of the Bulgarian Committee for Culture with the extending long-standing fruitful traditions and the new perspectives about the cultural collaboration between West Bengal and Bulgaria. They discussed all possibilities about the scientific exchange and joint research in the field of art, drama and folklore.

Madame Lyudmila Zhivkova was warmly congratulated by the Indo-Bulgarian friendship Society in Calcutta. And the concert perfor-

med by the member of this society were sung many Bulgarian songs.

The Chairman of the Bulgarian Committee for Culture visited the Academy of Fine Arts and other cultural institutes in West Bengal.

In Tamil Nadu and Madras Mrs. Zhivkova visited many monuments of the old Indian culture famous for ancient scripts and the Kalakhetra International Institute for Arts.

In these two states Mrs. Zhivkova met many well-known cultural and scientific workers where were expressed the mutual wishes for collaboration in the investigation of cultural heritage of India and Bulgaria and further development of the friendly relations between the two countries. —“News From Bulgaria”

Why Israelis Are Worried

—Zalman Shoval writes in News from Israel —

Israelis seem to be worried about what the future in store for them.

On the face of it, this may appear strange. After all, peace with Egypt may be just around the corner. Why then do Israelis, who have prayed for so many decades for just such an occurrence, now seem to be unhappy?

Could it be that a people accustomed to living in an atmosphere of never-ending war and tension is afraid to face the prospects of peace?

I think not. But on the other hand, even the prospect of a formal peace treaty cannot wipe away in one stroke the natural wariness of a people which has learned by bitter experience not only not to rely on facile and ambiguous diplomatic formulas, but also that it can depend only on itself in all matters of security and national survival.

It must, of course, be emphasized that the mixed feelings harboured by many Israelis derive partly from the very nature of the Camp David agreements. After all, these agreements were couched in terms which purposely made it possible to apply more than one interpretation to some of their clauses, in order to bridge the

gap between Israel's basic interests and requirements on one hand, and Egypt's problems with the Arab world on the other. Nevertheless, Israelis cannot be blamed for airing their suspicions at some of these nebulous formulas—especially where such vital questions as the demilitarization of Sinai or the political future of the West Bank and Jerusalem are concerned.

It must also be said, with all due respect, that both the timing of U. S. Assistant Secretary of State Harold Saunders' visit to our area, as well as the contents of the "replies" which he brought to King Hussein, were rather unfortunate.

It isn't only that some of these "replies" went far beyond what had been agreed upon at Camp David. Hadn't the Americans told Israel, time and time again, that the whole purpose of the five-year "transitional" period for Judea, Samaria and Gaza was to enable the Palestinian Arabs living there to get a taste of self-government and of peaceful coexistence alongside the Israelis?

What practical benefit could there possibly be in rushing matters, when it must be perfectly clear to anyone that, because of the conflicting pressures, no Palestinian leader could, now, afford to commit himself publicly.

Moreover, what possible results could be gained by sending a high-ranking U. S. emissary to talk to the Jordanians and the Palestinian Arabs before the Israel-Egyptian peace agreement had even been signed, and the benefits of peace would begin to be demonstrated? There can be no doubt that the Saunders' mission underlined some of the questions being asked these days in Israel.

I have not mentioned those Israelis who belong to the Greater Israel Movement and who had, after Camp David, belatedly and correctly come to the conclusion that the full incorporation into Israel of Judea, Samaria and Gaza (and, of course, of Sinai) was out of the

question—for the time being anyway. After all, they speak only for relatively small segment of public opinion in the country. Nor do I specifically refer to that part of Israeli public opinion which may have secretly hoped and prayed that the negotiations with Egypt would come to naught, so that Israel's position in Sinai could be maintained.

It is not with the extremes that I am concerned, but rather with the mainstream of public opinion, which is prepared to take risks and withdraw from Sinai for the sake of achieving peace with Egypt, which is prepared to forego the claim of Israeli sovereignty over the West Bank and Gaza at the present time—provided this area never becomes a PLO-ruled aggressive Palestinian state, and on condition that neither our security nor our right to live and more freely in this area shall be adversely affected. It is precisely because of this willingness to compromise, that Israelis are bewildered by the lack of understanding in the world for the very high price Israel is going to pay—by giving away the very area from which the Egyptians staged at least four attacks on Israel in the last 30 years. That area could become a staging-area for military adventures, should there be a change of the Egyptian regime.

Some of our American friends persist in telling us (rather naively, I fear) that now, after the conclusion of peace with Egypt, Israel will be able to forget all her worries. This, I am afraid, does not take into account that even without Egypt, we still face formidable Arab armies poised to attack us from the "Confrontation states" in the east and in the north—states which maintain close political, military and ideological links with the Soviet Union. Of course, Moscow is not in the least interested to let things settle into a Pax-Americana situation and it will in all probability continue to stir up trouble whenever and wherever it can. But even without East-West rivalries, how could anyone even faintly acquainted with the

long and troublesome history of this area, seriously believe that the Arab-Israel conflict is the only, or even the primary, reason for the never-ending turmoil and bloodshed in the Middle East?

Any student of recent history cannot but come to the conclusion that ever since the Yom Kippur War, when the U. S. government prevented Israel from achieving complete victory against the beleaguered Egyptian Second and Third Armies, Washington has pursued a policy of strengthening its position in the Arab world by making the Israelis pay for it. America's attitude towards the Lebanese crisis, and in support for some of Syria's actions there, could also be interpreted in this light:

Israelis are certainly' applauding U. S. efforts to dislodge the Soviet Union from this area, but one cannot but wonder whether, in order to achieve this, America now expects Israel to make additional sacrifices in the Golan, in Jerusalem and on the West Bank? I do not think, by the way, that American public opinion would tolerate a policy which would seriously endanger the security and perhaps very existence of their country's only reliable and democratically in the whole area of the Middle East. In this context, it is interesting that Yigal Allon, a former foreign minister and a senior spokesman of the Labour Party, told a senior American diplomat only last week that Israelis would rather starve than ever return to the old vulnerable borders of 1967.

All this may help to explain Israel's somewhat troubled mood at the present time. We have sent not only the best available, but also the best possible negotiating teams to the Camp David and Blair House conferences. They have valiantly, and on the whole successfully, fought for the best terms Israel can hope to achieve. Peace with Egypt may indeed not be far off—but Israelis can nonetheless not be

blamed for mixing their hopes and expectations with at least some measure of apprehension.

Flood, Corporation and Garbage

Niranjan Haldar writes in The Calcutta Municipal Gazette.—

The idea of converting city garbage into manure is not a new thing. This kind of manure is manufactured in Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur and in a number of cities in Japan. From time to time the idea received sympathetic consideration in Calcutta but due to the nature heterogenous composition of garbage in the city, the proposal to have a garbage plant in Calcutta was not pursued. The garbage of Calcutta contains huge quantities of ash, bricks, glass, rusted iron and tin pots, mud, paper and vegetable wastes, sal and banana leaves, unripe coconut shells, banana skins etc. The system of disposal of garbage in Calcutta has no relevance with modern techniques. The Corporation of Calcutta is unable to cope with the volume of garbage, accumulated daily on open space, on roads and lanes and on footpaths. On a number of occasions here were proposals to reduce the volume of garbage accumulated on Calcutta roads. Once there was a talk of banning the sale of unripe coconuts in the city. Mother Theresa also had started a project to utilise the fibre of unripened coconuts. But the volume of garbage in the city shows no sign of decrease, it is increasing every day can we not think of using a part of the garbage for some other purposes and thereby reducing the volume of disposable garbage.

In Singapore, coconut milk is used in every Chinese household. They prepare the milk in their homes and keep residue coconut in a tin. On enquiry, I learnt that they kept the wastes for pig rearers. They used to come once and twice in a week to take those wastes. This arrangement reduced the volume of garbage to be transported by the City Government and also helped the pig rearers to get pig-feed without price or at a nominal price.

Thirteen districts of Maharashtra suffered from severe draught in 1973. The cattle population was dying in thousands. No animal feed was available in the State. The Cattle feed was brought from Rajasthan, Punjab, Haryana and other States. But the supply was not sufficient. To meet the shortage of cattle feed in Maharashtra, people engaged in relief work devised a new method. In Poona city and other towns, they collected vegetable wastes, banana skins, banana leaves, mango wastes during the summer and transported those by trucks to a far away places in draught affected districts. In a city like Poona, the quantum of this type of garbage was not insignificant and this green garbage saved the lives of thousands of cows, buffalos, goats and sheep.

Two successive floods in September have surpassed all the past floods in recorded history of West Bengal. The extent of damage is yet to be estimated. According to a rough estimate, sixty per cent of the total cropped area of West Bengal were damaged by two floods. Goats, hens and ducks have been washed away by the current of the flood water. Where cows and buffaloes remained alive during the flood, they are now facing extinction due to lack of food and the outbreak of epidemics. After flood water is receded from an area, the most difficult thing is to get fodder for the cattle. But the cattle population have to be saved by any means. The Corporation of Calcutta, other municipalities and non-government social service organisations can come forward and persuade the individual household restaurant and hotels to keep vegetable wastes, banana skins, potato skins, banana leaves, sal leaves etc. to separately and drop those on certain days in a lorry meant for the transportation of the same to the flood damaged areas. The Society of Animal Lovers, Pinjrapole Society, Sarvodayists may also be requested to persuade the people to separate the green garbage from

other garbages in each home so that the green garbage can be used as a valuable fodder.

The empty green coconuts can also be collected from the roadside and if those can be cut into pieces, the younger ones can be used as fodder, the folder ones after they are dried in the sun may be used as fuel.

Foot and Mouth Disease (FMD) has started as an epidemic among the cattle population in the flood damaged areas. The affected cattle can not chew any dry fodder and green fodder can not be found in the village areas. If the green garbage can be kept separated from other garbage in each households, shops, hotels, restaurants and markets in urban areas and be transported to the flood affected areas, the effect of FMD among the cattle population can also be minimised.

National Income

18,000 million roubles—that is the amount by which the country's national income will increase in the fourth year of the five-year plan.

It is common knowledge that the average annual rates of growth of the national income in the USSR are way above those achieved in the leading capitalist countries. Over the past five-year plan periods they have been 8.1 per cent, while in the USA the figure was only 3.3 per cent, in Great Britain—2.5 per cent, in France—4.9 per cent, in the FRG—5.5 per cent. All in all, the national income in the USSR has grown in the Soviet years 108-fold. And this despite the tremendous losses suffered by the country in the Great Patriotic War.

Industry

The USSR's industrial output in terms of value will grow by 33,000 million roubles in 1979. The total State Budget of the USSR in 1940 was some 50 per cent less.

The Soviet industry's development rate is unprecedented in history. In the past sixty

years industrial output in the country has jumped by 225 times. Today, Soviet industry produces more than the industry of the whole world produced in 1950.

Industrial output in the USSR has doubled in the past decade. It has taken Great Britain 29 years, West Germany 17 years, the USA and France 16 years, to double their industrial output.

The following figures show the fantastic progress of our industry. In 1913, the production of oil in Russia made up 27 per cent of that in the USA, steel—15 per cent, mineral fertilizer—3 per cent, and cement 13 per cent. All together a different picture is observed today. The Soviet output of oil and gas condensate in 1977 surpassed that of the USA by 138 million tons, steel—by 31 million tons, mineral fertilizer—by 6.4 million tons, cement by 56 million tons, and tractors—by 319,000 units.

Power, Fuel and Metals

In the Fourth year of the Tenth Five-year Plan period the Soviet Union will produce 1,265,000 million kilowatt-hours of electricity.

The Soviet output of electricity in 1979 will exceed by far the 1977 output of it in the nine member countries of the European Economic Community put together.

The output of oil, including gas condensate, will amount to 593 million tons in 1979. No other country produces so much liquid fuel.

The production of gas is to reach 404,000 million cubic metres in 1979.

It is indicative that in the past two decades the USSR has increased its gas output by more than 1,000 per cent, compared with the 100 per-cent increase registered in the USA.

Soviet collieries will produce 752 million tons of coal next year.

In 1977, the European Coal and Steel Community, which includes the nine Common Market member countries, produced just over half of this amount.

Agriculture

A rise of 5.6 per cent in total agricultural output is planned for 1979. Each percent of the increase will be equivalent to about 1,290 million roubles.

In 1978 the country has gathered in 235 million tons of grain—an all-time high in the history of domestic farming. This is almost twice as much as the amount harvested in 1965.

In extremely difficult weather conditions our farmers had grown and stored up 8,300,000 tons of cotton by the beginning of December, which is much more than the 1975 total for capitalist and developing countries.

Capital Construction

116,500 million roubles is the volume of state capital investments for the fourth year of the tenth five-year plan. This is more than 13 times as much as under the first five-year plan as a whole (in comparable prices).

The USSR surpasses all developed capitalist states in the rate of growth of capital investments. Compared with 1970, capital investments have increased in the USSR by more than 50 per cent as against three per cent in West Germany and one per cent in Italy. In the same period in Britain the volume of capital investments has fallen by five per cent.

Growth of Living Standards

Over 91,000 million roubles will be allocated for social and cultural measures in 1979.

A total of 112.3 million sq. m. of housing will be built on account of all sources of financing. This will make it possible to improve the housing conditions of 11,000,000 people. Within a month the USSR builds housing enough for 500,000 people.

Everyday nearly 30,000 Soviet people have their housing conditions improved. The USSR leads the world in the volume and rate of housing construction.

In the USSR the rent has not changed since 1928 and it does not exceed three percent of

the incomes of workers families. Every year the state allocated over 5,000 million roubles for the housing and municipal services.

In 1975 budgetary allocations for education will aggregate 37,900 million roubles.

★ The USSR has completed the transition to the universal secondary education of youth. Over 10,000 million roubles will be allocated

from the 1979 budget to finance schools and the construction of new school buildings.

Nearly 10 million people will study at higher and secondary specialised schools and vocational training schools will turn out about 2.3 million skilled workers.

(Portions Reproduced from "Background")

Indian and Foreign Periodicals

The Chinese Economic Experiment : Lessons For India

— J. H. Doshi

I had an opportunity to visit China recently as a member of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce & Industry delegation. I was the only person in our team of nine who had been to China before, 20 years ago in 1958. Hence, I had a chance to compare the situation as existed then and as it is now.

Our stay in China was only of 10 days during which period we visited Peking, Shanghai, Hanchow and Canton. Half the time was spent in Peking and the rest distributed amongst the other three places. Thus, our stay was rather very brief and we could not see very much at close quarters.

In view of this, I have to draw upon the experience and observations of the group of Indian journalists who had left before us but were still there when we were in Peking. They spent more time in China and, therefore, could see more. Besides, as journalists, they had only to look to the various political and economic features whereas we had to meet various national corporations and discuss business and industrial subjects. I have also drawn upon the experience of the British Minister of Education, Mrs. Shirley Williams, and Secretary, Mr. Dell, as well as certain other articles written by European and American journalists and executives who had spent some time in China. This only confirms and elaborates our experience.

We must also understand, right from the beginning, that our system and Chinese system of Government are totally different. Ours is a democracy with freedoms, particularly after the Janata Government came to power in 1977, and theirs is a Totalitarian Socialistic type of Government. In view of this, there is really no comparison between the two countries and one should not come to any final judgement without taking into consideration various facets of the political systems of the two countries. For instance, there are no independent newspapers in China. There is no freedom of expression. There is no freedom even of movement from one city to another in the country as this requires a permit. Everything practically is rationed and the people are expected to live their lives as dictated by the Government. To quote a simple example: the legal marriageable age is 18 years but the State advises that girls should not marry before 25 years and boys before 28 years and, therefore, everybody follows this rule. Even here, they require the permission of the respective heads of the department before marriage. The main reason for delayed marriages, according to them, is that it facilitates family planning.

Agricultural Progress

One can easily see the tremendous progress which China has achieved in agriculture and afforestation. Since leaving the airport, we could see nothing but greenery all round and large trees on both sides of the road, covering the wide roads with shade. This is true of almost all the roads, all over China, except where they are very wide or it is a big square. According to the Chinese, Chairman Mao gave far more importance to agricultural economy than industry, as he had a longstanding bias for the agrarian revolution. Agriculture is the predominant factor in the Chinese economy. About one-fourth of national production is derived from agriculture. We have indeed something to learn from them in the matter of

water conservation and building of canals. The Chinese claim to have almost 99% irrigated land against our hardly 28%, and for the same arable land as ours, they grow 280 million tonnes foodgrains against ours of 125 million tonnes. Of course, they include not only cereals but also potatoes, beetroots, soya beans and fruits, etc., and therefore, we have to make an allowance of about 25% for such items which we do not include in our statistics. Thus, their production of cereals can be estimated at 210 million tonnes. Even then, it is almost 1.7 times that of ours, over the same area of land. They grow 3 crops per year as they do not have to depend so much on rainfall as we do. They are surplus in rice but short of wheat and, therefore, they export rice and import wheat. Between January and August, 1977, about 12 million tonnes of wheat are said to have been imported. They have reclaimed all available land and the farms reach up to the edge of the road, railway lines, airport etc. They are trying to mechanise and use more and more tractors, fertilisers, pesticides, spraying equipment etc. Their agricultural production per acre is higher than ours but their per capita production is much lower than ours as they employ more men than necessary.

At the same time, they have wide open areas, lakes (both natural and artificial), wide roads, beautiful parks. Even *the cities do not* look like a jungle of concrete structures. This is a great improvement over what I had seen about 20 years ago when they had launched a programme for cleaning their cities and villages and eliminating the four pests, namely, flies, mosquitoes, rodents and sparrows. It was the period of the "Great Leap Forward." Subsequently, they found that sparrows were useful for their crops and, therefore, they stopped killing them. We could see some sparrows during our recent visit.

The sparrow elimination campaign demonstrates two lessons. First, man should not

destroy any species of life because it upsets the ecological balance. When sparrows were destroyed, pests multiplied to such an extent that crop destruction by them was much more than the crops destroyed by sparrows. Secondly, highly centralised decision-making leads to mistakes on a colossal scale whereas in a decentralised decision-making system damage is restricted to a small area or to a few people.

Is The Planet's Climate Changing ?

By G. Vladimirov

Many scientists hold that the climate on our planet is beginning to change. In the last two decades the mean annual temperature of the water in the North Atlantic, for instance, has dropped from 12 to 11.5 degrees C and icebergs seem to be moving southward; in the winter of 1972-1973 they were encountered approximately at the latitude of Lisbon, in other words, 400 km further south than in previous winters. At the same time, in the Northern Hemisphere the area covered by glaciers and pack ice has increased approximately by 12 per cent. The lowest winter temperature for the last 200 years has been recently registered in the Polar Circle. The effect of the weather getting colder is already being felt. In Iceland, for instance, hay gathering has diminished by 25 per cent and on the British Isles the growing period for cereals has been reduced by approximately two weeks.

The general change of climate has been more tragic in South-east Asia, Africa and Latin America. Abundant downpours are causing more frequent floods in certain regions of Japan and Peru. The lowest temperature in the last 300 years has been registered in Argentina, India and South Africa in one of the last winters. Abundant rain in the summer and snow in the winter has become a frequent occurrence in the middle east, as well as in Italy and in certain regions in the United

States. In San Francisco, for instance, the present amount of precipitation has not been observed for the last 125 years.

A group of Japanese scientists from Kyoto University has analysed the results of measurements of the air temperature between 1911 and 1972 by 430 meteorological stations and discovered that the mean temperature of the atmosphere on our planet was slowly dropping up to mid-60s, and then began climbing somewhat in the Southern Hemisphere, while retaining a tendency toward lowering in the Northern Hemisphere.

Specialists explain these changes the by volcanic activity as a result of which millions of tons of ashes are being discharged into the air. This fouls the atmosphere and, therefore, impedes solar radiation. In the last few years, volcanic activity has intensified in the Northern Hemisphere and weakened in the Southern Hemisphere.

Why ?

M. Petrosyants, director of the Hydro-Meteorological Centre of the USSR, thinks that such oscillations of the climate are linked with various natural cycles. Some of them take months, others (for instance, solar activity cycles) take years. Scientists have evidence about the existence of Millennium cycles.

Here is what Academician E. Pyndorov says :

"True enough, the climate on our planet is not constant.

"Many people still remember the 30s, relatively warm years for the Northern Hemisphere. As compared with the beginning of the century, the Arctic ice cap shrunk at the time and the average navigation period in some northern ports became twice as long. Natural conditions changed noticeably over huge territories. However, in the 40's a cold spell set in which is continuing to this day."

What are the reasons for these changes ? So far it is difficult to answer this question

accurately—a quantitative theory of climate has not yet been evolved. Apparently, the processes going on in the atmosphere and the ocean on our planet play the main role, although external factors can have a certain significance—for instance, certain changes in solar radiation.

Scientists in many countries are keeping all these processes under close observation. Lately it has been established that the intensity of penetration of sun rays into the earth's atmosphere has somewhat weakened. Atmospheric pressure above the Arctic has gone up and at temperate latitudes dropped. There are also changes in the earth's magnetic field connected with physical phenomena, regrettably far from being studied, going on deep in the earth's bowels.

What does the weather forecast hold in store for us in the next 100 or 200 years? According to a number of Soviet climatologists, a general warming up of the climate is expected beginning with the close of the 20th century (80s-90s), which will spread over the beginning of the 21st century. The intensity of thawing of the continental glaciers in Greenland, Novaya Zemlya and Scandinavia will increase. This, in its turn, will lead to an increase of the level of the World Ocean. Scientists think that the warm cycle will reach its zenith around 2300-2400. The second half of the 21st century is expected to be cold. This weather forecast is, naturally, very approximate.

Soviet scientists take an active part in international meteorological experiments. At present, 35 states are conducting joint observations in the tropical zone of the Atlantic Ocean as part of a single scientific programme.

"Science and Engineering"

Soviet Economy In 1979

(Emphasis on Consumer Goods—by Gleb Spiridonov, APN Political Correspondent)

The latest session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR examined and approved a plan for

the economic and social development of the USSR and a state budget for 1979. The first conclusion drawn by observers upon acquaintance with the plan is a steady growth of rates in industrial and agricultural production.

Soviet industry successfully coped with the assignment of the past year, registering a growth of five per cent. The economic potential of the country has grown substantially, with more than 700 large industrial enterprises built over the past three years of the five-year plan period. Tangible results are being felt from the realisation of the Soviet agrarian programme and the consolidation of the material and technical basis of socialist farming. This year despite difficult weather conditions the state and collective farms have gathered the highest crop of grain in the entire history of the country—235 million tons, and have grown a good harvest of cotton, vegetables and other crops. There has been an increase in the population of livestock and poultry.

All this guarantees a further steady growth of the main sectors of the Soviet economy. Industrial production in 1979 is to be increased by 5.7 per cent. The Plan sets high figures for the growth of agricultural production. For most products they exceed the maximum level achieved in the most favourable years.

The second important conclusion is that alongside concentration of efforts on such decisive branches of the national economy as fuel and energy, metallurgy and transport, the Plan for 1979 puts accent on speeding up the production of consumer goods. Held on the eve of the Supreme Soviet session, the plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee emphasised that all-round expansion of production of consumer goods and improvement of their variety and quality remain one of the key tasks of the Soviet economy. This

sphere has in recent years shown marked progress, but, as Leonid Brezhnev noted at the meeting, the Party's course towards the accelerated development of branches in group B is being followed by planning bodies and ministries without sufficient persistence. Not enough use is made of real possibilities and reserves.

The Plan for 1979 contemplates a considerable acceleration of rates of growth in industrial products of group B. As before, faster rates will be shown in the development of production of culture, everyday and domestic commodities which are now in high demand among Soviet consumers. The population will receive more footwear, fabrics and garments. It is planned to carry out extensive renewal of the range and improvement of the quality of output. But specially palpable changes are expected in the provision of the population with foodstuffs. It is well known that this year demand for some food products, especially meat, was not met in full. In 1979 the production of the food industry will be growing nearly twice as fast as in 1978. Its growth will be 6.3 per cent. As a consequence, the production of meat will increase by 11.2 per cent.

Measures for accelerating the production of consumer goods are reinforced with a considerable increase in financing for the light, food, fish and local industries and also daily services. Allocations for the development of these branches will rise in 1979 by 18.6 per cent, which is more than twice the rate of growth in capital investments in industry as a whole.

Comparing the basic indices of development of the Soviet economy with the state of affairs in the industrialised countries of the West, observers draw yet another important conclusion—the national economic Plan for 1979 adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR is evidence again of the superiority of

the socialist system of economy over the capitalist one. While the Soviet economy continues to develop at high and steady rates, the present-day position in the economy of the West, as is noted in a report of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), is marked by "slow growth of production and trade, high unemployment, continuing inflation, monetary instability.. and on the whole a low level of confidence." The present trends in the economy of the West, the authors of the report believe, leave little room for hopes that things will improve in 1979.

The present-day economic and social development of the Soviet Union, as well as prospects for 1979, on the contrary, are characterised by a high level of confidence. This confidence is shared not only by Soviet economists, political and economic executives but by all Soviet people. In 1979 measures are envisaged further to improve the life of the people, to realise the social programme outlined for the Tenth Five-Year Plan. 1979 will see the completion of one of the major measures of this programme—the raising of wages for workers in education, health services, culture and non-production branches—a total of 31 million people. Real per capita incomes of the population will increase by 3.0 per cent during the year. In accordance with the growth of the population's incomes and the production of consumer goods, retail sales will increase. Prices as before remain stable.

An objective analysis of the Plan for economic and social development and budget of the USSR for 1979 makes it possible also to conclude that they have profoundly reflected the peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union. In order to strengthen this conclusion here is one comparison only: while expenses on defending the country in 1979 remain at the unaltered level of the past two years—17,200 million roubles—the expenditure of the state on social and cultural measures will increase over the

year by almost four per cent and will amount to more than 91,000 million roubles.

(Issued by the Information Dept. of the USSR Consulate General in Calcutta)

Unprecedented Violation Of International Norms

Sofia, December 5 (BTA)—On December 4 of this year the Egyptian authorities, as was reported by the Egyptian press, on President Sadat's personal instructions, organized an armed attack on and rushed by force into the premises of the Embassy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in the Arab Republic of Egypt. An unlawful search was carried out. In point of fact the functioning of the Bulgarian diplomatic mission was discontinued.

Versions, launched by the Egyptian side which have nothing in common with the truth, were circulated about the causes of this act which is unprecedented in international relations.

What are the facts actually?

In 1964 Bulgaria purchased the building in which the Bulgarian Embassy is now accommodated. Several Egyptian families had lived in this building which they later evacuated. Only the Takher family refused to leave the building. A refusal which has continued for fourteen years. The Bulgarian diplomatic mission repeatedly made various proposals advantageous to the Takher family to free the flat in the building, including through the Egyptian Foreign Ministry. Last year the Takhers promised to leave the building in exchange for the 150,000 Pounds (255,000 Dollars) offered to them although the flat occupied by them is the property of the Bulgarian state. This proposal was again made through Egypt's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Naturally, had there not been the promises for vacating the flat, the Bulgarian diplomatic Mission would have sold the present building and looked for a new one. The failure of accepting the offers obviously advantageous to

the Takher family makes us think that certain people were interested in its remaining in the building

After the settling down of the Bulgarian Embassy in the building a regime of the entry of outside persons was introduced in compliance with the norms for the work of this type of institutions. The Egyptian foreign ministry did not object to this arrangement, which is seen also from the fact that at its suggestion a three day period for the notification in advance of visits by outside persons to the Takher family was established.

This arrangement served as a pretext for the family and Mrs. Takher in particular to make daily rows and to threaten members of the diplomatic staff of the Bulgarian Embassy the Ambassador included. In connection with this official protests were directed to the Egyptian Foreign Ministry, as a result of which the police only cautioned the Takher family but failed to take any measures.

This actual toleration of the Takher family by the authorities led to an acute incident on December 2. On the refusal of the doorkeeper of the Embassy to let into the building an unknown person who carried parcels and accompanied the Takher mother and two daughters, Mrs. Takher kicked up a row, smashed one of the windows of the building and hurt her hand. Only a few minutes later as a result of her screams a crowd of several hundred people gathered. They started throwing stones, bricks, pieces of iron and other objects, shouting anti-Bulgarian slogans. Many of them climbed the fence of the Embassy and made attempts to enter into the building which were frustrated thanks to the measures taken by the personnel of the Mission. Great material damage was caused to the Embassy. The rapid gathering of such a big group of people and the anti-Bulgarian shouts speak about an action organized in advance.

After the termination of the incident the Bulgarian Ambassador, Mr. George Vladikov, held a conversation in the reception room of the Embassy with the chief of the Police of Cairo in the presence of three generals and a few other civilian persons who were introduced as senior security officers. Instead of replying to the sharp protest of the Ambassador and the request for assistance and seeking the responsibility of the organizers of the attack, the Egyptian police representatives talked about the rights of the tenants and about changing the arrangement for the entry of guests of the Takher family into the Embassy. An arrangement which had been coordinated with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and to which it had objected. The Ambassador also asked why in all incidents so far the policeman on duty in front of the Embassy had not been in his place. The senior police officials did not give an answer to this. The conversation was interrupted because the police chief was summoned by the Minister of the Interior. He returned in thirty minutes and again insisted on the free letting into the Embassy building of all guests of the Takher family. It was stated from the Bulgarian side that the regime of entering into the Embassy could not be changed. With which the conversation ended. Forty five minutes later the four generals returned to the Embassy and asked for a meeting with the Ambassador. They asked for Mrs. Takher and her daughters—Mr. Takher was in Saudi Arabia—to be let into their dwelling. A little before this announcements were spread that they had been wounded and had been hospitalized! After that the Embassy was surrounded by troops and police.

On December 3 the Bulgarian Ambassador asked for meetings with the Head of the President's office and with the Minister of State and Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Burtus Ghali.

At 14.00 hours he was received only by Mr. Ghali. The Ambassador described the incident and voiced a sharp protest. He urged the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the other Egyptian authorities to take decisive measures for ensuring the security of the Embassy and the lives of its staff. With Mr. Ghali were discussed the ways in which the dispute with the Takher family could be solved, including through depositing a sum of money at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Egypt.

In the conversation Mr. Ghali promised to make everything possible for settling the question.

After the incident on December 2 and after the talks and our protests, and after the promise to settle the dispute there came, December 4... There came nothing but the unprecedented in international relations acts of the Egyptian authorities. The Embassy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria was attacked by armed policemen and soldiers who rushed into the building. What the mob failed to do the policemen did. They broke doors and windows smashed motor cars, at gun point they interrogated Bulgaria's diplomatic representatives and one of the employees was taken away. It is not known where, by the police. Police and troops continue to occupy the building of the Mission and not to allow the Bulgarian officials to enter into it, into a building which not only is the property of the Bulgarian state but, had it been in any other state under the rule of law, would have enjoyed extraterritoriality under all norms of international law. Both surprise and amazement are caused by the fact that all this was done, according to the reports of the Egyptian press, on the personal instructions of the country's President.

In analyzing the facts about the incidents around the Bulgarian Embassy one cannot but reach the conclusion that they were organized in advance. How otherwise could a crowd of

hundreds of people gather within a few minutes which had the object of destroying the Bulgarian Embassy. Why did not the police come on time to avert the incident. And why after the policemen claim that the Minister of the Interior came to the place of the incident on December 2 did he fail to take prompt measures for discontinuing the attack on the Embassy?

Something more. A massive campaign so as to inflict a blow on the prestige of socialist Bulgaria and to kindle anti-Bulgarian and anti-socialist mood among the population was started in the Egyptian press, on the radio and television. And all this against the People's Republic of Bulgaria, a country which has

always supported the just cause of the Egyptian people in their struggle against the aggressor. Obviously this is not in the interests of the people of Egypt.

The armed destruction of the Bulgarian Embassy in Cairo, which the mass media very carefully called an incident, has, however, its international aspect. It cannot but cause alarm both among the governments and among the world public.

But even these actions, we are convinced, will not impair the friendly links between the Bulgarian and the Egyptian people. Because they have old traditions and new, contemporary dimensions. Because they correspond to the vital interests of the two peoples.

